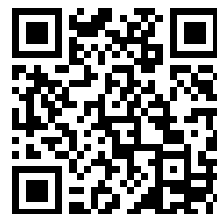

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A HISTORY
OF THE
LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

FROM ARCADIUS TO IRENE

(395 A.D. TO 800 A.D.)

BY

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PREFACE

THERE is no period of history which has been so much obscured by incorrect and misleading titles as the period of the later Roman Empire. It is, I believe, more due to improper names than one might at first be disposed to admit, that the import of that period is so constantly misunderstood and its character so often misrepresented. For the first step towards grasping the history of those centuries through which the ancient evolved into the modern world is the comprehension of the fact that the old Roman Empire did not cease to exist until the year 1453. The line of Roman Emperors continued in unbroken succession from Octavius Augustus to Constantine Palaeologus.

Now this essential fact is obscured as far as language is able to obscure it by applying the name "Byzantine" or the name "Greek" to the Empire in its later stages. Historians who use the phrase "Byzantine Empire" are not very consistent or very precise as to the date at which the "Roman Empire" ends and the "Byzantine Empire" begins. Sometimes the line is drawn at the foundation of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, sometimes at the death of Theodosius the Great, sometimes at the reign of Justinian, sometimes (as by Finlay) at the accession of Leo the Isaurian; and the historian who adopts one line of division cannot assert that the historian who adopts a different line is wrong. For all such lines are purely arbitrary. No "Byzantine Empire" ever began to exist; the Roman Empire did not come to an end until 1453.

But, it may be objected, is it not true that the Roman

Empire in the days of Constantine VII, who reigned in the tenth century, was completely different from what it was in the days of Constantine I., who reigned in the fourth century? and having in view this great difference in character, is it not permissible for historians, as a mere matter of convenience, to distinguish the later period by some confessedly appropriate word like "Byzantine" or "Graeco-Roman"? Such a use may be of course convenient and harmless in conversation among those who are fully aware that it is only a phrase of convenience; and there is no objection to "Byzantine art" or "Graeco-Roman law." But in writing or lecturing, such expressions as Byzantine, Greek, or Romaic Empire are highly objectionable, because they tend to obscure an important fact and perpetuate a serious error.

It seems especially unfortunate to adopt one of these names as the title of a book, and thus help to stereotype as a separate unity what is really a part of a continuous series. Every century of the Roman Empire differed from the preceding and from the succeeding, but the development was continuous; the Empire was still the Roman Empire, and I am not aware that it is usual to give a man a new name when he enters upon a new decade of life. We designate a man as young and old; and so we may speak of the earlier and later ages of a kingdom or an empire. But *Byzantine* is a proper adjective, and is too apparently precise not to be misleading. Gibbon perhaps is almost the only modern historian who, in treating this subject, has not done injustice to the continuity of history by the title of his work; but unfortunately in reading the later chapters one is apt to forget what that title is.

Moved by these considerations, I have avoided speaking of a Byzantine, a Greek, or a Graeco-Roman Empire, and have carefully restricted myself to the only correct appellation. For the sake of distinction the word "later" has been added on the title-page; and no further distinction is required, at least till the year 800, which marks the termination of my work.

This brings us to another unfortunate use of words, which similarly tends to perpetuate an erroneous impression. A rival Roman Empire was founded in the West by the coronation of Charles the Great in 800; and it is evidently very convenient

to distinguish the rival Empires by prefixing the adjectives Western and Eastern. And this nomenclature is not only convenient, but quite justifiable; for it suggests no historical error, while it expresses succinctly the European situation.

But unhappily the phrase *Eastern Roman Empire* is not confined to this legitimate use. We hear of an Eastern and a Western Roman Empire in the fifth century; we hear of the Fall of a Western Empire in 476. Such language, though it has the sanction of high names, is both incorrect in itself and leads to a further confusion. In the first place, it is incorrect. The Roman Empire was one and undivided in the fifth century; though there were generally more Emperors than one, there were never two Empires. To speak of two Empires in the fifth century—and if such speech applies to the fifth it applies also to the fourth—is to misrepresent in the grossest manner the theory of the imperial constitution. No one talks about two Roman Empires in the days of Constantius and Constans; yet the relation of Arcadius and Honorius, the relation of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, the relation of Leo I. and Anthemius, were exactly the same as the political relation which existed between the sons of Constantine. However independent one of another, or even hostile, the rulers from time to time may have been, theoretically the unity of the Empire which they ruled was unaffected. No Empire fell in 476; that year only marks a stage, and not even the most important stage, in the process of disintegration which was going on during the whole century. The resignation of Romulus Augustulus did not even shake the Roman Empire, far less did it cause an Empire to fall. It is unfortunate, therefore, that Gibbon spoke of the "Fall of the Western Empire," and that many modern writers have given their sanction to the phrase. Notwithstanding all that Mr. Freeman has said on the matter in sundry places, it will be probably a long time yet before the inveterate error of assigning a wrong importance to the year 476 A.D. has been finally eradicated.

In the second place, this nomenclature leads to a further confusion. For if the erroneous expression *Eastern Roman Empire* be admitted into use for the fifth century, the inevitable tendency is to identify this false abstraction with the Eastern Roman Empire, rightly so called, of later days. And

this identification unavoidably leads to the idea that a state called the Eastern Roman Empire came into being after the death of Theodosius the Great, in 395 A.D., and continued until 1453 A.D.

The simplicity of history is thus obscured. Nothing can be easier than to apprehend that the Roman Empire endured, one and undivided, however changed and dismembered, from the first century B.C. to the fifteenth century A.D.; and that from the year 800 forward we distinguish it as *Eastern*, on account of the foundation of a rival Empire, which also called itself Roman, in the West.

I have now explained my title, and I may add that by discarding the word Byzantine an additional advantage has been gained. So many prejudicial associations have grown up round this inauspicious word that it almost involves a *petitio principii*, like the phrase *Bas-Empire* in French. This is due to the unhistorical manner in which many eminent authors have treated the later Roman Empire. These writers knew very little about it, and they regarded it as a safe subject for derision. Voltaire, for instance, speaks of Byzantine history "as a worthless repertory of declamation and miracles, disgraceful to the human mind." "With this remark," says Finlay, "the records of an empire, which witnessed the rise and fall of the Caliphs and Carolingians, are dismissed by one who exclaimed, 'J'ôterai aux nations le bandeau de l'erreur.'" Gibbon hurried over the history of the Emperors later than the seventh century with contemptuous celerity, and his great authority has much to answer for. The remarks of Hegel in his *Philosophie der Geschichte* amount to much the same as the remark of Voltaire.

The sins of M. Guizot are of omission rather than of commission. His well-known *Histoire de la civilisation en Europe* is open to two criticisms. In the first place, it is not what it professes to be,—a history of European civilisation,—for it only deals with western Europe. But, waiving this, the author entirely ignores one of the most important and essential factors in the development of civilisation in western Europe—the influence of the later Roman Empire and New Rome. On this subject I may refer the reader to the concluding chapter of my second volume; I mention it here because M.

Guizot's extraordinary omission was clearly due to the inveterate prejudice that the "Byzantine Empire," and all things appertaining thereto, may be safely neglected.

In his *History of European Morals* (ii. p. 13) Mr. Lecky writes: "Of that Byzantine Empire the universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, with scarcely an exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilisation has yet assumed." I am not sure what Mr. Lecky means by "the universal verdict of history"; in recent years, certainly, the Younger Rome has found some staunch and eminent champions. But I am sure that the statement fairly represents the notions generally prevalent on the subject.

All this shows that *Byzantine* is a dangerous word, when it is used in a political sense. It is convenient and harmless to talk about Byzantine art or even "*la vie byzantine*," but it is dangerous to talk about a Byzantine Empire; for if we do so we run the risk of provoking universal verdicts of history. It might therefore be advisable, even if this were the only ground for doing so, to abandon the name and elude hard sentences by leading the accused forth under a different appellation. But it is not the only or the most important ground; as we have already seen, the name is improper, and it is therefore not only advisable but necessary to discard it.

I have been obliged to dwell at some length on a matter of nomenclature. I must add a few words on the scope of these two volumes, which, I venture to hope, may have some value as a very modest contribution to the study of a period which is too little known. They cover the four centuries during which the transition from the ancient world to the medieval world may be said to have taken place. *Ancient* and *medieval* are vague terms, but, whatever latitude we give them, we can hardly apply the term medieval to the fourth century or the term ancient to the eighth. In the year 395 A.D. the Empire was intact, but with the fifth century its dismemberment began; and 395 A.D. is consequently a convenient date to adopt as a starting-point. I propose to trace briefly the history of its dismemberment by the Germans, then more fully its recovery under Justinian, its decline after Justinian, and its redintegration in the eighth century; making the fall of Irene in 802 A.D. my point of termination, because it happens

to be conveniently close in time to the foundation of the rival Roman Empire in 800 A.D. The coronation of Charles the Great marks a new departure in European history, and it therefore forms, as Arnold recognised, a suitable end as well as a suitable beginning. After 800 there are two Roman Empires; and the history of the successors of Irene would naturally occupy a separate book, entitled *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire*.

The history of the fifth century is better known, and has been more thoroughly worked up than that of its successors. I have therefore treated it with comparative brevity, and omitted many of the details, which the reader may find in the works of Gibbon and Mr. Hodgkin. In fact, I, originally intended to treat the dismemberment of the Empire by the Germans and the fortunes of the houses of Theodosius and Leo I. as a mere introduction to a history of the subsequent period. But I was carried further than I intended, and the result considerably exceeds the limits of an introduction, while it is something less than a co-ordinate part of the work. The dismemberment of the Empire by the Germans brings us into contact with the nations who dismembered it, and tempts a writer to stray into the domains which have been so fully surveyed by Dahn in his *Könige der Germanen*. I have been careful not to yield to this temptation; I have avoided episodes and digressions; and have not concerned myself with tracing the doubtful antecedents of the various nations who settled in the Roman provinces. In fact, I have tried to trespass as little as possible on the field occupied by Dahn in Germany and by Mr. Hodgkin in England.

Coming to the sixth century, my account of the reconquest of Italy by Belisarius and Narses is compressed; while I have narrated fully the Persian wars on the Euphrates and in Colchis. As far as I am aware, no complete account of the latter has ever been published in an English form, Gibbon's treatment being nothing more than a sketch; while as to the former, after the brilliant fourth volume of Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, one could not think of rewriting all the details. But, notwithstanding, a critic may charge me with want of proportion, and ask why I occupy considerable space with the details of wars, which, even for special historians,

have been almost buried in oblivion, and at the same time content myself with only a general account of the famous Italian campaigns of Belisarius. My reply is that I am concerned with the history of the Roman Empire, and not with the history of Italy or of the West; and the events on the Persian frontier were of vital consequence for the very existence of the Roman Empire, while the events in Italy were, for it, of only secondary importance. Of course Italy was a part of the Empire; but it was outlying—its loss or recovery affected the *Roman* Republic (strange to say!) in a far less degree than other losses or gains. And just as the historian of modern England may leave the details of Indian affairs to the special historian of India, so a general historian of the Roman Empire may, after the fifth century, leave the details of Italian affairs to the special historian of Italy. It seemed to me that the real want of proportion would have been to reproduce at length the *Gothica* of Procopius and neglect his *Persica*.

On the same principle I have given a detailed narrative (I believe for the first time) of the somewhat tedious wars in the Balkan peninsula at the end of the sixth century, described by Theophylactus. Ranke deplored the want of an essay concerning the invasions of Avars and Slaves in the reign of Maurice; the learned and patient Hopf went hopelessly astray over the curious sentences of an "Attic" euphuist; and these facts induce me to hope that some future historian, repelled equally by an ancient language and an affected style, may applaud a predecessor for having reproduced most of the details in bald English.

The Church was so closely connected with the State that the ecclesiastical element cannot be ignored in histories that are not ecclesiastical; but I have endeavoured to encroach on this ground as little as possible. As time went on, the influence of the Greek Church became stronger, and consequently, with each succeeding century, church affairs claim a larger measure of a historian's attention. Hence in the latter part of this work the reader may expect to find more information on ecclesiastical matters than in the earlier.

The short chapters on life and manners consist of jottings, which could not be conveniently introduced into the narrative,

and were too characteristic to be omitted; they do not aim at any standard of completeness.

Both historians and classical scholars are divided on the question of the transliteration of Greek names. To be thoroughly consistent in the "new" spelling, one would have to speak not only of Athênai, but of Kônstantînupolis and Rhodos. Such apparitions on the pages of a book are intolerable to plain readers; and special difficulties arise in the case of Roman names of Greek-speaking individuals. I determined finally to be consistently Roman rather than either consistently or inconsistently Greek, and use, except in a few cases, the Latin forms, which, justified by the custom of many centuries, are more familiar to the eye. In some obvious cases, of course, it would be pedantic not to use forms which are neither Greek nor Latin, such as Constantine, Rhodes, or Rome. I confess that I was at first tempted to adopt the plausible compromise of Mr. Freeman; but an admirable article in the *Fortnightly Review* for January 1888, by Mr. R. Y. Tyrrell, confirmed me in the course which I have pursued. On the other hand, I have adopted Mr. Freeman's way of spelling Slave (for Slav). Speaking of Mr. Freeman, I am impelled to add that his brilliant and stimulating essays first taught me in all its bearings the truth that the Roman Empire is the key to European history.

In conclusion, I have to record my thanks to my wife, who contributes a chapter on "Byzantine Art" (vol. ii. p. 40 *sqq.*), and to Professor Mahaffy for his assistance in revising the proof-sheets and for valuable suggestions and corrections.

J. B. BURY.

24th June 1889.

ERRATA TO VOL. I.

Page 52, line 27 from top, *read* south-western course, and by the Propontis for south-eastern course.

„ 55, „ 34	„	<i>read</i> Augusteum again, will for Augusteum, again will.	
„ 57, „ 28	„	„ Chrysopolis	„ Chalcedon.
„ 160, „ 15	„	„ Dorystolon	„ Dorostylum.
„ 299, „ 26	„	„ Odessus	„ Odysus.
„ 323, note 1,	„	„ du Ménil	„ de Ménil.
„ 360, line 5	„	„ Silverius	„ Sylverius.
„ „ „ 9	„	„ „	„ „
„ „ „ 12	„	„ „	„ „
„ 386, note, line 2,	„	„ once—	„ once,
„ 395, line 10 from top,	„	„ Theudebert	„ Theudibert.
„ „ „ 24	„	„ „	„ „
„ 397, „ 6	„	„ „	„ „
„ „ „ 15	„	„ „	„ „
„ „ „ 19	„	„ „	„ „
„ „ „ 20	„	„ Theudebald	„ Theudibald.
„ „ note 6,	„	„ Theudebert	„ Theudibert.
„ 412, line 21	„	„ nephew	„ son.
„ 414, lines 3-4	„	„ Theudebald	„ Theudibald
„ „ line 6	„	„ „	„ „
„ 444, „ 13	„	„ the Hippis	„ Hippis.
„ 445, „ 9	„	„ at the Hippis	„ at Hippis.
„ 460, „ 8	„	„ at the Neocnus	„ at Neocnus.

TABLE OF THE DIVISIONS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

I

PREFECTURE OF THE EAST.

(*Praefectus Praetorio per Orientem.*)

DIOCESIS 1.—Oriens, under the *comes orientis*.

Provincia	I. Palaestina Prima,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Phoenicia Maritima,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	III. Syria Prima,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	IV. Cilicia Prima,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	V. Cyprus,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	VI. Arabia,	" <i>dux</i> .
"	VII. Isauria,	" <i>comes rei militaris</i> .
"	VIII. Palaestina Salutaris,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IX. Palaestina Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	X. Phoenicia Libanesis,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XI. Euphratesia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XII. Syria Salutaris,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XIII. Osrhoene,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XIV. Mesopotamia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XV. Cilicia Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .

DIOCESIS 2.—Aegyptus, under the *praefectus Augustalis*.

Provincia	I. Libya Superior,	under a <i>praeses</i> .
"	II. Libya Inferior,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	III. Thebais,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IV. Aegyptus,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Arcadia,	" <i>praeses</i> .

DIOCESIS 3.—Asiana, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Pamphylia,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Hellespontus,	" <i>consularis</i> .

Provincia	III. Lydia,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	IV. Pisidia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Lycaonia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VI. Phrygia Pacatiana,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VII. Phrygia Salutaris,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VIII. Lycia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IX. Caria,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	X. Insulae,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XI. Asia, ¹	" <i>proconsul</i> .

DIOCESIS 4.—Pontica, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Galatia,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Bithynia,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	III. Honorias,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IV. Cappadocia Prima,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Cappadocia Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VI. Pontus Polemoniacus,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VII. Helenopontus,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VIII. Armenia Prima,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IX. Armenia Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	X. Galatia Salutaris,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XI. Paphlagonia,	" <i>corrector</i> .

DIOCESIS 5.—Thracia, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Europe,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Thracia,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	III. Haemimontus,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IV. Rhodope,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Moesia Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VI. Scythia,	" <i>praeses</i> .

II

PREFECTURE OF ILLYRICUM.

(*Praefectus Praetorio per Illyricum*.)

DIOCESIS 1.—Macedonia, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Achaia, ²	under a <i>proconsul</i> .
"	II. Macedonia Prima,	" <i>consularis</i> .

¹ Asia was not under the control of either the *vicarius* of Asiana or the *praefectus praetorio per orientem*; but this is the most suitable place to in-

sert the province.

² The proconsul of Achaia, like the proconsul of Asia, was independent of vicar and prefect.

Provincia	III. Creta,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	IV. Thessalia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Epirus Vetus,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VI. Epirus Nova,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VII. Macedonia Salutaris, ¹	" <i>praeses</i> .

DIOCESIS 2.—Dacia.

Provincia	I. Dacia Mediterranea,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Dacia Ripensis,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	III. Moesia Prima,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IV. Dardania,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Praevalitana,	" <i>praeses</i> .

III

PREFECTURE OF ITALY.

(*Praefectus Praetorio Italiae*.)

DIOCESIS 1.—Italia, under the *vicarius Italiae*.

Provincia	I. Venetia (et Histria),	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Aemilia,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	III. Liguria,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	IV. Flaminia et Picenum Annon- arium,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	V. Tuscia et Umbria,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	VI. Picenum Suburbicarium,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	VII. Campania,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	VIII. Sicilia,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	IX. Apulia et Calabria,	" <i>corrector</i> .
"	X. Lucania et Bruttii,	" <i>corrector</i> .
"	XI. Alpes Cottiae,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XII. Raetia Prima,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XIII. Raetia Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XIV. Samnium,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XV. Valeria,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XVI. Sardinia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XVII. Corsica,	" <i>praeses</i> .

DIOCESIS 2.—Illyricum.

Provincia	I. Pannonia Secunda,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Savia,	" <i>corrector</i> .

¹ In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, part of Macedonia Salutaris is in the diocese of Macedonia and subject to the *praeses* of New Epirus, while the other part is in the diocese of Dacia and governed by the *praeses* of Praevalitana.

Provincia	III. Dalmatia,	under a <i>praeses</i> .
"	IV. Pannonia Prima,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Noricum Mediterraneum,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VI. Noricum Ripense,	" <i>praeses</i> .

DIOCESIS 3.—Africa, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Byzacium,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Numidia,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	III. Mauretania Sitifensis,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IV. Mauretania Caesariensis,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Tripolis,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VI. Africa, ¹	" <i>proconsul</i> .

IV

PREFECTURE OF GAUL.

(*Praefectus Praetorio Galliae*.)

DIOCESIS 1.—Hispania, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Baetica,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Lusitania,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	III. Gallaecia,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	IV. Tarraconensis,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Carthaginiensis,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VI. Tingitana,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VII. Insulae Balearum,	" <i>praeses</i> .

DIOCESIS 2.—Septem provinciae, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Viennensis,	under a <i>consularis</i> .
"	II. Lugdunensis Prima,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	III. Germania Prima,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	IV. Germania Secunda,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	V. Belgica Prima,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	VI. Belgica Secunda,	" <i>consularis</i> .
"	VII. Alpes Maritimae,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	VIII. Alpes Penninae et Graiae,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IX. Maxima Sequanorum,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	X. Aquitania Prima,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XI. Aquitania Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XII. Novempopuli,	" <i>praeses</i> .

¹ I insert the province of Africa here for the sake of symmetry; but the proconsul, like those of Achaia and

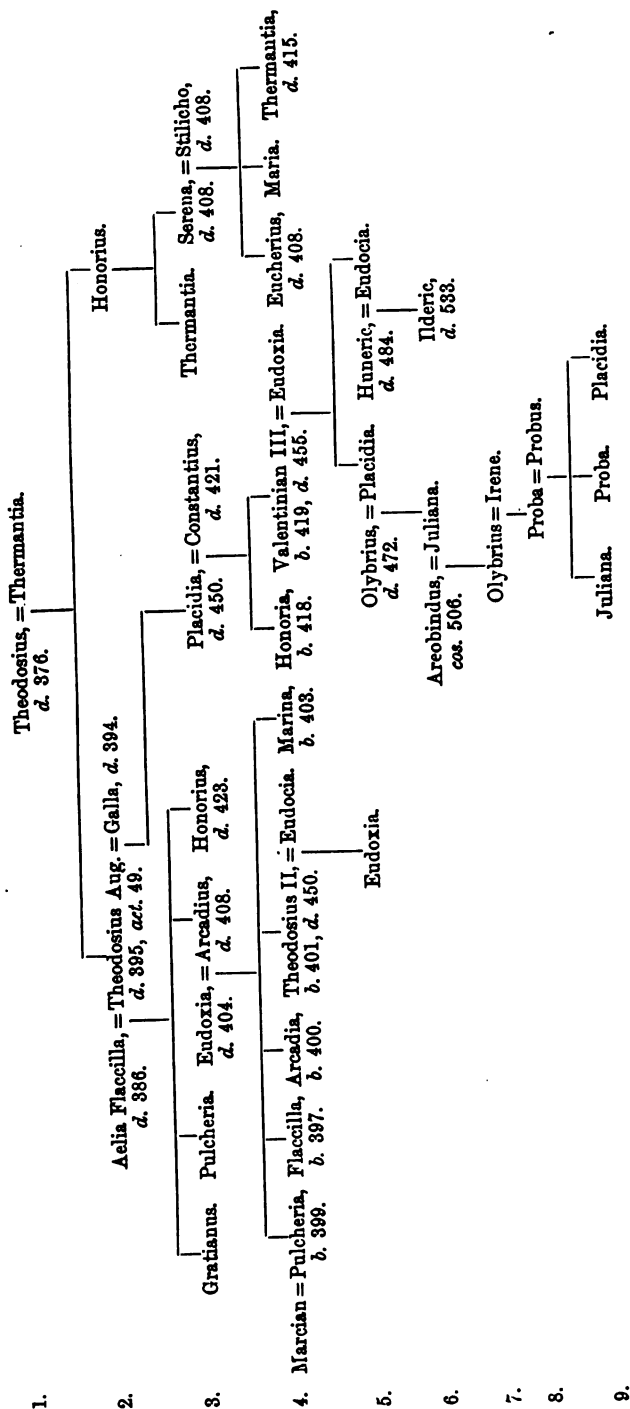
Asia, was independent of higher sub-imperial authority.

Provincia	XIII. Narbonensis Prima,	under a <i>praeses</i> .
"	XIV. Narbonensis Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XV. Lugdunensis Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XVI. Lugdunensis Tertia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	XVII. Lugdunensis Senonia,	" <i>praeses</i> .

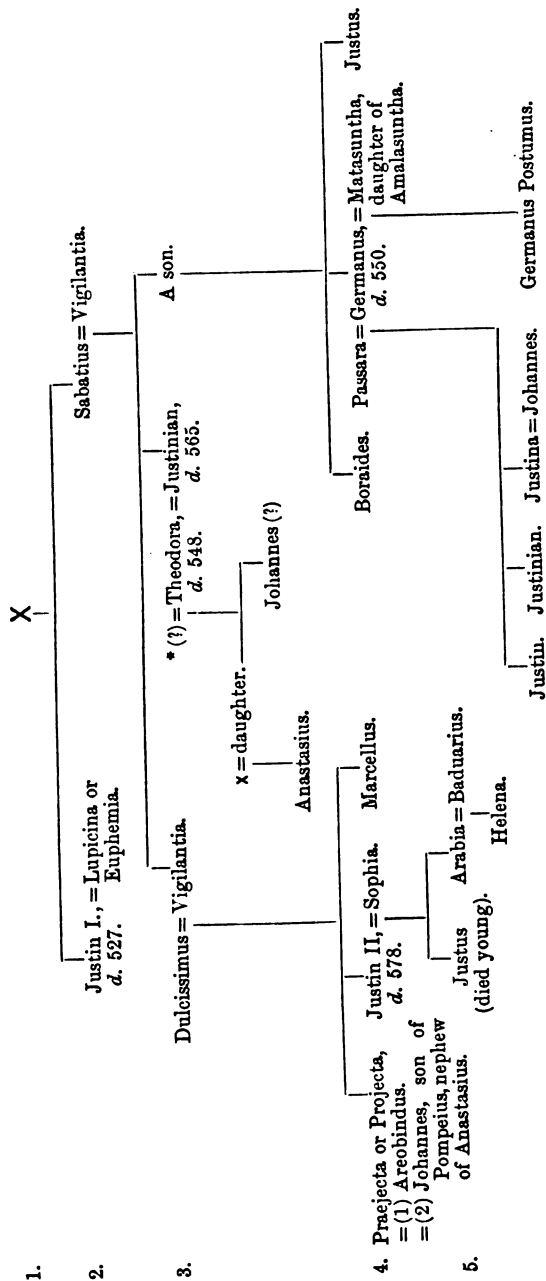
DIOCESIS 3.—Britanniae, under a *vicarius*.

Provincia	I. Maxima Caesariensis,	under a <i>praeses</i> .
"	II. Valentia,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	III. Britannia Prima,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	IV. Britannia Secunda,	" <i>praeses</i> .
"	V. Flavia Caesariensis,	" <i>praeses</i> .

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS



GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF JUSTIN



**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE FROM THE ACCESSION
OF ARCADIUS, 395, TO THE DEATH OF
JUSTINIAN, 565**

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
395	8-9	5887-8	Arcadius and Honorius.	
396	9-10	5888-9		Alaric in Greece.
398	11-12	5890-1		Gildo quelled in Africa.
399	12-13	5891-2		Fall of Eutropius.
400	13-14	5892-3		Revolt of Gainas.
402	15-1	5894-5		Battle of Pollentia.
404	2-3	5896-7		Exile of Chrysostom.
405	3-4	5897-8		Invasion of Radagaisus.
406	4-5	5898-9		Vandals, Suevians, etc., enter Gaul.
407	5-6	5899-900		Constantine proclaimed Emperor in Britain.
408	6-7	5900-1	Theodosius II.	Death of Stilicho. Alaric at Rome.
409	7-8	5901-2		Vandals, Suevians, etc., enter Spain.
				Alaric again at Rome.
410	8-9	5902-3		Alaric occupies Rome. Death of Alaric.
411	9-10	5903-4		Constantine the tyrant quelled in Gaul.
414	12-13	5906-7		Marriage of Athaulf and Placidia.
415	13-14	5907-8		Death of Hypatia at Alexandria.
417	15-1	5909-10		Marriage of Constantine and Placidia.
418	1-2	5910-1	Constantius III.	Settlement of Visigoths in Gaul by treaty.
421	4-5	5913-4		Hostilities with Persia. Theodosius II marries Athenais (Eudocia).
422	5-6	5914-5		Expedition of Castinus against Vandals in Spain.
423	6-7	5915-6		Death of Honorius.
424	7-8	5916-7	Valentinian III.	John usurps the throne at Ravenna.
425	8-9	5917-8		John overthrown.
429	12-13	5921-2		Vandals pass into Africa.
430	13-14	5922-3		Death of St. Augustine.

NOTE.—The indiction and the *annus mundi* (A.M.) are concurrent, both beginning on 1st September and ending 31st August. I have calculated the A.M. on the basis 5493, which

was adopted by the chronicler Theophanes, and differs from the more usual (Roman) Era of the Nativity (5509) by sixteen years.

A. D.	INDICATION.	A. M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
431	14-15	5923-4		Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus.
432	15-1	5924-5		Civil war in Italy between Aetius and Boniface.
435	3-4	5927-8		Treaty of Empire with Vandals.
438	6-7	5930-1		Publication of <i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .
439	7-8	5931-2		Carthage taken by Vandals.
441	9-10	5933-4		Empire at war with Vandals, Huns, and Persians.
447	15-1	5939-40		Peace of Anatolius (with Huns).
448	1-2	5940-1		Embassy of Maximin to Attila.
450	3-4	5942-3	Marcian.	
451	4-5	5943-4		Battle of the Catalaunian Field. Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon.
452	5-6	5944-5		Aquileia stormed by Huns. Attila in northern Italy.
453	6-7	5945-6		Death of Attila. Death of Pulcheria, Augusta.
454	7-8	5946-7		Death of Aetius.
455	8-9	5947-8	Maximus.	Gaiseric invades Italy and spoils Rome.
457	10-11	5949-50	Avitus. Leo I. Majorian. Severus.	
461	14-15	5953-4		
464	2-3	5956-7		Death of Aegidius.
465	3-4	5957-8		Great fire at New Rome. Death of Severus.
467	5-6	5959-60	Anthemius.	
468	6-7	5960-1		Great expedition against the Vandals.
471	9-10	5963-4		Execution of Aspar.
472	10-11	5964-5	Olybrius.	Death of Anthemius. Death of Ricimer.
473	11-12	5965-6	Glycerius.	Ostrogoths attack the Empire.
474	12-13	5966-7	Leo II. Zeno. Julius Nepos.	
475	13-14	5967-8	Romulus Augustulus. Basiliscus.	Basiliscus usurps and Zeno flees to Isauria. Orestes drives out Nepos.
476	14-15	5968-9		Romulus Aug. resigns and Odovacar rules in Italy as king.
477	15-1	5969-70		Restoration of Zeno. Death of Gaiseric.
478	1-2	5970-1		Ostrogoths under the two Theodorics in the Balkan peninsula, 478-481.
481	4-5	5973-4		Death of Theodoric, son of Triarius.
483	6-7	5975-6		Henotikon of Zeno.
484	7-8	5976-7		Revolt of Illus. Proclamation of Leontius.
489	12-13	5981-2		Theodoric (the Amal) overcomes Odovacar.
491	14-15	5983-4	Anastasius I.	
496	4-5	5988-9		Chlodwig subdues the Alemanni at Tolbiacum.

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
499	7-8	5991-2		Bulgarians invade Thrace.
502	10-11	5994-5		Bulgarians invade Thrace. War with Persia.
503	11-12	5995-6		Amida taken.
505	13-14	5997-8		Peace with Persia.
507	15-1	5999-6000		Erection of Anastasius' Long Wall. Chlodwig defeats Visigoths at Poitiers.
511	4-5	6003-4	Justin I.	Death of Chlodwig.
514	7-8	6006-7		Revolt of Vitalian.
518	11-12	6010-1		
526	4-5	6018-9		Death of Theodoric. Great earthquake at Antioch. War with Persia.
527	5-6	6019-20	Justinian I.	
529	7-8	6021-2		Code of Justinian published. Schools at Athens closed.
530	8-9	6022-3		Battle of Daras.
531	9-10	6023-4		Accession of Chosroes to the Persian throne.
532	10-11	6024-5		Nika sedition. Peace with Persia.
533	11-12	6025-6		Expedition against Vandals. Digest (Pandects) of Justinian published.
535	13-14	6027-8		Ostrogothic war begins. Belisarius in Sicily.
536	14-15	6028-9		Naples taken. Witigis elected king of Goths.
537	15-1	6029-30		First siege of Rome. Completion and dedication of St. Sophia.
538	1-2	6030-1		Siege of Ariminum.
539	2-3	6031-2		Capture of Milan, Faesulae, and Auximum by Romans.
540	3-4	6032-3		Ravenna taken. Belisarius' triumph. Ildibad, king of Goths. Chosroes invades Syria.
541	4-5	6033-4		Totila elected king of Goths. Chosroes invades Colchis. Belisarius in Mesopotamia.
542	5-6	6034-5		The Great Plague. Chosroes invades Commagene.
543	6-7	6035-6		The Roman armies invade Persarmenia. Naples surrenders to Totila. Death of St. Benedict.
544	7-8	6036-7		Chosroes invades Mesopotamia. Siege of Edessa. Belisarius arrives in Italy.
545	8-9	6037-8		Peace for five years with Persia. Totila lays siege to Rome.
546	9-10	6038-9		Totila takes Rome (December).
547	10-11	6039-40		Rome reoccupied by the Romans. Pope Vigilius arrives at Constantinople (February).
548	11-12	6040-1		Death of the Empress Theodora. Totila retakes Rome (third siege of Rome during this war). Conspiracy against Justinian.

A. D.	INDIC- TION.	A. M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
549	12-13	6041-2		Lazic war begins.
550	13-14	6042-3		Death of Germanus (nephew of Justinian).
551	14-15	6043-4		Naval battle of Sinigaglia. Sicily lost by the Goths. Capture of Petra by Romans.
552	15-1	6044-5		Narses arrives in Italy. Defeat and death of Totila.
553	1-2	6045-6		Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople. Teias defeated on the Draco. End of Ostrogothic war. Siege of Phasis.
554	2-3	6046-7		Great earthquake at Constantinople.
557	5-6	6049-50		Embassy of Avars to Constantinople.
558	6-7	6050-1		Invasion of Huns under Zabergan (date doubtful).
562	10-11	6054-5		Peace of fifty years with Persia. Verona and Brixia taken by Narses. Conspiracy against Justinian. Invasion of Huns.
565	13-14	6057-8		Death of Justinian (November). Death of Belisarius (March).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM

Transitional period of history—Greek *destiny* and christian *consolation*—Historical connection of Christianity with the past—Stoicism—Epicureanism—Decay of paganism—Attitude of christians to pagans—Legends of Cyprian and Macarius—Neoplatonism—Proclus Pages 1-16

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON SOCIETY

Christianity and the Teutons—Attractions of Christianity—Anchorets and monks—Position of women—Value of human life—Fraternity of mankind—Altruism—Sin 17-24

CHAPTER III

ELEMENTS OF DISINTEGRATION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Depopulation—Slave system—Fiscal and curial systems—Serfdom and colonatus—Reforms of Majorian—Germans in the Empire—*Semibarbari*—Christianity as a disintegrating force—Survey 25-36

CHAPTER IV

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

System of Diocletian—The senate and senators—Official titles—Change in nomenclature in the fourth century—Taxes—Grades of society—Praetorian prefects—Other ministers—Civil service—Education—Army . . . Pages 37-49

CHAPTER V

CONSTANTINOPLE

Choice of Constantine—Description 50-58

BOOK II

THE HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS

CHAPTER I

RUFINUS AND EUTROPIUS

Death of Theodosius I.—Arcadius—Rufinus—Stilicho—The Visigoths—Claudian—Huns in Syria—Eutropius—Revolt of Gildo 61-78

CHAPTER II

THE GERMANS IN THE EAST

Three parties at Constantinople—Aurelian—"Typhos"—Synesius—Revolt of Tribigild—Gainas—Fall of Eutropius—Danger from the Goths . . . 79-90

CHAPTER III

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

Court of Eudoxia—Chrysostom and his friends—His visit to Asia Minor—Theophilus—Monks of Nitria—Epiphanius—Synod of the Oak—Conflagration of St. Sophia—Chrysostom banished—St. Nilus—Byzantine Patriarchs—Relations of Old and New Rome—Death of Arcadius 91-106

CHAPTER IV

STILICHO AND ALARIC

Relations of Germans to the Empire—Visigoths in Italy—Battle of Pollentia—
 —Radagaisus—Relations of Stilicho and Alaric—Movements in Gaul—Death
 of Stilicho—Visigoths again in Italy—Alaric at Rome—Attalus—Death of
 Alaric Pages 107-122

CHAPTER V

THEODOSIUS II AND MARCIAN

Anthemius—Pulcheria—Athenais—Significance of reign of the younger Theodosius
 —Cyrus the prefect—University of Constantinople—*Codex Theodosianus*—
 Eudocia in Palestine—Her fall—Chrysaphius—Reign of Marcian . 123-136

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNINGS OF THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE

Barbarians in Gaul—Tyrants in Gaul—Constantine at Arelate—He wins Spain—
 Gerontius—Fall of the tyrants—Jovinus and Athaulf—Revolt of Heraclian—
 Visigoths in Gaul—Wallia—Constantius—Vandals and Suevians in Spain
 —Lands assigned to Visigoths and Burgundians—Local government in
 southern Gaul—Death of Constantius III—Placidia—Boniface—Death of
 Honorius—John the tyrant suppressed and Valentinian III proclaimed—
 Aetius 137-160

CHAPTER VII

INVASIONS OF THE HUNS

Rise of the Hun power—Relations with Vandals—Attila invades the Empire—
 Asemus—Peace of Anatolius—The Hun empire 161-166

CHAPTER VIII

THE PATRICIAN AETIUS

Africa—Boniface and Aetius—The Vandals—Burgundians and Alemanni—Theodor-
 ic the Visigoth—Aetius—Honorius—Attila—Battle of the Catalaunian
 Field—Huns take Aquileia—Death of Attila—Deaths of Aetius and Valen-
 tinian 167-183

CONTENTS

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

Relations of Church and State—Arian controversy—Christological problems—Nestorianism—Monophysitism—Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon—Henotikon—Great schism—Donatism—Pelagianism—St. Augustine, Pages 184-196

CHAPTER X

LIFE AND MANNERS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

Luxury of court and higher classes—Amusements—Relation of the visit of Porphyrius of Gaza to Byzantium—Paganism at Gaza—Birth and baptism of Theodosius II—Anthemius, a typical educated Byzantine—Alexandria—Hypatia—Antioch 197-212

CHAPTER XI

A GLIMPSE OF HUN LIFE

Embassy of Maximin to court of Attila, as related by his friend Priscus, 213-223

BOOK III

THE HOUSE OF LEO THE GREAT

CHAPTER I

LEO I

Theory of imperial succession—Aspar—Isaurians in army—Fall of Aspar—Policy and character of Leo—Loss of Jotaba—Great fire in Constantinople—Paganism—Death of Leo 227-233

CHAPTER II

RICIMER THE PATRICIAN

Maximus—Gaiseric in Italy—Avitus—Ricimer—Majorian—Severus—Count Marcellinus—Claims of Gaiseric—Anthemius—Great expedition of Leo against Vandals—Fall of Anthemius—Olybrius—Death of Ricimer . . . 234-249

CHAPTER III

ZENO

Leo II—Reign of Basiliscus—Restoration of Zeno—Great fire in Constantinople—Character and policy of Zeno—Hermatius—Illus—Verina—Revolt of Leontius and Illus—Pamphilius—Zeno's son—Death of Zeno, Pages 250-260

CHAPTER IV

THE OSTROGOTHS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

Battle of Nedao—Theodoric, son of Theodemir—Theodoric, son of Triarius—Alliance of Zeno with son of Theodemir—Alliance of two Theodorics—Alliance of Zeno and son of Triarius—Son of Theodemir in Epirus—Adamantius—Bulgarians 261-273

CHAPTER V

ODOVACAR THE PATRICIAN AND THEODORIC THE PATRICIAN

Glycerius—Julius Nepos—Euric—Orestes—Romulus Augustulus—Odovacar—So-called "Fall of Western Empire"—Odovacar, the successor of Merobaudes—Fall of Odovacar's kingdom and Theodoric in Italy—The Franks—Chlodwig—European geography in 500 A.D.—St. Severinus 274-289

CHAPTER VI

ANASTASIUS I

Anastasius—Isaurian war—Bulgarian invasions—The Long Wall—Recovery of Jotabe—Unpopularity of Anastasius—Revolt of Vitalian—Character of Anastasius—Chrysargyron—Marinus—Death of Anastasius 290-303

CHAPTER VII

THE PERSIAN WAR

The Sassanid dynasty—Isidore I. and Arcadius—War in 420-421 A.D.—Ephthalite Huns (Viddhal)—Perozes—Kobad—Mazdak, the communist—The war breaks out 502 A.D.—Siege of Amida—Amida recovered—Peace—Foundation of Anastasiopolis (Daras) 304-309

CHAPTER VIII

GREEK LITERATURE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

Decadence of literature—Influence of Christianity—Want of ideas and originality—Julian—Synesius—Proclus—Athens—Alexandria—Hypatia—Nonnus—*Christus Patiens*—Egyptian school of poetry—The romance—*Daphnis and Chlos*—Heliodorus—Achilles Tatius—Xenophon of Ephesus—History—Eunapius—Zosimus—Olympiodorus—Priscus—Malchus—Candidus—Latin literature—Claudian—Sidonius—Christian poetry. Pages 310-330

BOOK IV

THE HOUSE OF JUSTIN

PART I

THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF JUSTIN I.; AND THE EARLIER YEARS OF
JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

The sixth century—Reaction against Anastasius—Accession of Justinian—John of Cappadocia—Theodora—The Blues and Greens—Sedition of *Nika*—Fall of John of Cappadocia—Absolutism of Justinian—*Prælores plebis*—*Quæstor*—Imperial style 333-350

CHAPTER II

JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

Historical position of Justinian; his connection with the past and with the future—His artificial system—The *Secret History*—Johannes Lydus—The Empress Theodora—Character of Justinian 351-358

Appendix on the *Secret History* attributed to Procopius . . . 359-364

CHAPTER III

THE LEGAL WORKS OF JUSTINIAN

Codex—Digest—Institutes—Pythagoreanism—Roman law modified by history— Slavery	Pages 365-371
--	---------------

CHAPTER IV

FIRST PERSIAN WAR (528-532 A.D.)

Kobad and Justin—Outbreak of war—Battle of Daras—Battle of Callinicum— The endless peace	372-380
---	---------

CHAPTER V

THE RECONQUEST OF AFRICA AND ITALY

Ostrogothic kingdom—Theodoric—Amalasuntha—Vandalic war—Events in Africa after the Imperial Restoration—Gothic war—Conquest of Sicily and Dalmatia—Siege of Naples—Siege of Rome by the Goths—Siege and relief of Ariminum—Conquest of Milan and Liguria—Surrender of Faesulae and Auximum—Fall of Ravenna—Attitude of the Franks—St. Benedict, 381-398

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT PLAGUE

Significance of plagues—The account of Procopius	399-403
--	---------

CHAPTER VII

THE FINAL CONQUEST OF ITALY AND THE CONQUEST OF SOUTH-EASTERN SPAIN

Ildibad—The logothetes—Totila—Gothic power revives—Belisarius arrives in Italy—John, the nephew of Vitalian—Second siege of Rome—Belisarius at Portus—Policy of Totila—Recall of Belisarius—Third siege of Rome—Germanus—Narses—Defeat of Totila—Teias—Alemanni in Italy—Imperial conquest in south-eastern Spain—Reconquest by Visigoths	404-417
VOL. I	c

CHAPTER VIII

SECOND PERSIAN WAR (540-545 A.D.)

Saracens of Hira and Ghassan—Causes of war and fears of Chosroes—Chosroes invades Syria (540 A.D.)—He invades Colchis (541 A.D.)—Invades Commagene (542 A.D.)—Romans invade Persarmenia—Chosroes invades Mesopotamia—Siege of Edessa—Peace of 545 A.D. Pages 418-440

CHAPTER IX

THE LAZIC WAR (549-556 A.D.)

Gobazes seeks protection of Justinian—Dagisthaeus besieges Petra—Revolt of the Abasgians—Apsilia—Bessas besieges and takes Petra—Persian siege of Archaeopolis—The Island—Assassination of Gobazes—Trial of his assassins—Wiscard—Siege of Phasis—Expedition against the Misimiani—Peace of 562 A.D. 441-468

CHAPTER X

THE LATER YEARS OF JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

Justinian's imperial policy—Homerites—Heruls—Tetraxite Goths—Second period of the reign—Decay of the army—Silkworms brought to Europe—Buildings—Earthquakes—Conspiracy of Artabanes—Cotrigur and Utrigur Huns—Invasion of Zabergan—Last days of Belisarius—Death of Justinian, 469-482

BOOK I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM

IN the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. a great change came over the face of Europe; the political order of things was broken up. This movement ushered in the Middle Ages, and it presents a noteworthy parallel to that other great European movement which ushered out the Middle Ages, the movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by which the spiritual order of things was broken up. The atmosphere of the age in which the Empire of Rome was dismembered was the christian religion; the atmosphere of the age in which the Church of Rome was ruptured was the Renaissance of culture. The formation of independent Teutonic kingdoms in the earlier period corresponds to the Reformation in the later; in both cases the German spirit produced a mighty revolution, and in both cases the result was a compromise or division between the old and the new. The Roman Empire lived on in south-eastern Europe, even as the Catholic Church lived on, confined to a limited extent of territory; and there was a remarkable revival of strength, or reaction, in the fifth and sixth centuries at Constantinople, which, following out the parallel, we may compare to the Counter-reformation. And this analogy is not a mere superficial or fanciful resemblance; the same historical principle is involved. Christianity and the Renaissance performed the same functions; each meant the transformation of the spirit of the European world, and such a transformation was a necessary precursor of the disintegration of European unity, whether political or ecclesiastical. In the strength of ancient ideas lay the strength of the Roman

Empire; Christianity was the solvent of these ideas, and so dissolved also the political unity of Europe. In the strength of medieval ideas lay the strength of the Roman Church; the spirit of the Renaissance was the solvent of medieval ideas, and therefore it dissolved the ecclesiastical unity of western and northern Europe.

For the philosopher who looks upon the march of ideas over the heads of men the view of history is calm, unlike that of the troubled waters of events below, in which the mystic procession is often but dimly discerned. For him the spirit of old paganism departs before the approach of Christianity as quietly as the sun sinks before the sweeping train of night; and the dark glimmerings of the medieval world yield to the approach of the modern spirit as the stars "touched to death by diviner eyes" pass away before the rising sun. But to the historian who investigates the details of the process a spectacle is presented of contrast, struggle, and confusion; and its contemplation has a peculiar pleasure. For both the great periods, of which we have been speaking, were long seasons of twilight—the evening twilight and the morning twilight,—during which light and darkness mingled, and thus each period may be viewed in two aspects, as the end of an old, or as the beginning of a new, world. Now this doublesidedness produces a variety of contrasts, which lends to the study of such a period a peculiar interest, or we might say an aesthetic pleasure. We see a number of heterogeneous elements struggling to adjust themselves into a new order—ingredients of divers perfumes and colours turning swiftly round and blending in the cup of the disturbed spirit. The grand contrast of the old and the new in the fourth and fifth centuries stands out vividly; old and new nations as well as old and new religions are brought face to face. We see civilised Greeks and Romans, semi-civilised or wholly civilised Germans, Germans uncivilised but possessing potentialities for civilisation, Huns and Alans totally beyond the pale, moving to and fro in contact with one another. In the lives of individuals too we see the multiplicity of colours curiously reflected. St. Helena, the mother of an Emperor, makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, since Hadrian's time usually called Aelia Capitolina, and finds the relics of the true cross with a

thrill of overpowering delight, something like the delight that was felt by Renaissance scholars when an old Roman corpse was disinterred. Or we see Julian, a pagan philosopher, a noble man and an enlightened Emperor, trying to dislodge Christianity from the position it had won, and yet unable to avoid borrowing hints from it for his own system; just as in the writings of his friend, the anti-christian professor Libanius, we occasionally find an unconscious echo of the new religion. While the pagan Neoplatonist Hypatia is lecturing in the Museum at Alexandria, her semi-pagan pupil Synesius is a bishop at Cyrene. At Athens, now a fossilised provincial town, but still the headquarters of learning, paganism has its last stronghold; and even from this camp of heathenism the most christian Emperor, Theodosius II, obtains the daughter of a philosopher as his consort, and she, after her conversion to Christianity, writes religious poems composed of scraps of Homeric lines. St. Augustine, the poet Sidonius Apollinaris, and the poet Nonnus were, like Synesius, remarkable examples of persons who, born and reared pagans, turned in later life to the new faith; and the writings of these men illustrate the contrasts of the age.

The christian Church itself, it may be added, was full of contrasts just then; for the christian doctrine had not yet sunk, or risen, to the monotony of a formula. There were still many open questions, even for orthodox Athanasians; there was still room for the play of individuality. It has been noticed how heterogeneous in spirit were the writings of the Greek Church; we have "the zealous dogmatism of Epiphanius, the poetic speculation of Synesius, the philosophy of religion of Aeneas of Gaza and Nemesius, the sobriety of Theodoret, the mysticism of Pseudodionysios." Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus had been fellow-students of the pagan Julian at Athens; Chrysostom was a pupil of Libanius.

Thus the general impression we receive is one of contrast, and it is in the battle of conflicting elements that the keenness and quickness of life consist. But the conflict was carried on, and the quick life breathed in a gray, often murky, atmosphere, different from the brightness that lit up those other conflicts in Athens during the fifth century B.C., and in Italy during the fifteenth century A.D. There

was a general feeling of misfortune; the world-sadness pressed on the souls of all; and books were written to account for the woes that had come upon the human race. Nature too seemed to have prepared a dark background for the enactment of the miseries involved in the break-up of society and the incursions of the barbarians; plagues and earthquakes seemed to be signs of the times—like the tempest in *King Lear*, a suitable setting for the tragedy. The pagans of course were fain to attribute the misfortunes of the time to the new religion, and the “pale cast” of the spirit to the victory of the “pale Galilean.” But in history what men superficially connect as cause and effect are really both effects of some deeper cause. The world had grown gray independently of Christianity, and if it had not grown gray, Christianity would hardly have been possible—would not have had much meaning; it met the need of the world at the time.

For there are two ways in which we may intuit the world and avoid quarrelling with life. We can regard our experience as *destiny*—fortune and misfortune as alike determined for us by conditions beyond our control. It was in this objective way that the old Greeks regarded their experience, and in this way they were content; for it never occurred to them to exalt subjective wishes of their own in opposition to the course of destiny, and grieve because such wishes remained unachievable.

Otherwise we may feel our own subjective aims more keenly, and be unable to see them sacrificed without experiencing sorrow or even despair. In this case we shall need something in their stead to make us contented with life, we shall require a *consolation*. If circumstances render a man's life joyless and hopeless, it becomes endurable for him through the belief that another existence awaits him; the world is thereby rendered less unintelligible, or there is a hope of understanding it in due time; the heavy and weary weight seems less weary and heavy to bear; his belief is a consolation. The old Greeks needed no repentance and no consolation. The centuries from Alexander the Great to Marcus Aurelius were the time in which the thorns were penetrating. The ancient Greek spirit could indeed exclaim, “Oh, how full of briars is the working-day world!” but they

were only burs thrown upon it in holiday foolery, burs upon the coat that could be shaken off. The spirit of the later ages said, "These burs are in my heart." When Anaxagoras was informed that his son had died, he said, "I never supposed him to be immortal"; but a christian hermit, on receiving similar news in regard to his father, rebuked the messenger, "Blasphe me not, my father is immortal." The christian had a compensation for death which the heathen did not require.

Christianity provided the needed consolation.¹ But we must apprehend clearly the fact that the need had at one time not existed, and also the fact that it had come into existence in the regular course of the spiritual development of man. We are hereby reminded that if in one respect Christianity forms a new start in history, from another aspect it stands in close historical connection with the old Greek and Roman worlds; its philosophical doctrines are the logical end of the ancient Greek philosophy and the direct continuation of Stoicism and Epicureanism.

We may then first consider the connection of the new religion with the past, and its points of resemblance and contrast with the last form of pagan philosophy; and then, in another chapter, glance at the new departure made by Christianity and its most obvious influences on society.

The post-Aristotelian individualistic philosophies of Zeno, Epicurus, and the Sceptics were all characterised by the same motive. Their object was, not to understand the universe, but to secure for the individual the *summum bonum*; the end of philosophy was personal, no longer objective. It is from a similar cause that *philosopher* and *philosophical* in colloquial English are used in a degraded sense; we talk of "bearing pain like a philosopher."² We may contrast the apathy of Zeno, the freedom from affections which make us dependent on external things, with the metriopathy of Aristotle, who therein reflected the general spirit of the ancient Greeks. Epicurus placed the highest good in a deep haven of rest, where no waves wash and no sound is heard; his ideal too was

¹ The word *παράψυχή* had for the ancient Greeks nothing of the emotional import which Greek Christians placed in the word *παράκλητος*.

² We find *φιλοσοφῶ* used in this sense in Theophylactus Simocatta; e.g. viii. 11, 3, τὸ δυστήχημα. It has also another sense in the same author, *operam dare*.

mainly negative, freedom from bodily pain and mental trouble. These philosophies were over against the world rather than above it; the note of them was dissatisfaction with life and estrangement from the world.

This spirit, which set in as old Greek life was falling asunder, increased and became universal under the cold hand of Roman rule, which assorted well with the cold Stoic idea of φύσις, nature. It has been said that the early Empire, up to the middle of the second century at least, was a golden age of felicity, and we may admit that in some respects it did approach more than other ages to the ideal of utilitarians; but for thinkers it was not an age of felicity or brightness, heaviness was hanging over the spirit and canker was beginning to gnaw. The heavy cloud soon burst, and after the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Europe was a scene of general misfortune.

The philosophical attitude of the Stoics, whose tenets were more widely spread than those of any other school, could not be final; it naturally led to an absolute philosophy. For it disparaged the world and isolated the soul; but the world thus disparaged was a fact which had to be explained, and reason was constrained to complete its dialectic by advancing to repose itself in the Absolute or the One, just as in the eighteenth century the system of Kant necessitated the absolute philosophies of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel.

Or, to put it from a religious point of view, the individual's own soul was not found a sufficiently strong refuge. Some stronger and surer resting-place was needed, something above the world and not over against it. And so the spirit endeavoured to grasp itself anew. The new idea was the Logos; the new world was the kingdom of the Son. A need was felt for mediation—for a place or mansion as it were for the soul to be near God. This was the positive idea that animated the age of the Roman Empire and tended to supersede Stoicism; it was common to the system of Philo, to Gnosticism, to Christianity, and to Neoplatonism. And in Christianity, especially, approach to God seemed a sort of refuge, and the negative tendency, derived from the apathy of the Stoics and the unsociability of the Cynics, to flee from the environments of life, was very strong, and found its expression in monastic ideals.

Thus these philosophies of the Infinite were the sphere to

which the Stoic, Epicurean, and Pyrrhonic systems naturally led, by their own inherent defect. But we must now turn to the historical side and see how these late Greek thinkers prepared the way for the reception and spread of Christianity. It may be pointed out in a few words. In the first place, Epicureanism and Scepticism were atheistic and tended to discredit the popular beliefs in the pagan gods. In the second place, Epicureanism discredited devotion to one's country, and so, by uprooting patriotism, made the ground ready for the theory of universal brotherhood. In the third place, Stoicism, by its positive pantheistic theory and the surrender of the individual to the pulse of the universe, made a step towards the dependence of man on God's will or the doctrine of obedience, which is so cardinal in Christianity. And in the fourth place, the Stoic cosmopolitanism, combined with the Stoic theory of the law of nature, supplemented the non-patriotic sentiments of the Epicureans, and thus anticipated the christian embrace of all humanity. The fact that this Stoic theory affected the theory and practice of the Roman lawyers, and transformed the meaning of the phrase *jus gentium*, was an advance of the greatest importance in the same direction.

The resemblance between Christianity and Stoicism, which is in many points so striking, is sometimes unduly dwelt on. For if the Stoic and the Epicurean systems correspond to two different types of human nature, if some men are naturally stoical and others naturally epicurean, Christianity contained elements which attracted men of both these natures; as well as a stoical it had an epicurean side, and the second side should not be lost sight of.

For one of the most important elements in Christianity was the weight it gave to the tender affections, and one of the most attractive incidents in a christian life was the formation of a spiritual friendship or brotherhood. Now friendship and comradeship were regarded as most important elements in life by the Epicureans, beginning with the founder of the sect, who collected around himself a friendly society, while his disciples used to meet solemnly every month, and once a year in commemoration of his birth, in a manner which reminds us of the christian apostles meeting to commemorate their master. Friendship was a feature among the Epicureans as it was

among the Christians, but not so in the system of the independent and lonely Stoics.

And then we may say that the joint life of brethren in a monastery, which, in the western lands of the Empire, ultimately acquired in many cases a certain brightness and cheerfulness, corresponded to the Epicurean spirit; while the solitary life of hermits who fled from their fellows and mortified their bodies was derived from the spirit of Stoicism, tinctured with oriental asceticism, and sometimes degenerating into the life of Cynics, who were a sort of caricature of the Stoics.

A noteworthy difference between the two philosophies was that the Stoics looked back, while the Epicureans looked forward. The great poem of Lucretius is permeated with optimism, not indeed with the optimism which holds that there is more pleasure than pain in the world, but with an optimistic belief in human progress. The human race is represented as progressing, gradually freeing itself from the fetters of superstition and opening its eyes to a clearer view of truth. The Stoics, on the other hand, prefer to dwell on the glories and the heroes of the past, and care little to look forward; their pantheism did not lead them to an idea of progress. Now Christianity involved optimism in two ways. It not only involved happiness for believers in another life; it also involved the theory that the course of history had been one of progress, designed and directed by the Deity, and that the revelation of Christ had introduced a new era of advance for the world,¹ just as the teaching of Epicurus was hailed by followers like Lucretius as ushering in a new age. It was believed indeed that at any time the end of the world might come, and that a great change might take place; but, allowing for all differences, we cannot help perceiving that in the idea of the world's progress Christianity approaches more nigh to Epicureanism than to Stoicism.

And, in general, the heroism of the Stoics, even of the later and milder Stoics, was not a christian virtue; and man's dignity, which for Christians depended on his having a soul, was reduced by the feeling of his abasement before God. On the other hand, Christianity exalted the feminine un-Roman side of man's nature, the side that naturally loves pleasure

¹ This idea underlies St. Augustine's *de civitate Dei*. Ambrose, in his letters to Valentinian II, speaks of gradual progress, light coming out of darkness.

and shrinks from pain and feels quick sympathy,—in fact, the Epicurean side; and thus Mr. Walter Pater makes Marius, a natural Epicurean, or rather a refined Cyrenaic, turn by the force of that very nature, *anima naturaliter christiana* in Tertullian's words, to the new religion. This is the human, and to most men attractive, side of Christianity¹; it had another, an inhuman, side, of which I shall have to speak hereafter.

After the victory of Christianity, paganism was dying out, but even in the sixth century it was not yet dead. Towards the end of the fourth century Gratian gave up the title of Pontifex Maximus; the altar of Victory in the Senate House at Rome was removed, though Symmachus and the senators made an affecting appeal to spare it; the Olympic games were abolished, and the oracle of Apollo became silent. The effort of Julian, the last effort of the benighted faith, lured the exiled gods of Greece back for a moment to their ancient habitations. But the verses—*εἶπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ χαμαὶ πέσσε δαίδαλος αὐλά*, etc.—in which the Hellenic spirit uttered its latest breath, expressed the consciousness that the old things had passed away,—the laurel, the spring, and the emblems of paganism. "Tell the king, on earth has fallen the glorious dwelling"—the words have a dying fall; and with the song of Greece the gods of Greece also retreated down the vast and dreary edges of the world, which was no longer a meet habitation for the deities of Olympus. But the schools at Athens still flourished in the fifth century, and the pagans who taught there—as Leontius, Plutarch the philosopher, Proclus—were in no danger of suffering the fate of Hypatia at Alexandria. They were quietistic; they did not attempt to oppose the new faith, and the government wisely left them in peace.

The Christians themselves were not quite emancipated from the charm, or, as some thought, the evil glamour, of classical antiquity. The pagan rhetoric, with all its ornaments, was not dispensed with by the most learned christian divines. It was as dear to the heart of Chrysostom as to that of

¹ M. Édélestand du Méril says of Christianity: "Non seulement il minait par la base les deux grands empêchements de l'amour dans l'ancien monde, le laisser-aller de l'épicurisme au plaisir et les orgueilleuses indiffé-

ences du stoïcisme; il initiait l'Humanité tout entière à cette vie de l'âme que quelques sages avaient seuls encore soupçonnée." (Introduction to *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. c.)

Libanius, and Eusebius, the historian of Constantine, succeeded by its means in producing some effective passages. Similarly, Latin divines like Augustine and Salvian did not despise the science of style. But the art of the ancients had more than this external influence. Christians who had really a taste for art were, by embracing the new religion, placed in a spiritual difficulty. The new religion created a repugnance to the old fabulous mythology, as a sort of emanation from Tartarean powers, and to the old philosophies and modes of thought. There were not many like Synesius who could be both a Platonist and a Christian. There were not many even like Tertullian, who would admit that the best of the ancients possessed "a soul naturally christian." And yet in spite of themselves they could not put away a hankering after the classical art whose subject-matter was pagan myth and pagan history, now to be replaced by the truths of the Old Testament. St. Augustine felt a thrill, and deemed the thrill wicked, at such lines as—

infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae.

Jerome could not resist the fascination of Cicero. One Germanus, a friend of Cassian, had to confess with many tears that often, while he was engaged in prayer, the old heroes and heroines would pass into his soul, and the remembrance of the ancient gods disarrange his thoughts of God. Such asceticism as this was more common in the West than among the Greek-speaking Christians. It may be added that pagan symbols and mottoes were used on christian tombs, and pagan ideas adapted in christian art.

There is a legend which made its appearance about the fourth century, remarkable both in itself and as having been versified by the Empress Eudocia, the legend of Cyprian and Justina. It illustrates the thaumaturgy and the asceticism of the age as well as the conflict of Christianity and paganism, and is also interesting as presenting us with a prototype of Faust. Justina was a beautiful christian maiden of Antioch, passionately loved by a pagan youth Aglaides, who, unable to win her affections which were given to Christ, determined to move Acheron. For this purpose he engaged the services of Cyprian, a powerful magician, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and in the magic of the Chaldeans. But the demons of temptation that the wizard's art raised against Justina were

repulsed by the sign of the cross. Whereupon Cyprian, moved by the firmness and power of her faith, became enamoured of her, abjured his magic arts, and was baptized a Christian. Both he and Justina suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Diocletian. The vanity of all his arts and lore is described by Cyprian in a manner which reminds us of the opening lines of Faust's soliloquy in Goethe's drama. Pagan learning is associated with magic and powers of evil, and opposed to the light of Christianity. Another point in the contrast is the conception of a purified spiritual love opposed to the love of the carnal man which enlists the powers of darkness.

Regarding the dealings of holy men with demons, a curious tale is told of St. Macarius of Alexandria. He conceived the idea of visiting the garden and sepulchre (*képotaphion*) of Jannes and Jambros, magicians who had lived in the time of Pharaoh, that he might meet and make inquiries of the demons who had been lodged there by the art of the magicians. They had planted the garden with all sorts of trees, and surrounded it with a wall of square stones; they had built a tomb in it, wherein they placed rich treasure of gold, and had dug a great well—in hopes that after death they might luxuriate in this paradise. Macarius made his way, like a mariner at sea, by the guidance of the stars, and as he traversed the desert he stuck reeds in the ground at certain intervals to mark the way home. For nine days he crossed the desert, and as it was night when he reached the garden, he lay down and slept. But meanwhile the "wild demon" collected all the reeds, and when the saint awoke he found them lying in a bundle at his head. As he approached the garden seventy demons met him, shouting and gesticulating, leaping, and gnashing with their teeth: flying like crows in his face they asked him, "What want you, Macarius? why have you come to us?" He replied that he merely wished to see the garden and would leave it when he had seen it; whereupon the demons vanished. In the garden there was little to see; a bronze cask hung in the well by an iron chain worn by time, and a few dry pomegranates. Having satisfied his curiosity, Macarius returned to his cell.¹

As there were two sides to the old Greek religion—the ridiculous side which Lucian brought out so humorously, and

¹ Palladius, *Ἱστορία Λαοική*, ed. Meursius, 1616, p. 44 sqq.

the ideal but human side which made it lovely—there were two sides also to the christian religion. There was the ugly, inhuman side, from which the humanism of the fourteenth and fifteenth century revolted, manifested in extreme and grotesque asceticism, a sort of war with the instincts of humanity; and there was the consolatory side, the hopes which it offered to mankind, at that time almost weary of living. But in spite of the dismalness, as far as the world is concerned, of the Christianity of the time, when men even looked forward to a very speedy end of a universe which seemed a theatre of misery, we can see traces of cheerfulness and traits of human feeling in the Church, which had now outgrown the hopeful freshness that gave it such a charm in the first and second centuries. Christian women with gracious faces move before us, Olympias, Melania, Eudocia, though a lighter atmosphere seems to linger round the pagan ladies, Hypatia, Asclepigeneia, and Athenais.

It might be asked, was no middle course open? could not the attractions of paganism¹ be combined with the attractions of Christianity, and a new theory of life, combining the requisite consolation with the antique grace, be constructed? Neoplatonism might seem at first something of this kind. With a theology generically similar to the christian theology, it taught a high ideal of ethics, the practical aim being to purify the soul from the thralldom of matter by an ascending series of cleansing processes, so that it might finally, by a sort of *henosis* or at-one-ment, become conscious of the Absolute. But it is clear that Neoplatonism involved the same essential opposition which was involved in Christianity, the opposition of soul and body, and therefore must logically lead to the same cast of inhumanity, tinctured with cynicism. Theoretically, indeed, soul and body were two terms in a descending series, but practically they were opposed. And so, although the new philosophers, who studied Plato and Pythagoras and Aristotle and old Orphic mysteries, might invest their doctrine with an antique borrowed charm, they were really as much children of the gray time they lived in as the Christians. But they were recognised opponents; in such a spirit Augustine speaks of Plotinus and Porphyrius, and the

¹ At this period the pagan ritual endeavoured to seduce men's senses and maintain itself by brilliant forms of worship (*cf.* Richter, *Das weströmische Reich*, p. 550).

massacre of Hypatia at Alexandria was a manifestation of the antagonism.

Proclus, the last original Greek philosopher, lived at Athens throughout the greater part of the fifth century (410-485). Born in Lycia, he was dedicated by his parents to Apollo, for it behoved (as we are told by his biographer Marinus, whose work is full of interesting incidents and traits) that one who was to lead all sciences should be reared and educated under the god who leads the Muses. He studied rhetoric at Alexandria and philosophy at Athens, where, under the guidance of the old philosopher Plutarchus and his daughter Asclepigeneia, he was initiated in the mysteries of Platonism. We must glance at the system of Proclus, the last term in the history or chain of Greek philosophy. In a general history we cannot go into its difficult details, but we must take note of its leading features; for a historian of any particular state of the world is concerned with the way in which a thinker placed therein approaches metaphysical problems. It might even be said that we must go to the philosophers, as to mystics, in order to understand the real forces that underlie the history of a time, and determine even events like a war or a revolution. The men who act in history, the men who "make history," have only to do with this treasure, or this kingdom, or this woman¹; the philosopher has not to do with this and that, but has to become a witness of the processes of the spirit in which this and that are nothing more than this and that. So in reading a philosophy we are getting at the secret of the age, and learning the manner in which the spirit contemplated itself at the time.

Proclus understood Plato more thoroughly and worked more in his spirit than his great predecessor Plotinus, on whom he made a marked advance in many respects. If Plotinus is the Schelling of Neoplatonism, Proclus is its Hegel. There was an unreduced surd in Plotinus and a certain cloudiness in his system, a sediment as it were in the bottom of the cup which clouded the liquid to a certain degree. The sediment disappears in Proclus, the wine is strained and clarified; he presents us with a thoroughly articulated system, that bears a distinct resemblance in its method to Hegel's Logic.

¹ See Hegel, *Werke*, xv. p. 96.

Proclus, like Plotinus, started with the One or the Absolute, that which cannot be called Being, for it is beyond Being, and cannot be called intelligent, for intelligence is too low a category to assert of it. It is the source of all things, and yet it would be improper to assert cause of it; it is a cause and yet not cause, *ἀναιτιώως αἰτιον*. Now from the One, according to Plotinus, emanates an image which, through and in the act of turning towards the One from which it emanates, is Nous or Thought. This is the point at which Proclus makes a new departure. The immediate procession of the Nous from the One rests on a confusion, a middle term is required, and Proclus interposed the *henads* between them—a plurality of ones, whereby alone there can be participation in the One. The doctrine of the henads is the philosophical analogue of the famous *filioque* clause in the Latin creed; as the holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father alone, but from the Father and Son, so the Nous or Spirit proceeds not from the One directly, but from the One and the company of henads. The henads he terms Gods. Next to them, and third in the descending line, comes the sphere of Nous, differentiated into numerous categories arranged in triads. It is this triadic arrangement, of which we find the origin in Plato, that reminds us of the Hegelian system. From the intellectual world emanates the fourth term, Soul; and here he repeats his triple division, assuming three kinds of souls, divine, human, and demonic. Fifth and last in the scale comes Matter.¹

This process of development is one of descent from higher to lower. There is a reverse process, the *epistrophe* or turning back; and this process is performed by the soul, when in the study of philosophy it turns to the intellect from which it came forth, and in whose nature it shares. Thus it is the aim of the "musical" or cultured soul to retrace the world-process in which it is involved.

In the hymns of Proclus, which he wrote under the inspiration of older Orphic hymns, and in which he celebrated all kinds of strange deities—for he used to say that a philosopher should not confine himself to the religious ideas of one people, but be "a hierophant of the world,"—he emits some of that

¹ Hierarchical scales were a feature of the period; they meet us in the military, civil, and ecclesiastical organisations, as well as in Neoplatonism.

mystic emotion with which the philosophical writings of Plotinus are suffused, but of which we can find little in his own severe treatises. For Plotinus, like Empedocles or Spinoza, often seems in a sort of divine intoxication, and the severity which attends undisturbed contemplation was lighted up, shall we say, or shadowed, by his enthusiasm as a combatant against the new religion. In his time, before Christianity attained its dominant position, no thinker with native enthusiasm could fail to be drawn into the vortex of the contending theories of the world. But in the fifth century the only thing left for non-Christian philosophers was quietism. Out of the world, "a solitary worker in the vast loneliness of the Absolute," Proclus was able to develop the timeless and spaceless triads, and study the works of Plato with a leisure and severity that Plotinus could hardly realise. Most of his works assume the modest form of commentaries on Plato.

The practical end of the Neoplatonists was, like that of the Stoics, *ataraxia*, freedom from disturbance; and this they thought was obtained by contemplation, herein agreeing with the Aristotelian ideal of the "theoretic life." Thus they differed from both Stoics and Christians. For the Stoic and the Christian, theorising—the study of pure metaphysics—is valuable only as a means to right conduct, a sort of canonic for ethics; but for the Neoplatonist the practice of the ethical virtues is subsidiary to the contemplation of the metaphysical truth which is the end. And thus, although it had an atmosphere of religion about it, Neoplatonism was and could be strictly no more and no less than a philosophy. Stoicism had perhaps a larger number of the elements of a religion, and yet it too was only for the sage.

There is a certain contrast and there is also a certain analogy between the course of development of Christianity and that of Neoplatonism. As Christians had been divided into Athanasians and Arians, so Neoplatonism may be said to have fallen asunder into two divergent schools. There were the soberer and truer followers of Plotinus, among whom Hypatia may be mentioned, and there were the wilder mystical speculators like Iamblichus and the writer on Egyptian Mysteries. Thus the divergency from orthodox Neoplatonism was into the realm of the imagination; the divergency from orthodox Christianity was

into the realm of the understanding. Among the new Platonists there were no rationalists like the Arians; and we may be sure that men of a cold logical temper, on whose faith the creed of Nicaea laid too heavy a burden, were more inclined to embrace the modified form of Christianity than any form of the new pagan philosophy.

Again, the minute determination of the nature of Christ in the fifth century, through the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, was almost¹ the last period in the development of christian doctrine, just as the minute determination of the higher categories by Proclus was the final stage of the development of Neoplatonic thought. The first great inspiration, which in its ardour could not tolerate, or rather did not think of, precise analysis of ideas, had passed away, and men were able to reason things out more calmly and realise the subtler difficulties.

What, it may be asked, was the historical result for mankind of the new philosophy and the new religion? The presence of the Infinite, whether to an individual or a race, is bought at a great cost. Humanity seeks a deliverer; it obtains a deliverer and a tyrant. For the Infinite, having freed the human mind from the bonds of the finite, enslaves it unto itself, like a true tyrant; we may say, and the paradox is only apparent, that the human mind was cabined by the Infinite. Thought was rendered sterile and unproductive for centuries under the withering pressure of an omnipresent and monotonous idea. But through this *selva oscura* lay the path from ancient to modern civilisation, and few will be disposed to assert with Rousseau and Gibbon that the cost was greater than the gain.

¹ The monothelotic dispute in the seventh century, set at rest by the sixth Ecumenical Council, was actually the last stage in christological controversy; but it was really only a corollary to the monophysitic question.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON SOCIETY

HAVING seen how closely Christianity was connected with the past ages of civilised Europe, whose beliefs it superseded, we must glance at its other historical aspect, in which it appears as a new departure. It has been said that the function of the German nations was to be the bearers of Christianity. The growth of the new religion was indeed contemporary with the spread of the new races in the Empire, but at this time in the external events of history, so far from being closely attached to the Germans, Christianity is identified with the Roman Empire. It is long afterwards that we see the mission fulfilled. The connection rests on a psychological basis; the German character was essentially subjective. The Teutons were gifted with that susceptibility which we call heart, and it was to the needs of the heart that Christianity possessed endless potentialities of adaptation. From the very first German princesses often embraced Christianity and adorned it, but it required many centuries for those nations to be regenerated by its influence. Yet even in the exclamation of the rude barbarian Chlodwig, when he heard the story of Christ's passion, "If I had been there with my Franks, I would have revenged his injuries!" we feel the presence of this heart, in its wild state, which Christianity was destined to tame. To an old Roman, like Aurelian or Constantine, such an exclamation would have been impossible. Christianity and Teutonism were both solvents of the ancient world, and as the German nations became afterwards entirely christian, we see that they were historically adapted to one another.

This aspect of Christianity as the religion of the future has brought us to consider it as a religion rather than as a theology, in which light its connection with the past naturally exhibited it. As a religion it was a complete novelty, and was bound to displace Stoicism and Neoplatonism. Stoicism was indeed practical, but it could only be accepted by a man of more than average intellect, while Christianity descended to the dull and the uneducated. Stoicism aimed at stifling the emotions and repressing the affections; Christianity cherished the amiable affections, and was particularly suited to be understood and embraced by women and children who, according to Aristotle, are creatures of passion, as opposed to men who are capable of living by reason. We must now point out some of the leading changes which Christianity produced in society, having first considered why Roman society adopted it.

What induced the civilised world to be converted to Christianity is a question that naturally suggests itself. Mr. Lecky tells us that it was not from conviction after careful sifting of evidence that men believed it; it was rather because they wanted to believe something, and Christianity was the best they found. It was consoling; it had an oriental flavour, and yet was not wrapped in such an envelope of mystic theosophy as to preclude it from acceptance by European minds. But it was, above all, I think, the cheerful virtue of the christian life that exercised a fascination on the cultured, and a passage in the *Confessions* of Augustine seems worthy of special remark.¹ Having stated that the christian life attracted him, he says:—

“Aperiebatur enim ab ea parte qua intenderam faciem et quo transire trepidabam, casta dignitas continentiae, *serena et non dissolute hilaris*, honeste blandiens ut venirem neque dubitarem et extendens ad me suscipiendum et amplectendum pias manus plenas gregibus bonorum exemplorum.”

“In the direction where I had set my face, and whither I was hastening to cross over, there was exposed to my view a chaste and dignified temper of self-restraint, serene and cheerful but never dissolute, honourably enticing me to come without hesitation, and holding out to embrace and receive me affectionate hands, full of good examples.”²

¹ viii. 11.

² It might seem that the Roman

Empire might have attained of itself to this gentleness of manners, as it

But beside this ideal of a calm and cheerful social life there was the ideal of the ascetic and unsocial life of the hermit, which exercised a sort of maddening fascination over countless men of high faculties. The object of the hermit was to free himself from temptations to sensuality¹; and thus the men who embraced such a life were probably, in most cases, men of strongly-developed physical passions, seized with a profound conviction of the deadliness of impurity. They were therefore generally men of robust frame, and this may explain how they could live so long under privations and endurances which seem sufficient to bring the life of an ordinary man to a speedy end. A rage for the spiritual life, far from the world, seized on individuals of all classes. In the sixth century an Ethiopian king, Elesbaa, abdicated his throne to retire to fast and pray in the desert, where he lived as a saint of no ordinary sanctity and power. In the reign of Theodosius the Great, a beautiful young man, who attained to the highest political offices, suddenly bade good-bye to his family and departed to Mount Sinai, stricken with a passion for the desert. But we need not enumerate here the countless disciples of St. Antony and St. Pachomius²; they meet us at every page of history.

In the same way among women the horror of unchastity—of desecration of the body, the temple of the soul—which had taken possession of the age with a sort of morbid excess, led to vows of perpetual virginity, and even children were dedicated in their infancy with a cruel kindness to a life of monasticism.³ When we regard the effects of these habits, we observe, in the first place, that the great value set by the triumphant Church on the unmarried life must have conduced to depopulation; and in the second place, that the refusal of the most spiritually-minded in the community to assist in

advanced in civilisation and enjoyed a long peace; and it did tend in that direction, as we can see by the mild character of later Stoicism. But, as Lecky points out, there were three great checks on such a tendency (*History of European Morals*, i. 287)—(1) the imperial system itself—the cruelty of emperors worshipped as gods; (2) the institution of slavery; (3) the continuance of the gladiatorial shows.

¹ Evagrius describes how certain

monks of Palestine succeeded so well in their endeavours to mortify the flesh that they became unconscious of the differences of the sexes (*Hist. Ecc.* i. 21).

² The coenobitic monks who lived together in cells in the desert were practically hermits.

³ I do not propose to illustrate at length this subject, of which long accounts and numerous anecdotes may be found in any ecclesiastical history.

reproduction must have contributed to a decrease in really spiritually-minded persons, on the principle of heredity. If the best refuse to have children, the race must decline. It would be an error, of course, to insist too much on the distant effects of celibacy, but it cannot be overlooked that these were its natural tendencies. When Jerome remarked that in one respect marriage was laudable, because it brought virgins into the world, he did not see that the observation was really a retort upon his own position.

This unsocial passion invaded family life, and must have caused a considerable amount of suffering. Among the most pathetic incidents in the history of the growth of Christianity were those of the great gulf fixed between husbands and wives by the conversion of the latter. And after Christianity had prevailed, parents of average notions have been often filled with despair when a divine longing for the lonely life came upon their children.

The position of women was considerably changed by Christianity. Their possession of immortal souls equalised them with the other sex, and an emancipation began, which has since indeed progressed but slowly, by the recognition that they had functions beyond those of maternity and housewifery. In fact, those Christians who did not approve unreservedly of celibacy considered that the chief end of marriage was not production of children, but rather to be a type of the primitive union of human society.¹ This theory set women and men on an equal footing. St. Chrysostom expressed himself strongly on this subject. In a letter to a Roman lady he said that nature had assigned domestic duties to women and external duties to men, but that the christian life extended woman's sphere, and gave her a part to play in the struggles of the Church.² This part was that of the consoler and "ministering angel." And thus, to use a cant phrase of the present day, woman was admitted to have a "mission." Olympias, the friend of Chrysostom, was a lady of the new type.

As in the present day, the admiration of enthusiastic women for saints and priests was unbounded. Jerome had a spiritual circle of women about him in Old Rome, and Chry-

¹ See Ozanam, *La civilisation au cinquième siècle*, part ii. p. 81.

² Tertullian wrote a book on the duties of a christian woman.

sostom was the centre of similar attentions from ladies in New Rome. The name *auriscalpius*, or ear-picker, was given to a priest who was noted for his successes in making such spiritual conquests. The new view of women's position must have tended to make them more independent, just as does nowadays the spread of more liberal theories on women's education; and old-fashioned people probably looked with horror on the life of deaconesses as implying an immodest surrender of female retirement. That many of these religious sisters did become really "fast" in dress and behaviour we know from the letters of Chrysostom.

One of the most far-reaching changes introduced by Christianity into the conduct of life was the idea that human life as such was sacred; an idea distinctly opposed to the actual practice of the pagans, if not quite novel to them. This idea, in the first place, altered the attitude to the gladiatorial shows, and although they were not immediately abolished on the triumph of Christianity, they became gradually discredited and were put down before the end of the fourth century. As these amusements were one of the chief obstacles to the refining and softening influences of Roman advanced civilisation, we can hardly rate too highly the importance of this step.¹ Again, the attitude towards suicide, which the pagans, if they did not recommend it, at least considered venal,² was quite changed by the new feeling, and became a heinous crime, which was hardly condoned even to heroic christian maidens, though it were the only means of preserving them from dishonour. Another corollary from the respect for inviolability of life was the uncompromising reprobation of all forms of removing unwelcome children by exposition, infanticide, or even abortion.

Along with this negatively working idea of the sanctity of life was the other idea which succeeded and elevated Stoic cosmopolitanism, the idea that all men are brothers bound by

¹ Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, ii. p. 279, says of the deleterious effects of the games: "Sie erfüllten die geistige Atmosphäre Roms mit einem Ansteckungsstoff, dessen Einflüsse selbst hohe Bildung und bevorzugte Lebensstellung nicht zu brechen vermochten, für die

auch das andre Geschlecht nur zu empfänglich war."

² Plotinus forbade suicide on the ground that it entailed a disturbance which infected the purity of the soul. Stoics looked upon the possibility of self-destruction as a gauge of their independence.

a common humanity. Besides softening to some extent the relation between the Roman world and the barbarians, this idea had a considerable effect within the Empire itself on the position of slaves, who as men and members of the christian Church were the brothers of their masters and on an equality with them. This both improved the condition of slaves and promoted to some degree a decrease of slavery and an increase in the frequency of emancipation. Beyond this, it penetrated and quickened all the emotions of life and furthered the cultivation of the amiable side of human nature.

Yet we can hardly say that there was much altruism in early christian society, in spite of the altruistic tendencies of Christ's teaching. There were abundant instances of self-sacrifice for others, but they were not dictated by the motive of altruism; they were dictated by the motive of a transfigured selfishness which looked to a reward hereafter, by the desire of ennobling and benefiting one's own soul. The impossible and, as Herbert Spencer has shown, undesirable aim of loving one's neighbour as oneself, in the literal sense of the words, was not attained or even approached by the saints. Many people in modern England come far nearer to the realisation of the idea than they did. Alms, for example, were not given merely out of pure and heartfelt sympathy for the poor: they were given for the benefit of the giver's soul, and to obtain the prayers of the recipients who, just because they happened to be poor, were supposed to be not far from the kingdom of heaven.

The ideas of sin and future punishment, enforced by an elaborate legislature regulating degrees of sin and the corresponding penances, were another great novelty of Christianity, raising as it were the elaborate ritual of pagan ceremonies of purification into the spiritual sphere, where evil thoughts were wellnigh as black as evil acts. The tortures of hell gave a dark tint to the new religion, which to natures of melancholy cast made it a sort of haunting terror; while the claims of Christianity to dominate the most trifling deed and smallest thought, leaving almost no margin for neutral actions, tended to make the dread of sin constant and morbid.

And here we have touched on a side of Christianity which was distinctly unreasonable and would have revolted the clear intellect of a healthy Greek. The idea that God's

omniscience takes account of the smallest and meanest details of our lives, and keeps, as it were, a written record of such nugatory sins against us, would have appeared utterly absurd, as well as a degradation of the Deity, to an old Greek possessed of the most elementary culture. It is an idea that cannot well be accepted by the reason of the natural man; and, like that other idea of extreme asceticism which led to a solitary life, equally repugnant to Hellenic reason, it was carried to excess by the Christians. For like all true lovers, the true lovers of God "run into strange capers." And while to many this idea was welcome, as bringing them into close and constant relation with the Deity, as making them feel his presence, to some Christians the divine supervision of trifles must have been felt as an oppressive tyranny. And the Church was able to enforce its moral laws by fear of the ultimate and dreaded penalty of excommunication which made the criminal an outcast from society, avoided and abhorred.

In forming an idea of the christian society and sentiments of the early ages, we must not forget that the believers of those days realised far more vividly than the believers of our days the realities of their religion. While the conceptions of the saints were confined to a smaller sphere of observed facts, their imaginations had a wider range and a greater intensity. The realm of scientific knowledge was limited; and therefore the field of fancy which they inherited, the field of divine or automatous intimations, was all the more spacious. They were ever contending or consorting with the demons or angels of imagination, now uplifted and rejoicing in the radiant raptures of heaven, now labouring and heavilyladen in the lurid horrors of hell. This variation between two extreme poles—between a dread of God's wrath and a consciousness of his approval—which produced the opposing virtues of christian pride and christian humility, was alien to the Hellenic instinct which clung to the mean (*τὸ μέσον*). The "humble man" of the Christians would have been considered a vicious and contemptible person by Aristotle, who put forward the "man of great spirit" (*ὁ μεγαλόψυχος*) as a man of virtue.

This chapter may be concluded with the remark that a considerable change had come over Christianity itself since its first appearance. It had lost the charm that attended the

novelty of the first revelation ; the flower of its youth had faded. The christian temperament could not be unaffected by the cold winter waves that washed over the world in the fourth and fifth centuries ; and although the religious consolation remained, the early cheerfulness—cheerfulness even under persecution—and the freshness which contrasted pleasantly with the weary pagan society were no longer there.

CHAPTER III

ELEMENTS OF DISINTEGRATION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE most obvious element of weakness in the Roman Empire was the increasing depopulation. The vitality of a state depends ultimately on the people, and from the time of Augustus, who was obliged to make special laws to encourage reproduction, to the time of Marcus Aurelius the population steadily decreased. In the reign of Aurelius the great plague inflicted a blow which the Empire was never able to recover, as it was involved in a continuous series of evils, the wars of the third century, until the time of Constantine. The original cause of depopulation in Italy was the slave system, which ruined the middle class of small proprietors and created a proletariat. A similar tendency manifested itself in the East under Roman rule, though in a lesser degree; and the financial policy of the later Empire, which maintained oppressive taxation by means of the "curial system," effectually hindered the population from recovering itself. Thus to the social cause which had operated for a long time was added in the fourth century a political cause, and just as the first was an indispensable element of Roman society, the second soon became indispensable to the Roman administration.

Moreover, the only remedy which the government could apply to meet the evil was itself an active element of disintegration. This was the introduction of barbarians as soldiers or agriculturists (*coloni*) into the Roman provinces.

Thus slavery and oppressive taxation, the causes of depopulation, and the importation of barbarians, the remedy of depopulation, may be looked on as three main elements of

disintegration in the Empire. A fourth element was the christian religion which, while it was entirely opposed to the Roman spirit which it was destined to dissolve, nevertheless was not theoretically opposed to the Empire and the imperial administration. We may take these four points in order :

(1) It was a consequence of the slave system that those great estates which, according to an ancient writer, ruined Italy were formed, and swallowed up the small proprietors. It is important to note precisely how this effect took place. In time of war all free proprietors, rich and poor alike, were obliged to take the field ; but while the land of the rich, who employed slaves to cultivate it, was not affected by this circumstance, the lands of the small farmers, who had no staff of slaves, remained uncultivated during their absence. This fact, in a time when wars were frequent, tended directly to reduce the petty proprietors to beggary and add to the wealth of the rich capitalists. Another effect of wars, which conduced to the same result, was that the ranks of the small farmers were decimated, while the numbers of the slaves, who did not serve in the army, multiplied. We must also remember that a bad harvest raised prices then to an extent that appears now quite enormous ; so that the small farmer was obliged to buy corn at an exorbitant price, and, if the harvest of the following year turned out very successful, prices descended so low that he was unable even to reimburse himself.¹

Besides destroying the middle class, the slave system facilitated and encouraged the unproductive unions of concubinage, and these to the self-indulgent were more agreeable than marriage, which entails duties as well as pleasures. This convenient system naturally confirmed and increased the spirit of self-indulgence, and also increased its psychological concomitant, cruelty or indifference, which tended to keep up the practice of exposing infants, a direct check on population.

Under the Empire even the number of the slaves decreased. For to purchase slaves in the markets of the East the precious metals were requisite, since the produce of the West did not readily find a sale in the East, and the supply of gold and silver was declining, especially after the time of Caracalla, as is proved

¹ I have availed myself here of the acute remarks of von Jhering on the *Quellen des Pauperismus* in his *Geist des römischen Rechts*, vol. ii. p. 237 sqq.

by the great depreciations of coinage.¹ This diminution in the number of slaves led to the rehabilitation of free labour; but the freemen were soon involved in the meshes of the caste system which reduced them not to slavery, but to serfdom.

(2) It was in the times of Diocletian and Constantine that the municipal institutions of the Empire were impressed with the fiscal stamp which characterised them henceforward. During the three preceding centuries the provinces had gone through much tribulation, of which Juvenal, for example, gives us a picture; but this oppression was at least mitigated by the fact that it was not legal, and it was always open to the provincials to take legal proceedings. Nor was extortion always countenanced by the Emperors; it is recorded that Tiberius found fault with the prefect of Egypt for transmitting to Rome an unduly large amount.²

But at the beginning of the fourth century the old municipal curia or senate was metamorphosed into a machine for grinding down the provincial proprietors by a most unmerciful and injudicious system of taxation. The curia of a town consisted of a certain number of the richest landowners who were responsible to the treasury for a definite sum, which it was their business to collect from all the proprietors in the district. It followed that if one proprietor became bankrupt the load on all the others was increased. The provincials had two alleviations. The first was that a revision of taxes took place every fifteen years, the so-called *indiction*,³ which became a measure of time, and thus there was a prospect that an excessive burden might be reduced. The second consisted in the institution of the *defensores*, persons nominated to watch over the interests of the provincials and interfere in behalf of their rights against illegal oppression.⁴ On the other hand we must remember that, as Finlay noticed, the interests of the *curia* were not

¹ Compare Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. viii. pp. 351, 352. For the drain of specie to Asia, Pliny is cited (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 26; xii. 41).

² Suetonius, *V. Tib.* 32. See Finlay, *History of Greece* (ed. Tozer), vol. i. p. 41.

³ The *indictio* (ἐπιτέμνησις) was properly the first year of the period of fifteen years. Afterwards it was used of any year of this period. The first indiction began on 1st September 312 A.D.

⁴ The duties of a *defensor civitatis* are enumerated in a rescript of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (*Cod. Just.* i. 55, 4): *scilicet ut inprimis parentis vicem plebi exhibens*—he is to act as a parent to the populace, to protect both *rustici* and *urbani* from oppression, to withstand "the insolence of office," to prevent the exaction of anything beyond the amount due, etc. This office of clemency was afterwards closely connected with the christian Church.

identical with those of the municipality, as the *curiales* were only a select number of the most wealthy.

This system tended to reduce the free provincial gentlemen to the state of serfs. They were enclosed in a cage from which there was almost no exit, for laws were passed which forbade them to enlist in the army, to enter the church, or go to the bar. They were not allowed to quit their municipality without permission from the governor, and travelling was in every way discouraged. Moreover, the obligations of the decurionate were hereditary, and exclusion from all other careers rigidly enforced. Thus a caste system was instituted, in which the individual life must have been often a hopeless monotony of misery.

The kindred institutions of serfdom and the *colonatus* gradually arose by a double process of levelling up and levelling down; slaves were elevated and freemen were degraded to the condition of labourers attached to the soil. The slave proprietors were called *ascripticii*; while the free farmers were known as *coloni*. Economic necessities naturally brought about this state of things, and then it was recognised and stereotyped by law. An account of the *colonatus* which, while it is concise, loses sight of no essential fact, has been given by Dr. Ingram in his essay on "Slavery," from which the following passage may be conveniently quoted: "The class of *coloni* appears to have been composed partly of tenants by contract who had incurred large arrears of rent and were detained on the estates as debtors (*obaerati*), partly of foreign captives or immigrants who were settled in this condition on the land, and partly of small proprietors and other poor men who voluntarily adopted the status as an improvement in their position. They paid a fixed proportion of the produce (*pars agraria*) to the owner of the estate, and gave a determinate amount of labour (*operae*) on the portion of the domain which he kept in his own hands (*mansus dominicus*). The law for a long time took no notice of these customary tenures, and did not systematically constitute them until the fourth century. It was indeed the requirements of the *fiscus* and the conscription which impelled the imperial government to regulate the system."¹

¹ Article on "Slavery," by Dr. J. K. Ingram in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The best work on the subject of the *colonatus* is the essay by M. Fustel de

Coulanges in his recent volume of *Recherches*. He points out clearly how the *fermiers par contrat* became gradually transformed to *colons*. "Ce n'est

The caste system was carried out not only in the class of landed proprietors, to secure the land tax, but in all trades and professions whose members were liable to the capitation tax. Two other taxes were introduced at the same period, the *chrysargyron*, a tax on receipts which fell very heavily on poor people, and was afterwards abolished by Anastasius amidst general rejoicings; and a class tax on senators.

The uses to which a large part of the fiscal income was put gave the system an additional sting. The idle populaces of the great cities were supplied with corn—the drones fed on the labours of the bees. But this was only the unavoidable consequence of the economical relations of the ancient world, which led necessarily to pauperism on a tremendous scale. A more real grievance was the system of court ceremonial and aulic splendour, introduced by Aurelian, confirmed by Diocletian, and elaborated by Constantine, which consumed a vast quantity of money, and was ever increasing in luxury and unnecessary extravagance. As Hallam said, in speaking of the oppression under Charles VI of France, “the sting of taxation is wastefulness.”

The principle of this system was to transfer to the imperial treasury as much as possible of the wealth circulating in the Empire. Want of capital in the provinces was a necessary result; there were no means to repair the damages of time, fire, or earthquakes save by an application to the central authority, which entailed delay and uncertainty, especially in distant provinces. A decrease in the means of life was soon produced, and thereby a decrease in the population.

The western suffered more than the eastern provinces, a fact which we must attribute primarily to a different economic condition, resulting from a different history. The distribution of property was less uneven in the East, and the social

pas le colonat qui s'est substitué en bloc au fermage; c'est, chaque jour, ici ou là, un colon qui s'est substitué à un fermier. Le fermage et le colonat ont longtemps vécu côte à côte” (p. 24). The class of *ascripticii*, who arose through the practice of *tenures serviles*, are recognised in a law of Alexander Severus, 224 A.D. (*Cod. Just.* viii. 51, 1). The distinction between *ascripticii* and *coloni*, clearly marked in several laws of Justinian (e.g. *Cod. i.* 4, 24;

Nov. cvii. ed. Zachariä), was kept up still in the seventh century, but disappeared in the eighth; at least there is no mention of *ascripticii* in the *ῥῆσος γεωργικῆς*, see Zach. von Lingenthal, *Griechisch-römisches Recht*, p. 241. M. de Coulanges is wrong in attributing the treatise *al þoral* to the eighth century; it was probably composed in the reign of Heraclius; see von Lingenthal, *ib.* p. 9.

character of the people was different. For while the East was under the more genial and enlightened rule of Alexander's successors, the West was held by the cold hand of Rome. After the division of the Empire, 395 A.D., the state of the West seems to have become rapidly worse, while the East gradually revived under a government inclined to reform. Of the misery to which the Occident was reduced by the middle of the fifth century we have a piece of incontestable evidence in the constitutions of the Emperor Majorian, who seems to have been inspired by the example of the government of Constantinople, and desired to alleviate the miseries that were produced by the curial institutions. He was perhaps animated by some faint reflection of the spirit of ancient Rome, if we may judge from the enunciation of his policy in the letter which he addressed to the senate on his accession.¹ His short reign impresses us with a peculiar melancholy, a feeling of ineffectuality, and brings home to us perhaps more than anything else in the fifth century how fruitless it was to struggle against the doom which was implied in the circumstances of the Empire and therefore impended inevitably over it, and how impracticable any reformation was when the decay had advanced so far.

The language used in Majorian's constitutions of the state of the provincial subjects is very strong. Their fortunes are described as "wearied out by the exaction of diverse and manifold taxes." The municipal bodies of decurions, which should be regarded as the "sinews of the republic," have been reduced to such a condition by "the injustice of judges and venality of tax-collectors" that they have taken refuge in obscure hiding-places. Majorian bids them return, guaranteeing that such abuses will be suppressed. It is particularly to be noted that he abolished the arrangement by which the corporation was responsible for the whole amount of the land tax fixed at the last indiction; henceforward the curia was to be responsible only for what it was able to collect from the tax-payers. He further discharged the accumulated arrears and re-established the office of *defensor provinciae*, which was falling into disuse.

¹ *Nov. Maj.* 1: "Praesumite justitiam nostris vigere temporibus et sub innocentiae merito proficere posse virtutes. Nemo delationes metuat," etc.

We need not dwell on the extortions and oppressions of the officials—the governors of the provinces, the vicars of the dioceses, the praetorian prefects—which made the cup of misery run over. It is enough to call attention to a flagrant defect in the Roman imperial system—the fact that the administration of justice was in the hands of the government officials; the civil governors were also the judges. By a constitution of Constantine there was no appeal to the Emperor from the sentence of the praetorian prefect. Thus there was no protection against an unjust governor, as the offender was also the judge.¹

It follows from this that the interests of the government and the governed were in direct opposition; and it is evident that the sad condition of the provinces, depopulated and miserable, was a most serious element of disintegration, the full effects of which were produced in the West, while in the East it was partially cancelled by the operation of other tendencies of an opposite kind.

(3) The introduction of barbarians from Central Europe into the Empire was due to two general causes. They were admitted to replenish the declining population, or they were admitted from the policy that they would be less dangerous as subjects within than as strangers without. Even in the time of the Republic there had been instances of hiring barbarian mercenaries; under the Empire it became a common practice. Marcus Aurelius made settlements of barbarians in Pannonia and Moesia.² It is probable that the barbarisation of the army progressed surely and continuously, but this plan of settling barbarians as *coloni* within Roman territory was not carried out on a large scale until the latter half of the third century. Gallienus settled Germans in Pannonia, and Claudius, after his Gothic victory, recruited his troops with the flower of the Gothic youth; but Probus introduced multitudes of Franks, Vandals, Alans, Bastarnae; in fact, the policy of settling barbarians on

¹ "Quid aliud," cries Salvian, a divine of the fifth century, "quorundam quos taceo praefectura quam praeda! . . . ad hoc enim honor, a paucis emitur, ut cunctorum vastatione solvatur . . . unius honor urbis excidium est" (*de Gubernatione Dei*, iv. 21). Salvian is severe on all classes of the community.

"The life of all merchants," he says, "is nothing but a tissue of fraud and perjury, the life of the curials is nothing but injustice, that of the administrative officials (*officialium*) is devoted to collusion, while the career of soldiers is a career of rapine" (iii. 50, ed. Pauly).

² Cassius Dio, 72, 11.

Roman ground was the most important feature of Probus' reign. Thrace, for example, received 100,000 Bastarnae. Moreover, he compelled the conquered nations to supply the army with 16,000 men, whom he judiciously dispersed in small companies among Roman regiments. The marklands of the Rhine and Danube were systematically settled with Teutons. Constantius Chlorus continued the policy of Probus; his allocations of Franks in the neighbourhood of Troyes and in the neighbourhood of Amiens deserve special notice, for these colonists succeeded in Germanising the north of France, so that they have been called "the pioneers of the German nations." The Carpi¹ (perhaps Slaves), subdued by Diocletian and Galerius, were transported in masses to Pannonia. Constantine is said to have allotted lands to 300,000 Sarmatae, and he seems to have adopted a policy, perhaps received from his father, of treating the barbarians with great consideration. Ammianus says that Julian reproached his memory for having been the first to advance barbarians to the consulate.² From the time of Constantine the importance of the Germans in the Empire increased rapidly. It became apparent in the revolt of Magnentius, which Julian regarded as a "sacred war in behalf of the laws and constitution." Magnentius himself was an "unfortunate relic of booty won from the Germans,"³ and his standard was joined by the Franks and Saxons, "who were most zealous allies on account of kindred race" (*κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές*). In the days of Constantius "a multitude of Franks flourished in the palace."⁴ When Theodosius I. subdued the Alemanni he sent all the captives to Italy, where they received fruitful farms on the Po as *tributarii*. Valens followed the same principle in 376, when he admitted the fugitive bands of West Goths into Thrace, an act which, owing to the avarice and rapacity of the Roman officials, had such disastrous consequences. The favour shown to Germans, especially to the influential

¹ Ammian. Marcel. xxxiii. 1, 5: "Carporum quos antiquis excitos sedibus Diocletianus transtulit in Pannoniam." Maximin, the prefect of Italy in the days of Valentinian, and painted in black colours by Ammianus, was of the stock of the Carpi on his father's side.

² *Ib.* xxi. 10, 8: "Eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus adusque fasces auxerat et trabas con-

sulares." But Julian, as Ammianus remarks, did himself what he censured Constantine for doing, and conferred the consulship on Nevitta.

³ Julian, *Or.* i. p. 42, ed. Hertlein: *τῆς ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν λείας λείψανον δυστυχῆς περισσώζομενον.*

⁴ Ammian. xv. 5, 11. For settlement of the Alemanni, *ib.* xxviii. 5, 15.

Merobaudes, at the court of Gratian, led to the revolt of Maximus, which was a movement of old Roman discontent against the advances which the Germans were making.

The facts instanced are sufficient to show that a new element, the German nationality, was gradually fusing itself in the fourth century throughout the Roman world, especially in the West. It was plainly an element of disintegration. For, by the incorporation of barbarian elements, the wall of partition between the Empire and the external nations was lowered; it made the opposition between Rome and the barbarians somewhat less sharp; in particular, the bonds of a common nationality did not fail to assert themselves between the Germans in Roman service and the independent tribes; the Germans within had a friendly leaning to the Germans without. The rising of Magnentius exhibits this relation; and we shall see it repeated in the fifth century in the careers of Stilicho, Aetius, and Ricimer, of whom the first was a Vandal and the last a Sueve; Aetius was of barbarian descent, and, although a Roman environment for some generations back had served to identify him more thoroughly with Roman interests, he is always quite at home with the barbarians. Throughout the fifth century we can observe, in the dealings of Romans and Teutons in the West, that the line of demarcation is growing less fixed, and the process of assimilation advancing. We may remark the case of the Patrician Syagrius, who reigned as a sort of king in northern Gaul, and spoke German perfectly.

Jerome uses the word *semibarbarus* of Stilicho, and we may conveniently adopt the word semi-barbarian to denote the whole class of Germans in Roman service. The significance of these semi-barbarians is that they smoothed the way, as we have already mentioned, for the invaders who dismembered the Empire; not being attached by hereditary tradition to Roman ideas and the Roman name, but having within them the Teutonic spirit of individual freedom, directly opposed to the Roman spirit of tyrannical universal law, they were not prejudiced sufficiently strongly in favour of the Roman Empire to preserve it, although they admired and partook of its superior civilisation.

(4) Christianity emphasised the privileges, hopes, and fears of the individual; Christ died for each man. It was thus

opposed to the universality of the Roman world, in which the individual and his personal interests were of little account,¹ and had in this respect a point of community with the individualistic instinct of the Germans—the attachment to personal freedom of life, which always struck the Romans as the peculiar German characteristic.² In two ways especially the opposition of Christianity to the Roman Empire manifested itself—by the doctrine of a divine law independent of and superior to temporal law, and by the dissociation of spiritual from secular authority. For the spirit of Christianity was really alien to the spirit of Rome, though it appeared to blend with it for a while; and this alien nature was manifested in the position of the Church as an independent, self-constituted body existing within the Empire. But in the process of the dissolution of the Empire in the West the Church supported the falling State against the barbarians, who were Christians, indeed, but tainted with Arian heresy. And when we remember that in the East the Church allied itself closely with the imperial constitution, and that this union survived for many centuries, we must conclude that Christianity did not contribute to produce what is loosely called the Fall of the Western Empire. Its spirit revolutionised the condition of the whole Roman world; the Roman spirit was undergoing a change; but yet, as far as Christianity itself is concerned, there seems no reason why the Roman Empire should not have continued to exist in the West just as it continued to exist in the East. Christianity made the prevailing misery and oppression more tolerable by holding out the hopes of a future world.³ But thereby it tended to confirm the growing feeling of indifference; the political and social environment seemed an alien, unhomelike world; and this indifference, a natural outcome of the senility of the Empire, was as fatal in its effects as the actual risings of peasants. In

¹ The individual soul was considered of more importance than a city, a nation, or an empire. There was also a firm belief in the stability of the Church independently of the State: "The Church is immovable," says John Chrysostom, "and the more the world takes counsel against it, the more it increases; the waves are dissipated, but the rock stands immovable." This standpoint involved a limit on the universality of the Empire.

² For the "dominant sentiment of the barbarian state," compare Guizot, *L'histoire de la Civilisation en Europe*, p. 59.

³ In the present world the christian Church relieved distress, and this fact reacted on the administration, as is shown by the rescript of Honorius in 409 (*Cod. Just.* i. 55, 8), by which the bishop and clergy are to take part in the nomination of the *defensores civitatum*.

a certain direct way, too, Christianity contributed to depopulation in the fourth and fifth centuries, namely, by the high value set on personal chastity and the ascetic spirit of monasticism, which discouraged marriage and caused large numbers to die without progeny.

These four elements undermined the Roman world, partly by weakening it, partly by impairing its Roman character and changing the view of life which determined the atmosphere of Roman society. Other less capital elements of disintegration might be mentioned, such as the depreciation of coinage; and elsewhere we shall have to notice the dislocating effects of geographical separation and national difference on the Empire.

We may close this chapter by considering the political situation of the Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. We see at the first glance that there coexisted in it three separate organisations, representing the three ideas which were mixing and striving with each other, engaged in the process of producing a new world; and these were therefore the fundamental political forces of the age. The first of these was the civil service which was organised by Diocletian and Constantine in the form of a staircase or hierarchy, descending by successive grades from the highest ministers to the lowest clerks. With it the idea of the Roman Imperium was closely bound up, and it was the depository of the great product of the Roman spirit, the system of Roman law. Secondly, there was the army, which was Roman in its organisation and traditions, but was the chief opening by which the Germans were able to gain influence and political power in the Empire; at this time it really represented the semi-barbarians. It has been often remarked that the old Roman spirit seemed to preserve itself best in the army, a result of observation which at first sight might seem to be curiously at variance with the most obvious fact that the army was recruited with Germans. And yet on looking deeper we see that these facts have a causal connection; it was just the fresh German spirit which was able to give some new life to the old forms and throw some enthusiasm into the task of maintaining the Roman name of which they were really proud. And it was this coalition of Roman and German elements in the army which made the dismemberment of the Empire in the West less violent than it might have been.

The army and the civil service were institutions produced by Rome herself, subject to the Emperor as the supreme head expressing the unity of the State. The third organisation, the christian Church, was in a different position, within the Empire and yet not of it, but in the fourth and fifth centuries closely connected with it.

The manner in which these three forces, the Roman system, the semi-barbarians, and the christian Church, interacted and produced a new world was conditioned by two essential facts: (1) the presence of the German nations outside the Empire pressing on it as its strength declined; and (2) the heterogeneity of the parts of which the Roman world consisted. For the Roman world was a complex of different nations and languages, without a really deep-reaching unity, held together so long by the mere brute strength of tyrannical Roman universality, expressed in one law, one official language, and one Emperor—a merely external union. Naturally it fell into two worlds, the Greek (once the dominion of Alexander) and the Roman; and this natural division finally asserted itself and broke the artificial globe of the Roman universe.

But the globe was not burst asunder suddenly; it cracked, and the crack enlarged by degrees and the pieces fell apart gently. The separation of the eastern and western worlds (*gemini orbes*) took place gradually, and the actual territorial division between the sons of Theodosius did not theoretically constitute two Roman Empires. The remarkable circumstance is that the name and traditions of Rome clung to the Greek more closely than to the Roman part of the Empire; and that the work of fusion wrought there by Alexander and his successors may be said truly to have contributed as much to the long duration of the Roman Imperium as the work of the Caesars themselves.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

THE reader will remember that the new system instituted by Diocletian and developed by Constantine divided the Empire into a number of dioceses, each of which consisted of a group of adjacent provinces. The governor of a province was accordingly under the control of the governor of the diocese to which his province belonged; and in his turn the governor of the diocese was under the control of that praetorian prefect under whose jurisdiction the diocese happened to be. A hierarchy of officials was thus formed. The number of the prefects and the extent of the jurisdiction of each varied during the fourth century with the various partitions that were made by co-regent sovereigns; but from the time of Constantine there was always a prefect of the Gauls, including Spain and Britain, and always a prefect of the East, while Italy and the Balkan lands were sometimes united under one prefect, and sometimes severed under two. But the final partition between the sons of Theodosius in 395 determined that there were to be four praetorian prefects, two in the East and two in the West; so that after that date we may consider the Empire as definitely divided into four prefectures, each prefecture consisting of a certain number of dioceses, and each diocese of a certain number of provinces.

But to understand what the Roman Empire really was, we must penetrate behind these administrative divisions, and find in its origin the secret of its essence. It was mainly an aggregate of cities which were originally independent states, and which still were allowed to retain enough of independ-

ence and of their municipal government to stand in their old relation of exclusiveness towards one another. In England a resident of Leeds is at home in Manchester, and has judicially the same position as a citizen of Manchester, whereas in the Roman Empire a citizen of Thessalonica was an alien in Dyrrhachium, a citizen of Corinth was an alien in Patras. Thus the citizens of different provincial towns stood in a double relation to one another ; they were all Roman citizens, subject to the same central authority, and herein they were united ; but they were also severally citizens of some particular city, and herein they were politically severed from the rest of the Roman world. The Empire has been therefore compared to a federation of Swiss cantons, governed by an emperor and senate.

But there was one important sphere from which this double-sidedness was excluded, namely, the sphere of senatorial rank. When the member of a municipality, for example, became elevated to the senate, he was thereby withdrawn from the duties which devolved on him in his native place to participate in the privileges and obligations of a senator. The senatorial world was thus the undiluted atmosphere of pure Roman imperialism, in which the unity of the Empire is reflected. From this point of view we may regard the Empire as consisting of three parts, the Emperor, the senators, and the mass of Roman citizens. The personages of senatorial position formed a homogeneous society which, in the political structure, may be looked on as a mean between the unity of the imperial person and the heterogeneity of the general body of citizens.

It is of great importance to understand what the senate and the senatorial rank really meant. We must carefully distinguish senators in general from those senators who actually sat in the conclaves which were held in the "senate house of Julian" at Constantinople. To be a senator in the first sense meant merely a distinction of social rank which involved certain taxes and burdens, but implied no political action as a senator. On the other hand, this social distinction was determined by political position, and the aristocracy of the Roman Empire in the fifth century was an aristocracy of officials. This is a fact to be borne in mind, that social rank ultimately depended upon

a public career, and to render it intelligible it is necessary to explain the constitution of the senate.¹

In the time of Constantine only those who had held the highest official rank, consuls, proconsuls, or prefects, were members of the senate. The new forms of court ceremony, which were instituted by Aurelian and Diocletian and elaborated by their successors, gave to such personages precedence over lesser dignitaries, and they were distinguished by the title of *clarissimi*, "most renowned." Social rank depended on precedence at court, and precedence at court depended on official position. Thus, under Constantine and his immediate successors, *clarissimi* and senators denoted the same class of persons, though regarded under different aspects. Officers of lower rank were grouped into two classes, the *perfectissimi* and the *egregii*, who were not members of the senate; these included the governors of dioceses and provinces, dukes, *correctores*, and others.

But in the course of time the senatorial rank was extended beyond these narrower limits and conferred upon the provincial governors and many subordinate officials. This involved the elevation of the *perfectissimi* and *egregii* into the class of the "most renowned." And this elevation necessitated a further change; for it would have been plainly incongruous to give to the governor of Helenopontus or Palestine the same title of honour as to the praetorian prefect of the East. Accordingly, while the class of "the most perfect" and the class of "the excellent" fell away because their members had become "most renowned," two new ranks of higher honour than the "most renowned" were created, namely the *illustres* and the *spectabiles*. Those who had

¹ The institution of a senate at New Rome as a twin sister to the senate of Old Rome, and resting on an exactly similar basis, has been generally attributed to Constantine; but in spite of the authority on which this idea rests it is extremely probable that Constantine did not go so far in his imitation of the city of the Tiber, and that the historian Zosimus may be right in ascribing the foundation of the senate of Constantinople to Julian, who certainly built the senate house. See Zosimus, iii. 11; Libanius, *Or.* i. 633, 15. Johannes Lydus calls the senate house "that of Julian"; Sozomen, ii. 3, and *Chron. Pasch.* p. 529, attribute it

to Constantine. But the fact that no prefect of Constantinople was appointed until 359 (by Constantius) shows that Constantinople was not made in all respects in the image of Rome; and it should be noted especially that there was no prefect of the city to preside over meetings of the senate as in Rome. It seems probable that Constantine granted new privileges to the municipal senate of Byzantium and increased its numbers by noble Roman emigrants; and that as the duties of the Roman senate were gradually becoming less than imperial, those of the Byzantine senate were becoming more than municipal.

been before *clarissimi* or *perfectissimi* were raised to a higher degree.

Thus in the reign of Constantine and at the beginning of the fifth century there were different sets of titles. *Clarissimus*, which was the greatest title at the earlier period, was the least title at the later period. The praetorian prefects, the prefects of Old Rome and New Rome, the masters of foot and horse, the quaestors, the masters of offices, the count of the exchequer and the count of the privy purse, were all addressed as "illustrious"; the vicars of the dioceses and others were known as "respectable," while the provincial governors were "most renowned."¹

Three important changes, then, took place between the reigns of Constantine and Arcadius. (1) The great mass of the civil and military officials were incorporated in the senatorial aristocracy; (2) as a consequence of this, there were formed three grades of senatorial rank, instead of three grades of official rank of which the highest alone was senatorial; (3) the highest class, the *illustres*, became larger than that of the *clarissimi* used to be, by the elevation of a number of officers to an equality with the prefects and consuls, namely the quaestor, the master of offices, the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, and the *comes rei privatae*.

The extension of the senatorial rank was probably made in the interests of the treasury. We have already remarked that this rank did not imply a seat in the senate house of New Rome or of Old Rome. The majority of the senatorial classes probably lived in the provinces,—not only the provincial governors whose duty compelled them to do so, but also a large number of retired officials, who were known by the name of *honorati*. All, except those who were specially excused in consideration of past services, were obliged by their nobility to heavy burdens and expenses. Like all others, they were liable to the property tax and to the burden of supplying recruits for the army and relays of horses in the imperial service; besides this they had three other sources of expense, a regular tax, an

¹ The word *clarissimus* might be still applied in a loose sense to a member of either of the two higher classes, betokening that he was a member of the senate and aristocracy; just in the same way that *illustris* itself had been in

earlier times sometimes added in a general sense of honour to the technical title *clarissimus*. On the subject of these titles my chief guide has been Kuhn, *Die Stdtte und brgerliche Verfassung des rmischen Reichs*.

irregular tax, and an indirect burden. The regular tax was the *foliis*¹ or *gleba*, a tax on property, which the Emperor himself, as a senator, paid. The irregular tax was the *aurum oblativum*,² an offering in money, which senators were obliged to present to the Emperor on the fifth, tenth, and such anniversaries of his accession, or on occasion of a victory. The indirect burden consisted in the fact that any senator might be compelled to discharge the functions of a praetor, and expend large sums on the exhibition of games and shows; and thus a man of senatorial standing, living in the provinces, was sometimes compelled to reside temporarily in the capital in order to discharge this unwelcome duty.³ The praetors in Constantinople were at first two, but gradually reached the number of eight, but as the games and spectacles did not call the fortunes of all into requisition, some of them were compelled to contribute to the erection of public buildings.⁴ From this burden it was customary to exempt retired civil servants, and this exemption was called *allectio*.

This explanation of the position of the senators or aristocrats of the later Roman Empire will show how utterly mistaken was a celebrated German historian, when he characterised the aristocracy as resting on the principle of hereditary immunity from taxes.⁵ He misinterpreted the word *immunitas*, which is applied to the senators, and means merely *freedom from municipal taxes*. Only a certain number were admitted to the privileges and condoned the obligations of the class, namely the retired civil servants; curials who, having discharged their municipal burdens for many years, were in advanced age raised to senatorial standing; and professional men, such as court physicians and public professors and teachers licensed by the government.⁶

¹ Not to be confounded with the coin *foliis*.

² This must be distinguished from the *aurum coronarium*, a tax which fell only on decurions.

³ One of the measures that rendered Marcian's reign (450-457) popular was the release of all senators who did not reside in the capital from this burden. The same Emperor abolished the *foliis*.

⁴ Leo I. reduced the number to three (*Cod. Just.* ii. 1, 39).

⁵ Burckhardt, *Constantin*, p. 453.

The error is often repeated, and has been clearly pointed out by Kuhn.

⁶ The word count, *comes*, became (1) a title of general application to those nondescript senators who had held no civil or military office, and had thus no special designation; (2) its original use in combination with an office was still retained, as in *comes sacr. largitionum*; (3) it was used as an additional title of honour for persons whose office was regular, and included in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. See Kuhn, *op. cit.* pp. 194, 195.

From all this we may deduce with tolerable clearness the general social relations that existed in the fifth century. Between the Emperor and the mass of the subjects there existed an aristocracy, based on public service and consisting of three grades of nobility, the higher, the middle, and the lower aristocracy. In it were included some who would nowadays belong to the middle classes, statesmen, professors, physicians of distinction, such as in England might be honoured by knight-hood, or exceptionally by a peerage. Between the aristocracy and the lower class of artisans and peasants may be reckoned a sort of middle class, including the decurions or provincial magnates who might look forward to elevation to the aristocracy if they lived long enough, and who in social position may be roughly compared to "county people" in England; rich merchants; young lawyers beginning their political career, who might look forward to winning a high position in the aristocracy. Hovering between this middle class and the lower strata were probably the physicians not patronised by the Emperor, and unlicensed teachers and rhetoricians, who depended on the patronage of the rich.

In this conspectus of society nothing has been said of the clergy. They formed a hierarchy by themselves, and their social position would correspond to their place in the hierarchy; although it must not be forgotten that the sanctity attaching to his office gave the humblest monk or deacon in those early days of piety an honourable position such as is hardly enjoyed by a curate of the English Church at present. The Patriarch of Constantinople was a peer of the Emperor, the bishops and archbishops may perhaps be considered peers of the aristocracy, while the mass of the clergy may be reckoned in the middle class.

Turning now from the social to the official side, we may briefly consider the position of the most important officers in the Roman system of administration, confining ourselves to the eastern half of the Empire. Highest in the first class of the aristocracy, "the illustrious," stood the four praetorian prefects, of whom each exercised authority over about a quarter of the Empire. Under the praetorian prefect of the East were all the Asiatic provinces, as well as six European provinces in Thrace. This dominion was divided into five dioceses—Asia, Pontus, the East, Thrace, and Egypt; the governor of Egypt,

however, was practically independent of the prefect of the East. Under the prefect of Illyricum, who resided at Thessalonica, were all the lands of the Balkan peninsula, except Thrace and the islands of the Aegean. These lands were divided into two dioceses, Dacia and Macedonia.

The functions of the praetorian prefect embraced a wide sphere; they were administrative, financial, judicial, and even legislative. In the first place, the vicars of the dioceses were responsible to him for their actions, and completely under his control. With him rested their deposition, as well as the deposition of the provincial governors; and it was at his recommendation that the Emperor appointed men to fill these posts. In the second place, he had an exchequer of his own, and the revenue accruing to the treasury from his prefecture passed through his hands; it was through him that the Emperor made known and carried into execution his financial measures, and it rested perhaps more with the prefect than with the Emperor whether the subjects were oppressed by taxation. In the third place, he was, as well as the Emperor himself, a supreme judge of appeal. An appeal from the decision of a vicar or a dux might be addressed either to the praetorian prefect or to the Emperor, but if it were addressed to the former there was no further appeal to the latter. In the fourth place, he was empowered to issue praetorian edicts, but they probably concerned only smaller matters of administration or judicial detail.

The exalted position of these ministers was marked by their purple robe, or *mandye*, which differed from that of the sovereign only in being shorter, reaching to the knees instead of to the feet. His large silver inkstand, his pencease of gold weighing 100 lbs., his lofty chariot, are mentioned as three official symbols of his office. On his entry all military officers were expected to bend the knee, a survival of the fact that his office was originally not civil but military. The importance of this minister is illustrated by Eusebius, who compares the relation of God the Son to God the Father with that of the praetorian prefect to the Emperor, and by the remark of Johannes Lydus that "the office of praetorian prefect is like the ocean, encircling all other offices, and ministering to all their needs."

There was no prefect of the city of Constantinople until the close of the reign of Constantius (359 A.D.), and this fact alone shows that the equalisation of New Rome and Old Rome, with which Constantine is credited, has been often exaggerated. On the illustrious prefect of the city devolved the superintendence of all matters connected with the city, the maintenance of order, the care of the aqueducts, the supervision of the markets, the census, the control of the metropolitan police, the responsibility of supplying the city with provisions. He was the supreme judge in the metropolitan courts.¹

The grand chamberlain, *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, was a functionary rendered necessary by the oriental tincture given to the imperial surroundings by the policy of Diocletian.² He issued commands to all the officers connected with the palace and the Emperor's person, including the count of the wardrobe (*comes sacrae vestis*), the count of the residence (*comes domorum*), the officer of the bedroom (*primicerius cubiculorum*), and also to the officers of the palace bodyguard, called *silentiarii*. His constant attendance on the person of the Emperor gave this minister an opportunity of exercising a vast influence for good or evil, especially if the Emperor happened, like Arcadius, to be of a weak and pliable disposition.

We now come to the ministers of finance, the count of the sacred bounties (*sacrarum largitionum*), and the count of the private estates (*rerum privatarum*).

The count of the sacred bounties was the lord treasurer or chancellor of the exchequer, for the public treasury and the imperial fisc had come to be identical³; while the count of the private estates managed the imperial demesnes and the privy purse.⁴ Thus in the fifth century the "sacred bounties" corresponded to the *aerarium* of the early Empire, while the *res privatae* represented the fisc.⁵

The duties of the illustrious master of the offices, *magister*

¹ Under his control were a large number of officers—the prefect of the watch (i.e. the police), the *praefectus annonae*, or prefect of the market, who looked after the supplies of corn from Egypt, etc.

² Aurelian originated this system.

³ The *aerarium* finally disappeared (as a state treasury) in the third century, about the time of Alexander

Severus. It became a municipal Roman treasury.

⁴ The counts of the private estates had jurisdiction, in Rome and Constantinople, in cases of incest or spoliation of graves—a curious arrangement.

⁵ See O. Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i. (1876).

officiorum, were somewhat nondescript. He had control over the bureaux of imperial correspondence,¹ over messengers despatched on imperial orders, over the soldiers on guard at the palace, over manufactories of arms. He introduced foreign ambassadors to the imperial presence, and arranged for their entertainment. He superintended court ceremonies (*officium ammissionum*). Arcadius transferred to him the control of the imperial post or *cursus publicus*, which had been a function of the praetorian prefects; and if it were the policy of an Emperor to diminish the sphere of the prefects, it was the master of offices who was ready to take upon him new duties.

The second rank of the *spectabiles*, "respectables," embraced all the governors of dioceses, whatever their titles; the count of the East, the augustal prefect of Egypt, the vicars of Asiana, Pontica, the Thraces, and Macedonia. It also included the governors of two provinces who had the privilege of not being subject to any vicar or prefect, the proconsuls of Asia and Achaia. The military counts and dukes were all of "respectable" rank, as well as some high officers in the palace.

To the third degree of the "most renowned" belonged all the governors of provinces who bore the title of *praeses*, *corrector*, or *consularis*, as well as a large number of subordinate officers in the imperial bureaux.

When we turn from the ministers and governors themselves to their staffs, we find that there was a great difference between the *palatini*, or servants of the higher bureaux, and the *cohortalini*,² as the staffs of the provincial governors were called, this name being one of the many survivals of the military origin of the civil service. The chief officials in the bureau of the count of the sacred bounties or of the master of offices regarded the honours of their rank as privileges which they were glad to transmit to their children; and the same remark applies to the subordinates of the praetorian prefect or of the master of soldiers, although they were not palatine. On the other hand,

¹ Namely, the *magister memoriae*, *mag. epistolarum*, *mag. libellorum*, *comes dispositionum*. Imperial messengers were called *agentes in rebus*—also *magistriani*.

² *Cohortes*, originally used of all

officiales, became by use restricted to provincial *officia*, while *apparitores* was used of the higher *officia*. *τραπεζῆται* was another general name. *Primipilares* were *cohortalini* who had the rank of a *princeps* in their bureau.

the *cohortalini* considered it a great hardship that they were obliged to follow their fathers' profession.¹ They were not allowed to obtain promotion into the higher civil service.

Promotion was strictly regular; and no one could reach the highest posts until he had filled in order all the inferior grades. This excluded the interference of influential friends to a considerable extent. At the same time every promotion depended on the Emperor, in whose hands all appointments rested²; though in the majority of cases he was of course determined by the recommendation of the heads of the bureaux.

In many departments the officials were able to increase the fixed income which they received from the State by fees which were paid them for supplying copies of documents or signing bills.³ The highest official in a department was a general superintendent or chief, often more than one, under whom came the chiefs of special divisions. Thus, in the office of the praetorian prefect there were three chiefs, the *princeps*,⁴ the *cornicularius*, and the *adjutor*, whose duties were of a general character; and in the second grade the *abactis*, who presided over the civil department, the *commentariensis*, who, as a sort of chief of police or under-home-secretary, presided over the criminal jurisdiction, and the *numerarius*, who was a chief accountant. No one could hope for promotion to higher posts who had not the advantage of a good general education, but there were subordinate offices of a mechanical nature which could be filled by persons who had received only a primary education.

The support of higher education by the State deserves to be

¹ As to the size of the offices, some idea will be obtained from the following numbers. The *officium* of a governor in Illyricum numbered 100, that of the *comes orientis* 600, that of the *vicarius Asiae* 200. The *comes sacr. larg.* had 224 *statuti* or regular officials, 610 supernumeraries. The regular number of the schola of *agentes in rebus* was 1174 in the time of Theodosius II; in the time of Leo I. it was as high as 1248; but in Justinian's time the number was reduced. For these data I obtained references to the *Cod. Theod.* and *Cod. Just.* from Kuhn, *Die Städte und bürgerliche Verfassung des römischen Reichs*, i. 157.

² Except in the case of the *cursus publicus*, whose very nature excluded the possibility of always consulting the Emperor.

³ For the pay of officials compare the following details (collected by Kuhn). The proconsul of Cappadocia had £900 a year; the praefectus praetorio of Africa (an office instituted in Justinian's reign) £4500; the duke of Libya £4635; the praef. augustalis £1800, in the reign of Justinian.

⁴ The *princeps* had a unique position. He seems to have acted as a sort of auditor to oversee the provincial offices.

mentioned here, not only because some of the chief teachers were admitted to the ranks of the aristocracy, but because the schools of the sophists and rhetors were the nurseries of the statesmen. Hadrian had established an academy at Rome, called the Athenaeum, in imitation of the Museum at Alexandria, and Marcus Aurelius founded chairs (political and sophistic) at Athens, endowed with salaries paid by the State. But it was not only in large towns like Rome, Athens, or Alexandria, that there were licensed teachers publicly paid; in all provincial towns of any size there were a certain number of such schoolmasters. In small towns there were three sophists; in towns of medium size (where there were *ἀγοραὶ δικάων*, our county court towns) there were four sophists and four grammarians; in capital cities there were five rhetors and five grammarians. It is to be observed that the grammarians were not merely teachers of grammar; they were rather what we call philologists—they read and interpreted ancient authors. A distinction between sophists and rhetors is also to be observed; while both taught the art of style and oratory, the sophists only taught, while the rhetors also practised publicly in law courts. Alexandria and Athens were in many ways privileged; for example, the philosophers (metaphysicians, not to be confounded with sophists) in those cities were exempted from public burdens, while in other towns they did not participate in the privileges of the rhetoricians and philologists. It is to be remarked that during the fifth century the study of rhetoric was probably declining, and that the law schools of Rome and Berytus were far more fully attended than the lecture-rooms of the sophists.¹

There were two great divisions of the Roman army in the fourth century, corresponding to two different kinds of military service. There were the soldiers who continually kept guard on the frontiers, and the soldiers who were stationed in the interior and were transported to the frontiers in case of a war. (1) The former were called *limitanei*, "borderers," or *riparienses*, "soldiers of the river bank." The latter term, which was originally applied to the men who guarded the Danube or the Rhine, was afterwards used in as general a sense as *limitanei*.

¹ Libanius makes this complaint at the end of the fourth century. The best book to consult on this subject is Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius*.

(2) The latter were the soldiers of the line (*numeri*), and consisted of *comitatenses* and *palatini*. They correspond to the legionary soldiers of early times, who were drawn altogether from Italy, in contrast with the *auxilia*, who were supplied by the rest of the Empire, until the edict of Caracalla cast down the wall of privilege that encompassed Italy and thereby admitted non-Italian citizens to the legions. The *palatini* were properly those regiments which protected the imperial palace, and were under the command of the illustrious *magister militum in praesenti*¹; while other regiments were called *comitatenses*, a term derived from the retinue (*comitatus*) of a general. These soldiers were obliged to serve for twenty years, whereas the less favoured border troops were obliged to serve for twenty-four years. The position of the latter in respect to the *comitatenses* and *palatini* may be compared to the position of the *auxilia* in respect to the legions of the early Empire. The troops located in the East were commanded by the *magister militum per orientem*, those in Thrace by the *magister militum per Thracias*, and those in Illyricum by the *magister militum per Illyricum*. In all these armies the barbarian element was large during the fourth century and was continually increasing.

The *limitanei* were not only soldiers; they were tillers of the soil, who were settled on the *limes* or frontier territory, which they were allowed to cultivate for their own support and bound to defend.² The warfare against the barbarians chiefly consisted in defending the forts, *castra*, which were built along the *limes*, whence they received the name *castriani*.³ This sort of life is an anticipation of the Middle Ages. Veteran soldiers used to receive lands, if they chose, on the *limes*; but care was taken that they should really cultivate their farms, as old soldiers were likely to bully their neighbours and levy blackmail if they were not looked after.

The separation of the civil from the military power by Diocletian, and the restriction of the praetorian prefect's func-

¹ There were also some *comitatenses* among the soldiers of this commander.

² Alexander Severus laid the foundations of this system.

³ The name *pseudocomitatenses* was also applied to the borderers. We may

add here that the number of men in the legion was greatly reduced; and that the new name given to cavalry was *vexillatio*. Recruits were drawn chiefly from the *coloni*, of whom a large number were of Teutonic race, and also directly from the barbarians.

tions to civil matters were attended by the disappearance of the praetorian guards, and the substitution of a new body of guards called *scholares*, who were under the supervision of the *magister officiorum*. This fact indicates that the *magister officiorum* corresponds to a considerable degree to the praetorian prefect of the third century; he was commander of the guards, and combined civil with military functions. The number of the scholarians in the fourth and fifth centuries was 3500.¹ They received higher pay than the troops of the line, and had, of course, the prestige that is naturally attached to guardsmen. They were entitled to receive *annonae civicae*, which they could bequeath or sell.

There were also other guardsmen named *domestici*, of whom certain corps were called *protectores*, and these appear to have been superior in rank to the scholarians.

¹ Justinian increased them to 5500 (Procop. *Hist. Arcan.* cap. 24) and afterwards to 10,000 (Lydus, *de Mag.* ii. 24).

CHAPTER V

CONSTANTINOPLE

At the beginning of the fourth century it would have entered into the dream of no Roman, whether christian or pagan, that the city of Byzantium, which he chiefly associated with the commerce of the Euxine, was in a few years to receive a new name and become the rival of Rome. Still less could one have imagined that the city, which was almost immediately to overshadow Alexandria and Antioch, was soon to overshadow Rome also, and that two centuries and a half thence the city on the Tiber would be desolate and the city on the Bosphorus the mistress of Europe and Asia.

Constantine thought of other sites for his new city before he fixed on the idea of enlarging and enriching Byzantium. Both Antioch and Alexandria were eminently and obviously unsuitable for his purpose. The great objection to both of those cities was that they were not sufficiently central; another grave objection was that the temper of the inhabitants of those once royal capitals would not easily endure the moulding and remodelling which the founder of a new imperial residence must wish to carry out.¹

The idea seems to have flashed across the mind of Constantine of choosing some Illyrian town, Sardica or his favourite Naissus; but, notwithstanding the prepossessions which as a native he naturally felt for those regions, he could hardly entertain the idea seriously. Their distance from the sea, their situation not readily approachable, even with good roads, put

¹ To Antioch there were special objections; it was the victim of constant earthquakes, and was not maritime.

Sardica and Naissus at once away from the number of possible capitals; but it is interesting that there was just a chance that the capital of modern Bulgaria—Sofia is the old Sardica—might have been made the capital of the Roman Empire, and called Constantinople. Other places that might have claimed the honour were Thessalonica and Corinth; the city of the Isthmus especially would have been an excellent centre between East and West.

But Constantine did not desire a centre for the whole Empire; he rather desired a centre for the eastern half. As a centre for the whole Empire, the most suitable city would obviously have been Aquileia. But he did not desire to depress the dignity of Old Rome; his New Rome was to occupy the same position in the East as Old Rome occupied in the West. If the situation of Old Rome had been more central, it is probable that New Rome would never have been founded. This, too, formed a vital objection to Naissus, and even to Sardica; neither they nor Corinth nor Thessalonica were close enough to Asia. The same objection that told against allowing Rome to remain the sole centre of the whole Empire, told equally against choosing any city in Illyricum or Greece as the new capital. If there was any reason for a new capital at all, it must be geographically central for the eastern half of the Empire; in other words, it must be on the borders of the Illyrian peninsula and Asia Minor. Therefore neither Antioch nor Alexandria on the one hand, nor Sardica, Naissus, Thessalonica, or Corinth on the other hand, could become Constantinople.

It remained, then, for Constantine to choose some city close to the Propontis. The first name that would naturally offer itself was Nicomedia, the residence of Diocletian when he administered the eastern provinces. But the idea of Nicomedia could not be entertained long when its situation was compared with the city which dominates the Bosphorus. Constantine, however, seems to have hesitated for a time between Byzantium, Chalcedon, and the site of ancient Ilium. But it is obvious that Chalcedon could never have been a serious rival of the city on the hills which looked down upon it¹; and in spite of

¹ The advantages which Byzantium enjoyed from the nature of the tides of the Bosphorus are dwelt on by Poly-

bios (iv. 44), and compared with the disadvantages of Chalcedon.

Homeric memories, associated with the example of Alexander the Great, the idea of a new Mysian city was soon abandoned for the place which commands the entrance to the Euxine and seems adapted by nature to be the key of Europe and the mistress of Asia Minor. And so it came to pass that the city which looks down upon the Chalcedonian sands became the rival of Rome—

urbs etiam magnae quae dicitur aemula Romae
et Chalcedonias contra despectat arenas.

Constantine, in the words of a chronicler,¹ “decorated it, as if it were his native city, with great adornment, and desired that it should be made equal to Rome; and then, having sought citizens for it from all parts, he lavished great riches, so that he exhausted on it almost all the treasures and royal resources. There, too, he established a senate of second rank.” In two respects, especially, the new city was not co-ordinate with the old city; the senate had not equal rights, and there was no *praefectus urbis*, but these differences were soon obliterated, the two capitals became politically peers before the death of Julian, though ecclesiastically Old Rome maintained the primacy. It was more, apparently, to have been called the city of St. Peter, than to have been the city of the Caesars.

The shape of Constantinople is triangular; it is bounded on two sides by water and on one side by land. At the east corner and on the south side it is washed by the Bosphorus, which flows at first almost from north to south and then takes a south-eastern course; on the north by the inlet of the Bosphorus, which was called the Golden Horn; and on the west by the wall of Constantine, protecting the enlarged city.²

The eastern angle formed by the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, was dominated by the acropolis, on whose summit were situated the palace of the Emperors, the hippodrome, and the church of St. Sophia. The northern angle, formed by the Golden Horn and the land wall, was marked by the church and gate of Blachernae.³ In the south-western corner was the

¹ *Anonymus Valesii*, 6, 30.

² The number of houses in Constantinople in the fifth century was 4388; there were 8 *thermae*, 153 private baths; 20 public, 120 private bakeries; 14 churches. See *Notitia urbis Con-*

stantinopolitanae. By Greek writers the city is constantly called *ἡ βασιλεύουσα*, *ἡ βασιλις*, or *ἡ μεγαλόπολις*.

³ At Blachernae was a great church of the Virgin, still extant. For the word *Βλαχέρναι* various explanations have

Golden Gate,¹ by which triumphal processions used to enter Constantinople, and hard by was the Julian Harbour. If the relative positions of the Golden Gate, the region of Blachernae, and the imperial palace are remembered, it is easy to find one's way in the topography of Constantinople, as far as it concerns general history. The city was divided into fourteen regions,² and, like Rome, was a city of seven hills; but it is unnecessary for us here, as we are not concerned with the topography for its own sake, to take account of these divisions. It is the great square on the acropolis, with the surrounding buildings, which demands our attention, as it was in that region that the political life of Constantinople was carried on.³

A traveller coming (let us suppose about 600 A.D.) from Old Rome to New Rome, by Brundisium and Dyrrhachium, would proceed overland along the Via Egnatia, and, passing through the towns of Heraclea and Selymbria on the Propontis, would enter Constantinople by the Golden Gate, which was erected by Theodosius the Great. A long street, with covered colonnades—suggesting an eastern town—on either side, would lead him in a due easterly direction to the great Milion, the milestone from which all distances were measured. For since Constantinople had become the capital all roads tended thither; and the most recent explorers in Asia Minor are struck by the fact that, whereas in the early Empire all the roads led to Ephesus,

been given, but a passage in Theophylactus Simocatta (viii. 5, 1) deserves especial attention: *εἰτα πρὸς τὸν τῆς Θεομήτορος νεὼν παρεγένοντο οὐκ Ἀκέρνας ἀποκαλοῦσι τιμῶντες Βυζάντιοι*. . . . This church is very much revered λέγεται γὰρ περιστόλεια τῆς παρθένου Μαρίας . . . ἐν σηκῷ χρυσοπλάστῳ ἀποτεθῆναι ἐνταῦθα. Cp. Codinus, *Antiq. Constant.* p. 95. Krause (*die Byzantiner des Mittelalters*, p. 21) decides for the derivation from *βλάχνα*. If the region were originally called *βλάχνα*, the foundation of a church called from *λακέρνα* might produce *βλαχέρνα*, on the natural principle of Lewis Carroll's *frumious* (from fuming—furious). In the same way the change of an old *γουστειόν* into the *Φόρον τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου* might have led to the place being popularly called *Αἰγουστειόν*.

¹ Built by Theodosius I.; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, iii. 1, 735—

*haec loca Theodosius decorat post fata tyranni;
aurea saecula gerit qui portam construit auro.*

² See the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, published along with the *Notitia Dignitatum* in Seck's edition.

³ This chapter is mainly based on the valuable researches of the Greek scholar M. A. G. Paspatis, who embodied them in a book entitled *Τὰ Βυζάντια Ἀνάκτορα*, "Byzantine Palaces." If all his results are not certain, he has discovered new landmarks, which will serve as a basis for new work in Byzantine topography. But it can hardly be hoped that any great discovery will be made until the Turks have left Constantinople. I have also consulted Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, and M. Jules Labarte's work, *Le palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords . . . tels qu'ils existaient au dixième siècle* (1861).

at the time of Constantine this system was revolutionised and all tended to the new capital.¹ But before he saw the Milion the traveller would be struck by the imposing mass and great dome of St. Sophia, the eternal monument of Justinian and his architect Anthemius. As he stood in front of the west entrance of the great church, the northern side of the hippodrome would be on his right hand.

Then passing on a few steps farther and standing with his back to the south side of St. Sophia, he would see stretching before him southward a long rectangular place, bounded on one side by the eastern wall of the hippodrome and on the other by the western wall of the imperial palace. This place was called the Augusteum or Augustaiôn, that is, "the Place of Augustus" or "the Imperial Place."² It is not clear, however, whether the name was chosen as a sort of renovation of *Gusteôn*,³ "vegetable market," the place having been used for that purpose in old Byzantium; or whether *Gusteôn* was a corruption of *Augusteôn*, and this gave rise to the derivation. The magnificence of Justinian had paved this piazza with marble, and the southern part was distinguished as the "Marble Place,"⁴ while the northern part, near St. Sophia, was called Milion, from the building of that name, which the traveller, looking southward, would see on his right hand, close to the wall of the hippodrome.

The Milion was not a mere pillar; it was a roofed building, open at the sides, supported by seven pillars, and within were to be seen the statues of Constantine the Great and his mother St. Helena, those of Justin the Younger and his wife Sophia, those of Arabia, Justin's daughter, and of another Helena of less renown, a niece of Justin.⁵ The Milion was an important station in the public processions of the Emperors. Walking from

¹ See Professor Ramsay, "The Tale of Saint Abercius," *Hellenic Journal*, iii. 345. Cf. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 100 sqq.

² It was also called the forum of Constantine—probably its official name. Topographers (e.g. Labarte, *op. cit.* p. 32) generally distinguish the forum of Constantine from the Augusteum, placing the former farther west, but a passage in Cedrenus is decisive (i. 660, ed. Bonn), when he speaks of the senate house, τὸ σενάτον, as in the forum

of Constantine. See above, p. 52 note 3. Cf. Paspatis, p. 65.

³ Dances which were celebrated on certain occasions in the Augusteum οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀψοπωλείῳ seem to have kept up an old pre-Constantinopolitan usage. Cf. Suidas, sub Ἀθροιστός, and Codinus, p. 232. Paspatis, p. 72.

⁴ Τὸ Μαρμαρωτὸν or Πλακωτὸν, Const. Porphy. i. 84, ed. Bonn.

⁵ Codinus, p. 28. Paspatis, pp. 102-104.

the south, and still keeping to the west side of the Augusteum, our traveller would have seen the great pillar surmounted by the statue of Justinian, and the other great pillar surmounted by the statue of the Empress Eudoxia, of which the stylobate still exists. Having passed some mansions of private individuals, he reaches the southern limit of the Augusteum and returns along the eastern side, which is occupied with more important edifices. Of these buildings, which are separated from the walls of the palace by a long portico called the "Passage of Achilles,"¹ the most southerly was the baths of Zeuxippus. Originally built by Severus, these baths were enriched with splendid statues,² chiefly of great men, Homer and Hesiod, Plato and Aristotle, Demosthenes and Aeschines, Julius Caesar, Virgil. But these valuable works perished in the flames which consumed the whole building in the great Nika revolt of 532. Justinian rebuilt it, but he could not restore the labours of antiquity.

North of the Zeuxippus was the senate house (*Buleuterion*), originally built by Julian and adorned with even more precious monuments of Hellenic sculpture than the baths of Severus. But it too did not escape fire; like St. Sophia it had to be twice rebuilt, first in the reign of Arcadius, on the occasion of Chrysostom's arrest, and afterwards in the Nika sedition,³ which was fatal to so many public buildings.

After the senate house he comes to the residence of the Patriarch (*Patriarcheion*), which probably faced the Milion on the opposite side. The Patriarch's house contained a splendid hall,⁴ called the Thomaites, and also halls of justice for the hearing of ecclesiastical cases. A visitor to Byzantium,⁵ at the beginning of the thirteenth century, mentions that an excellent garden was attached to the patriarchal palace, and perhaps it lay between the house itself and the senate house.

Our imaginary traveller, having now reached the north side of the Augusteum, again will notice a small church between the palace wall and the south-east corner of St.

¹ τὰ διαβατικά τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, so called from the Bath of Achilles, which was somewhere close to St. Sophia.

² Mentioned by the poet Christodorus, who lived in the reign of Anastasius.

³ Procopius, *Acd.* iii. 202: λόγον μὲν

τῇ τε πολυτελείᾳ καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ κρείττον Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔργον. It probably faced the pillar of Justinian. Paspatis, p. 76.

⁴ τρικλινος.

⁵ This visitor was the Russian monk Antonius. See Paspatis, p. 83.

Sophia. This is the church of our Lady (ἡ Θεοτόκος) of the Chalkoprateia, so called because originally this region was a quarter of Jewish bronzesmiths.¹ Hard by a gate will be observed in the wall of the palace, the gate of Meletius, from which the Emperor used to issue when he visited St. Sophia; entering the church of the Chalkoprateia, he used to proceed into the great church by a private covered staircase, called the "Wooden Scala," which spanned the distance between the two churches.²

North of St. Sophia stood two important buildings, the hospice of Sampson³ and the church of St. Irene.⁴ Both of these were burned down in the Nika revolt, and newly erected.

The hippodrome, constructed by Septimius Severus, improved and adorned by Constantine, was the scene of many important political movements and transactions at Constantinople. Its length from north to south was 639 cubits, its breadth about 158.⁵ Its southern end was of crescent shape, like a sigma, the northern end was occupied by a small two-storied palace, and the Emperor beheld the games from a box or *cathisma*, which he entered through the palace by a winding stair (*cochlias*). Under the palace were porticoes (like the Roman *carceres*), in which horses and chariots were kept, called the "Mangana." The same name was applied to the great storehouse of arms at Constantinople. The hippodrome⁶ had at least four gates; one on the right of the cathisma, through which the Blue faction was wont to enter; a second corresponding on the left, which was appropriated to the Greens; a third, "the Gate of Decimus," close to the second; a fourth, called the "Dead

¹ Codinus, p. 83: *εἰς δὲ τὰ Χαλκοπρατεῖα ἐπὶ τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου Ἰουδαῖοι κατέκουν χρῆνον ρλβ' καὶ ἐπίπρασκον τὰ χαλκώματα· ὁ δὲ μικρὸς Θεοδόσιος ἐξέωσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀνακαθάρσας ναὸν τῆς Θεομήτορος ἀνήγειρε.*

² Paspatis, p. 85 sq. *σκεπαστὴ σκάλα.*

³ Sampson was a man who had attended Justinian when he was ill. He built, with the Emperor's co-operation, a hospice for the sick and poor. After the fire Justinian erected it with greater splendour. It is conjectured by Paspatis (p. 67) that it was done away with in the thirteenth century to make room for the new wall of Michael Palaiologos.

⁴ The second Ecumenical Council was held there. Leo III built the new St. Irene.

⁵ According to the measurements of M. Paspatis, which differ from the previous measurements of P. Gylle and Scarlatus Byzantius (*see* p. 43 sq.) The hippodrome is now the Atmeidan.

⁶ The hippodrome was divided into two parts by three monuments, which have survived to the present day—the Egyptian obelisk, the three-headed serpent, and a square bronze pillar, which stood in a line (lengthways) in the centre.

Gate," through which the corpses of the slain were carried away, in the east wall. There was probably another gate opposite to the Dead Gate in the west wall, for when the Emperors visited the church of Sergius and Bacchus,¹ which lay south-west of the hippodrome, they passed through the hippodrome.

As for the interior of the imperial palace, new light has been thrown upon the intricate details, which puzzle the student of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, by the researches of M. Paspatis, who has discovered new topographical marks for its reconstruction. In the first place, he was able to determine the direction of the old walls of the palace, the building of the Thracian railways having opened up the ground; and in the second place, the identification of the Pharos provided a starting point for tracing the situation of the buildings and chambers of the palace mentioned by historians, with the help of some other data derived from his studies on the spot. Into this reconstruction it is not necessary for us to enter here, for the internal arrangement of the palace concerns the history with which we have now to do very slightly. If we were dealing with the history of the Eastern Empire, and had to tell of the court of Theophilus or the court of Constantine VII, we could not afford to neglect the reconstruction of M. Paspatis; but the historians of the period from 395 A.D. to 800 A.D. seldom trouble us with perplexing details about the palace.

Constantinople had two suburbs over the water, to both of which the word *peratic* might be applied. There was the suburb of Chalcedon, now Scutari, on the other side of the Bosphorus; and there was the suburb of Sycae on the other side of the Golden Horn. Sycae had two regions, Galata and Pera,² both of which names are still in use. When we read of the *peratic demes* in Byzantine historians, members of the demes who lived on the north side of the Golden Horn "across the water" seem to have been meant; but when we read of the *peratic themes*, the troops quartered in Asia Minor are meant. Galata, I conjecture, is a very old name, dating from the third century B.C., when it was usual for kings and towns to hire the

¹ Now the little St. Sophia. It was erected by Justinian on the old palace of Hormisdas, where he used to live when he was a private person.

² So, *e.g.*, the Rhodians called the district on the opposite mainland Peraca.

Celts as mercenaries. The Byzantines probably hired bands of Celts, and, afraid of admitting them into the city, allotted them a Celtic or "Galatian" quarter on the other side of the Golden Horn; and the name Galata clung to the place when the Galatae had been long forgotten.¹

¹ Compare Professor Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 157, 300, 348.

BOOK II

THE HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS

CHAPTER I

RUFINUS AND EUTROPIUS

ONE of the few men in history who have won the title of great, the Emperor Theodosius I.,¹ who had by his policy, at once friendly and firm, pacified the Goths, who had confirmed the triumph of Athanasian over Arian Christianity, who had stamped out the last flames of refractory paganism represented by the tyrant Eugenius, died on the 17th of January 395 A.D. His wishes were that his younger son Honorius, then a boy of ten years, should reign in the West, where he had already installed him,² and that his eldest son Arcadius, whom he had left as regent at Constantinople when he set out against Eugenius, should continue to reign in the East. But he was not willing to leave his youthful heirs (Arcadius was only eighteen) without a protector, and the most natural protector was one bound to them by ties of relationship. Accordingly on his deathbed he commended them to the care of the Vandal Stilicho, whom he had raised for his military and other talents to the rank of commander-in-chief, and deeming him worthy of an alliance with his own family, had united to his favourite niece Serena. We can hardly doubt that it was in this capacity, as the husband of his niece and a trusted friend, not as a general, that Stilicho received Theodosius' dying wishes³; it was as an elder member of the same family that the husband of their cousin

¹ He was called the friend of the Goths. It was, however, as Richter remarks (*Gesch. des weströmischen Reichs*, p. 511), Bauto and Arbogast who really deserved the credit of having pacified the Goths. Theodosius

brought their work to completion.

² After his victory at Milan.

³ Ambrosius, *de obitu Theod.* 5, *liberos praesenti commendabat parenti.* Compare Sievers, *Studien zur Gesch. der röm. Kaiser*, p. 338.

could claim to exert an influence over Arcadius and Honorius, of whom, however, the latter, it would appear, was more especially committed to his care, not only as the younger, but because Stilicho, being *magister militum* of the armies of Italy, would come more directly into contact with him than with his brother.

Arcadius, with whom we are especially concerned, was about eighteen at the time of his father's death.¹ He was of short stature, of dark complexion, thin and inactive, and the dulness of his wit was betrayed by his speech, and by his eyes, which always seemed as if they were about to close in sleep. His smallness of intellect and his weakness of character made it inevitable that he should come under the influence, good or bad, of commanding personalities, with which he might be brought in contact. Such a potent personality was the praetorian prefect Rufinus, a native of Aquitaine, who in almost every respect presented a contrast to his sovereign. He was tall and manly, and the restless movements of his keen eyes and the readiness of his speech signified his intellectual powers. He was a strong worldly man, ambitious of power, and sufficiently unprincipled; avaricious, too, like most ministers of the age. He had made many enemies by acts which were perhaps somewhat more than usually unscrupulous, but we cannot justly assume that in the overthrow of certain rivals² he was entirely guilty, and they entirely innocent, as is sometimes represented. It is almost certain that he formed the scheme and cherished the hope of becoming joint Emperor with Arcadius.

This ambition of Rufinus placed him at once in an attitude of opposition to Stilicho,³ who was himself not above the

¹ Flavius Arcadius Pius Felix, born about 377; created Augustus, January 16, 384, at Constantinople; consul 386. He was educated first by his mother Aelia Flaccilla, then by a certain deacon Arsenius, finally by the pagan Themistius. For his personal appearance, see Philostorgius, *H. E.* xi. 3.

² Promotus (Zosimus, iv. 51), Tatianus, and Proclus (id. 52). Through the influence of Rufinus a law was passed depriving all Lycians of civic rights; see *Cod. Theod.* ix. 38, 9, *macula in Lycios*. Claudian, in *Ruf.* i. 232, *nomen gentis delere laborat*.

³ Their hostility was of older date. Theodosius, at Rufinus' instance, pre-

vented Stilicho from taking vengeance on the Bastarnae who had slain Promotus, whom Rufinus had caused to be exiled. Claudian, *de laud. Stil.* i. 94-115. In the first chapter of his fifth book Zosimus represents Stilicho and Rufinus as ethically on a level; but his tone towards Stilicho afterwards changes when his source is no longer Eunapius but Olympiodorus. See Eunapius, fr. 62, 63: *ἀμφὶ τὰ πάντα συνήραζον ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ τὸ κράτος τιθέμενοι*. Power depended on wealth at this time as at a later date, in the fifth century, when we find Marcellinus unable to contend with Ricimer, because he was not so rich.

suspicion of entertaining similar schemes, not however in the interest of his own person, but for his son Eucherius. The position of the Vandal, who was connected by marriage with the imperial family, gave him an advantage over Rufinus, which was strengthened by the generally known fact that Theodosius had given him his last instructions. Stilicho, moreover, was popular with the army, and for the present the great bulk of the forces of the Empire was at his disposal; for the regiments united to suppress Eugenius had not yet been sent back to their various stations. Thus a struggle was imminent between the ambitious minister who had the ear of Arcadius, and the strong general who held the command and enjoyed the favour of the army. Before the end of the year this struggle began and concluded in an extremely curious way; but we must first relate how a certain scheme of Rufinus had been checkmated by an obscurer but wiler rival nearer at hand.

It was the cherished project of Rufinus to unite Arcadius with his only daughter; once the Emperor's father-in-law he might hope to become speedily an Emperor himself. But he imprudently made a journey to Antioch, in order to execute vengeance personally on the count of the East,¹ who had offended him; and during his absence from Byzantium an adversary stole a march on him. This adversary was the eunuch Eutropius, the lord chamberlain (*præpositus sacri cubiculi*), a bald old man, who with oriental craftiness had won his way up from the meanest services and employments. Determining that the future Empress should be bound to himself and not to Rufinus, he chose Eudoxia, a girl of singular beauty, the daughter of a distinguished Frank, but herself of Roman education. Her father Bauto² was dead, and she lived in the house of the widow and sons of one of the victims of Rufinus. Eutropius showed a picture of the Frank maiden to the Emperor, and engaged his affections for her; the nuptials were arranged by the time Rufinus returned to Constantinople, and were speedily celebrated (27th April 395).³ This was a blow to Rufinus, but he was still the most powerful man in the East.

¹ Lucian, *comes orientis*, whom he caused to be beaten to death with whips loaded with lead; Zosimus, v. 2. had a high reputation for probity. Zosimus calls him Baudôn.

² *Magister mil. per Orientem*. He ³ *Chron. Pasch. sub anno*.

The event which at length brought him into contact with Stilicho was the rising of the Visigoths, who had been settled by Theodosius in Moesia and Thrace, and were bound in return for their lands to serve in the army as *foederati*. They had accompanied the Emperor to Italy against Eugenius, and had returned to their habitations sooner than the rest of the army. The causes of discontent which led to their revolt are not quite clear; but it seems that Arcadius refused to give them certain grants of money which had been allowed them by his father, and, as has been suggested,¹ they probably expected that favour would wane and influence decrease, now that the "friend of the Goths" was dead, and consequently determined to make themselves heard and felt. To this must be added that their most influential chieftain, Alaric, called Baltha ("the bold"), desired to be made a commander-in-chief, *magister militum*, and was offended that he had been passed over.

However this may be, the historical essence of the matter is, that an immense body of restless uncivilised Germans could not abide permanently in the centre of Roman provinces in a semi-dependent, ill-defined relation to the Roman government: the West Goths had not yet found their permanent home. Under the leadership of Alaric they raised the ensign of revolt, and spread desolation in the fields and homesteads of Macedonia, Moesia, and Thrace, even advancing close to the walls of Constantinople. They carefully spared certain estates outside the city, belonging to the prefect Rufinus; but this policy does not seem to have been adopted with the same motive that caused Archidamus to spare the lands of Pericles. Alaric may have wished not to render Rufinus suspected but to conciliate his friendship and obtain thereby more favourable terms. Rufinus actually went to Alaric's camp, dressed as a Goth,² but the interview led to nothing.

It was impossible to take the field against the Goths because there were no forces available, as the eastern armies were still with Stilicho in the West. Arcadius therefore was

¹ Guldenpenning, in his *Geschichte des oströmischen Reichs unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II.*, a work whose carefulness and completeness make it an extremely convenient book of reference.

² Claudian, in *Rufin.* ii. 78—

Ipse inter medios ne qua de parte relinquat barbariem revocat fulvas in pectora pelles.

nec pudet Ausonios currus et jura regentia sumere deformes ritus vestemque Getarum.

obliged to summon Stilicho to send or bring them back immediately, to protect his throne. This summons gave that general the desired opportunity to interfere in the politics of Constantinople; and having, with energetic celerity, arranged matters on the Gallic frontier, he marched overland through Illyricum, and confronted Alaric in Thessaly, whither the Goth had traced his devastating path from the Propontis.

It appears that Stilicho's behaviour is quite as open to the charges of ambition and artfulness as the behaviour of Rufinus, for I do not perceive how we can strictly justify his detention of the forces, which ought to have been sent back to defend the provinces of Arcadius at the very beginning of the year. Stilicho's march to Thessaly can scarcely have taken place before October, and it is hard to interpret this long delay in sending back the troops, over which he had no rightful authority, if it were not dictated by a wish to implicate the government of New Rome in difficulties and render his own intervention necessary. We are told, too, that he selected the best soldiers from the eastern regiments and enrolled them in the western corps.¹ If we adopted the Cassian maxim, *cui bono fuerit*, we should be inclined to accuse Stilicho of having been privy to the revolt of Alaric; such a supposition would at least be far more plausible than the calumny which was circulated charging Rufinus with having stirred up the Visigoths. For such a supposition, too, we might find support in the circumstance that the estates of Rufinus were spared by the soldiers of Alaric; it would be intelligible that Stilicho suggested the plan in order to bring odium upon Rufinus. To such a conjecture, finally, certain other circumstances, soon to be related, point; but it remains nothing more than a suspicion.

It seems that before Stilicho arrived, Alaric had experienced a defeat at the hands of garrison soldiers in Thessaly²; at all events he shut himself up in a fortified camp and declined to engage with the Roman general. In the meantime Rufinus induced Arcadius to send a peremptory order to Stilicho to despatch the eastern troops to Constantinople and depart himself whence he had come; the Emperor resented, or pretended to resent, the presence of his cousin as an

¹ Zosimus, v. 4: εἴ τι δυνατόν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπεσκληρὸς καὶ ἀπόβλητον χωρεῖν ἐπὶ πολεμικώτατον ἦν τοῦτο κάτεσχε, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἐψῶν ἤφει. ² Socrates, vii. 10.

official interference. Stilicho yielded so readily that his willingness seems almost suspicious; but we shall probably never know whether he was responsible for the events that followed. He consigned the eastern soldiers to the command of a Gothic captain, Gainas, and himself departed to Salona, allowing Alaric to proceed on his wasting way into the lands of Hellas.

Gainas and his soldiers marched by the Via Egnatia to Constantinople,¹ and it was arranged that, according to a usual custom,² the Emperor and his court should come forth from the city to meet the army in the Campus Martius, which extended on the west side of the city near the Golden Gate. We cannot trust the statement of a hostile writer that Rufinus actually expected to be created Augustus on this occasion, and appeared at the Emperor's side prouder and more sumptuously arrayed than ever; we only know that he accompanied Arcadius to meet the army. It is said that, when the Emperor had saluted the troops, Rufinus advanced and displayed a studied affability and solicitude to please towards even individual soldiers. They closed in round him as he smiled and talked, anxious to secure their goodwill for his elevation to the throne, but just as he felt himself very nigh to supreme success, the swords of the nearest were drawn, and his body, pierced with wounds, fell to the ground. His head, carried through the streets, was mocked by the people, and his right hand, severed from the trunk, was presented at the doors of houses with the request "Give to the insatiable!"

We can hardly suppose that the lynching of Rufinus was the fatal inspiration of a moment, but whether it was proposed or approved of by Stilicho,³ or was a plan hatched among the soldiers on their way to Constantinople, is uncertain. One might even conjecture that the whole affair was the result of a prearrangement between Stilicho and the party in Byzantium, which was adverse to Rufinus, and led by the eunuch Eutropius; but there is no evidence.

¹ Claudian, in *Rufin.* ii. 291—

percurritur Hebrus
deseritur Rhodope Thracumque per ardua
tendunt
donec ad Herculei perventum nominis
urbem.

The city of Herculean name, Heraclea, is the ancient Perinthus.

² Zosimus, v. 7, 5: ταύτης γὰρ τῆς τιμῆς ἡξιῶσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔλεγε σύνθηες εἶναι.

³ Zosimus attributes the plan to Stilicho and Gainas. *Ib.* 7, 3. On the confiscation of Rufinus' property, cf. Symmachus, *Epist.* vi. 14.

Our knowledge of this scene unfortunately depends on a partial and untrustworthy writer, who, moreover, wrote in verse—the poet Claudian. He enjoyed the patronage of Stilicho, and his poems “Against Rufinus,” “Against Eutropius,” and “On the Gothic War” are a glorification of his patron’s splendid virtues. Stilicho and Rufinus he paints as two opposite forces, the force of good and the force of evil, like the principles of the Manichaeans. Rufinus is the terrible Pytho, the scourge of the world; Stilicho is the radiant Apollo, the deliverer of mankind. Rufinus is a power of darkness, whose tartarean¹ wickedness surpasses even the wickedness of the Furies of hell; Stilicho is an angel of light. In the works of a poet whose leading idea was so extravagant, we can hardly expect to find much fair historical truth; it is, as a rule, only accidental references and allusions that we can accept, unless other authorities confirm his statements. Yet even modern writers, who know well how cautiously Claudian must be used, have been unconsciously prejudiced in favour of Stilicho and against Rufinus.

We must return to the movements of Alaric, who had entered the regions of classical Greece, for which he showed scant respect. Gerontius, the commander of the garrison at Thermopylae, and Antiochus, the proconsul of Achaia, offered no resistance, and the West Goths entered Boeotia, where Thebes alone escaped their devastation. They occupied the Piraeus, but Athens itself was spared,² and Alaric was entertained as a guest in the city of Athene. But the great temple of the mystic goddesses Demeter and Persephone, at Eleusis, was burnt down by the irreverent barbarians; Megara, the next place on their southward route, fell; then Corinth, Argos, and Sparta. But when they reached Elis they were confronted by an unexpected opponent. Stilicho had returned from Italy, by way of Salona, which he reached by sea, to stay

¹ *Tartareus* is the Latin equivalent of diabolical; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. i. 10.

² The walls of Athens had been restored in the time of the Emperor Valerian (Zosimus, i. 29), and the difficulty of the siege made Alaric amenable to terms. The legend was

that he saw Athene Promachus standing on the walls and Achilles in front of them; which story Zosimus, the zealous “hellén,” relates seriously (v. 6). Philostorgius (xii. 2) says that Alaric “took Athens,” εἰλεν Ἀθήνας, but he means the Piraeus. See Sievers, *Studien*, p. 347.

the hand of the invader. He blockaded him in the plain of Pholoe, but for some reason, not easily comprehensible, he did not press his advantage, and set free the hordes of the Visigothic land-pirates to resume their career of devastation. He went back to Italy, and Alaric returned, plundering as he went, to Illyricum and Thrace, where he made terms with the government of New Rome, and received the desired title of *magister militum per Illyricum*.¹

No one will suppose that Stilicho went all the way from Italy to the Peloponnesus, and then, although he had Alaric practically at his mercy, retreated, leaving matters just as they were, without some excellent reason.² If he had genuinely wished to deliver the distressed countries and assist the Emperor Arcadius, he would not have acted in this ineffectual manner. And it is difficult to see that his conduct is explained by assuming that he was not willing, by a complete extermination of the Goths, to enable Arcadius to dispense with his help in future. In that case, what did he gain by going to the Peloponnesus at all? Or we might ask, if he wished Arcadius to summon his assistance from year to year, is it likely that he would have adopted the method of rendering no assistance whatever? But, above all, the question occurs, what pleasure would it have been to the general to look forward to being called upon again and again to take the field against the Visigoths?

It seems evident that Stilicho and Alaric made at Pholoe some secret and definite arrangement, which conditioned Stilicho's departure, and that this arrangement was conducive to the interests of Stilicho, who was in the position of advantage, and at the same time not contrary to the interests of Alaric, for otherwise Stilicho could not have been sure that the agreement would be carried out. What this secret compact was can only be a matter of conjecture; but I would suggest that Stilicho had already formed the plan of creating his son Eucherius Emperor, and that he designed the Balkan peninsula to be the dominion over which Eucherius should hold sway. His conduct becomes perfectly explicable if we assume that by a secret agreement he secured Alaric's assistance for

¹ See *Güldenpenning, op. cit.* p. 54. The decisive passage is Claudian, *de B. G.* l. 537 sq. Cf. Dr. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i. 257.

² Zosimus says that at Pholoe Stilicho gave himself up to luxury and the society of prostitutes, and incapacitated himself for vigorous action, v. 7, 2.

the execution of this scheme, which the preponderance of Gothic power in Illyricum and Thrace would facilitate. It is subsequent events, to be related in another chapter, that suggest this theory.

It was not only the European parts of Arcadius' dominions that were ravaged, in 395, by the fire and sword of barbarians. In the same year hordes of trans-Caucasian Huns poured through the Caspian gates (*per Caspia claustra*), and, rushing southwards through the provinces of Mesopotamia, carried desolation into Syria. St. Jerome was in Palestine at this time, and in two of his letters we have the account of an eyewitness. "As I was searching for an abode worthy of such a lady (Fabiola, his friend), behold, suddenly messengers rush hither and thither, and the whole East trembles with the news, that from the far Maeotis, from the land of the ice-bound Don and the savage Massagetae, where the strong works of Alexander on the Caucasian cliffs keep back the wild nations, swarms of Huns had burst forth, and, flying hither and thither, were scattering slaughter and terror everywhere. The Roman army was at that time absent in consequence of the civil wars in Italy. . . . May Jesus protect the Roman world in future from such beasts! They were everywhere, when they were least expected, and their speed outstripped the rumour of their approach; they spared neither religion nor dignity nor age; they showed no pity to the cry of infancy. Babies, who had not yet begun to live, were forced to die; and, ignorant of the evil that was upon them, as they were held in the hands and threatened by the swords of the enemy, there was a smile upon their lips. There was a consistent and universal report that Jerusalem was the goal of the foes, and that on account of their insatiable lust for gold they were hastening to this city. The walls, neglected by the carelessness of peace, were repaired. Antioch was enduring a blockade. Tyre, fain to break off from the dry land, sought its ancient island. Then we too were constrained to provide ships, to stay on the seashore, to take precautions against the arrival of the enemy, and, though the winds were wild, to fear a shipwreck less than the barbarians—making provision not for our own safety so much as for the chastity of our virgins."¹ In another letter, speaking of these "wolves of

¹ *Epist.* lxxvii. 8.

the north," he says: "How many monasteries were captured? the waters of how many rivers were stained with human gore? Antioch was besieged and the other cities, past which the Ilalys, the Cydnus, the Orontes, the Euphrates flow. Herds of captives were dragged away; Arabia, Phoenicia, Palestine, Egypt were led captive by fear."¹

The Huns, however, were not the only depredators at whose hands the provinces of Asia Minor and Syria suffered. There were other enemies within, whose ravages were constant, while the expedition of the Huns from without occurred only once. These enemies were the freebooters who dwelled in the Isaurian mountains, wild and untamed in their secure fastnesses. Ammianus Marcellinus describes picturesquely the habits of these sturdy robbers.² They used to descend from the difficult mountain slopes like a whirlwind to places on the seashore, where in hidden ways and glens they lurked till the fall of night, and in the light of the crescent moon, watched until the mariners riding at anchor slept; then they boarded the vessels, killed and plundered the crews. Thus the coast of Isauria was like a deadly shore of Sciron; it was avoided by sailors, who made a practice of putting in at the safer ports of Cyprus. The Isaurians did not always confine their land expeditions to the surrounding provinces of Cilicia and Pamphylia; they penetrated in 403 A.D. northwards to Cappadocia and Pontus, or southwards to Syria and Palestine; and the whole range of the Taurus as far as the confines of Syria seems to have been their spacious habitation. An officer named Arbacazius was entrusted by Arcadius with an office similar in object to that which, four and a half centuries ago, had been assigned to Pompeius; but, though he quelled the spirits of the freebooters for a moment, Arbacazius did not succeed in eradicating the lawless element, in the same way as Pompeius had succeeded in exterminating the piracy which in his day infested the same regions. In the years 404 and 405 Cappadocia was overrun by the robber bands.³

Meanwhile after the death of Rufinus, the weak Emperor

¹ *Epist.* lx. 16. Jerome is dwelling on the miseries of human society (*temporum nostrorum ruinas*), which he also illustrates by the ravages of Alaric in Europe, and the fate of Rufinus,

Abundantius, and Timasius. The letter was written in 396.

² xiv. 2, 1.

³ See the letters written by Chrysostom in his exile.

Arcadius passed under the influence of the eunuch Eutropius, who in unscrupulous greed of money resembled Rufinus and many other officials of the time, and, like Rufinus, has been painted far blacker than he really was. All the evil things that were said by his enemies of Rufinus were said of Eutropius by his enemies; but in reading of the enormities of the latter we must make great allowance for the general prejudice existing against a person with Eutropius' physical disqualifications.

Eutropius naturally looked on the praetorian prefects, the most powerful men in the administration next to the Emperor, with jealousy and suspicion, as dangerous rivals. It was his interest to reduce their power and to raise the dignity of his own office to an equality with theirs. To his influence, then, we are probably justified in ascribing two innovations which were made by Arcadius. The administration of the *cursus publicus*, or office of postmaster general, was transferred from the praetorian prefects to the master of offices, and the same transference was made in regard to the manufactories of arms. On the other hand, the grand chamberlain, *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, was made an *illustris*, equal in rank to the praetorian prefects. Both these innovations were afterwards altered.¹

The general historical import of the position of Eutropius, is that the Empire was falling into a danger, by which it had been threatened from the outset, and which it had been ever trying to avoid. We may say that there were two dangers which constantly impended over the Roman Empire from its inauguration by Augustus to its redintegration by Diocletian—a Scylla and Charybdis, between which it had to steer. The one was a cabinet of imperial freedmen, the other was a military despotism. The former danger called forth, and was counteracted by, the creation of a civil service system, to which Hadrian perhaps made the most important contributions, and which was finally elaborated by Diocletian, who at the same time averted the other danger by separating the military and civil administrations. But both dangers revived in a new form. The danger from the army became danger from the Germans, who preponderated in it; and the institution of court ceremonial tended to create a cabinet of chamberlains and imperial dependants.

¹ See Johannes Lydus, *de Mag.* iii. 40.

This oriental ceremonial, so marked a feature of late "Byzantinism," involved, as one of its principles, difficulty of access to the Emperor, who, living in the retirement of his palace, was tempted to trust less to his eyes than his ears, and saw too little of public affairs. Diocletian appreciated this disadvantage himself, and remarked that the sovereign, shut up in his palace, cannot know the truth, but must rely on what his attendants and officers tell him. We may also remark that absolute monarchy, by its very nature, tends in this direction; for absolute monarchy naturally tends to a dynasty, and a dynasty implies that there must sooner or later come to the throne weak men, inexperienced in public affairs, reared up in an atmosphere of flattery and illusion, easily guided by intriguing chamberlains and eunuchs. Under such conditions, then, aulic cabals and chamber cabinets are sure to become dominant sometimes. Diocletian, whose political insight and ingenuity were remarkable, tried to avoid the dangers of a dynasty by his artificial system, but artifice could not contend with success against nature.

The greatest blot on the ministry of Eutropius (for, as he was the most trusted adviser of the Emperor, we may use the word ministry), was the sale of offices, of which Claudian gives a vivid and exaggerated account.¹ This was a blot, however, that stained other men of those days as well as Eutropius, and we must view it rather as a feature of the times than as a personal enormity. Of course, the eunuch's spies were ubiquitous; of course, informers of all sorts were encouraged and rewarded. All the usual stratagems for grasping and plundering were put into practice. The strong measures that a determined minister was ready to take for the mere sake of vengeance, may be exemplified by the treatment which the whole Lycian province received at the hands of Rufinus. On account of a single individual, Tatian, who had offended that minister, all the provincials were excluded from public offices. After the death of Rufinus, the Lycians were relieved from these disabilities; but the fact that the edict of emancipation expressly enjoins "that no one henceforward venture to wound a Lycian citizen with a name of scorn" shows what a serious misfortune their degradation was.

¹ In *Eutrop.* 1, 197: *Institor imperii caupo famosus honorum*, etc.

The eunuch won considerable odium in the first year of his power (396) by bringing about the fall of two men of distinction—Abundantius, to whose patronage he owed his rise in the world, and Timasius, who had been the commander-general in the East. An account of the manner in which the ruin of the latter was wrought will illustrate the sort of intrigues that were spun at the Byzantine court.¹

Timasius had brought with him from Sardis a Syrian sausage-seller, named Bargas, who, with native address, had insinuated himself into his good graces, and obtained a subordinate command in the army. The prying omniscience of Eutropius discovered that, years before, this same Bargas had been forbidden to enter Constantinople for some misdemeanour, and by means of this knowledge he gained an ascendancy over the Syrian, and compelled him to accuse his benefactor Timasius of a treasonable conspiracy, supporting the charge by forgeries. The accused was tried,² condemned, and banished to the Libyan oasis, a punishment equivalent to death; he was never heard of more. Eutropius, foreseeing that the continued existence of Bargas might at some time compromise himself, suborned his wife to lodge very serious charges against her husband, in consequence of which he was put to death. Whether Eutropius then got rid of the wife we are not informed.

Among the adherents of Eutropius, who were equally numerous and insincere, two were of especial importance—Osius, who had risen from the post of a cook to be count of the sacred largesses, and finally master of the offices, and Leo,³ a soldier, corpulent and good-humoured, who was known by the sobriquet of Ajax, a man of great body and little mind, fond of boasting, fond of eating, fond of drinking, and fond of women.

On the other hand, Eutropius had many enemies, and enemies in two different quarters. Romans of the stamp of Timasius

¹ Zosimus, v. 8.

² The general feeling in favour of Timasius, a man of the highest character, was so great that the Emperor gave up his first intention of presiding at the trial, and committed its conduct to Procopius and Saturninus. The letter of Jerome (lx.—quoted above, p. 70), which was written in 396, proves that Abundantius and Timasius were exiled in that year.

³ Claudian describes Leo in lines almost worthy of Juvenal (*in Eutrop.* ii. 376 sq.)

Acer in absentes, lingue jactator, abundans corporis, exiguusque animi, doctissimus artis quondam lanificæ, etc.

Leo was once employed in the wool trade, and Claudian puts into his mouth, with considerable cleverness, expressions redolent of wool-making.

and Aurelian were naturally opposed to the supremacy of an emasculated chamberlain; while, as we shall see subsequently, the German element in the Empire, represented by Gainas, was also inimical. It seems certain that a serious confederacy was formed in the year 397, aiming at the overthrow of Eutropius. Though this is not stated by any writer, it seems an inevitable conclusion from the law (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 14, 3) which was passed in the autumn of that year, assessing the penalty of death to any one who had conspired "with soldiers or private persons, including barbarians," against the lives "of *illustres* who belong to our consistory or assist at our counsels," or other senators, such a conspiracy being considered equivalent to treason. Intent was to be regarded as equivalent to crime, and not only did the individual concerned incur capital punishment, but his descendants were visited with disfranchisement. It is generally recognised that this law was an express palladium for chamberlains; but surely it must have been suggested by some actually formed conspiracy, of which Eutropius discovered the threads, before it was carried out. The particular mention of *soldiers* and *barbarians* points to a particular danger, and we may suspect that Gainas, who afterwards brought about the fall of Eutropius, had some connection with it.

While the eunuch was sailing in the full current of success at Byzantium, the Vandal Stilicho was enjoying an uninterrupted course of prosperity in the somewhat less stifling air of Italy. The poet Claudian, who acted as a sort of poet-laureate to Honorius, was really an apologist for Stilicho, who patronised and paid him. Almost every public poem he produced is an extravagant panegyric on that general, and we cannot but suspect that many of his utterances were direct manifestoes suggested by his patron. In the panegyric in honour of the third consulate of Honorius (396), which, composed soon after the death of Rufinus, breathes a spirit of concord between East and West, the writer calls upon Stilicho "to protect with his right hand the two brothers" (*geminos dextra tu protege fratres*). Such lines as this are written to put a certain significance on Stilicho's policy. In the panegyric in honour of the fourth consulate of Honorius (398), he gives an absolutely false and misleading account of Stilicho's expedition

to Greece two years before, an account which no allowance for poetical exaggeration can defend. At the same time he extols Honorius with the most absurd eulogiums, and overwhelms him with the most extravagant adulations, making out the boy of fourteen to be greater than his father and grandfather. If Claudian were not a poet, we should say that he was a most outrageous liar. We are therefore unable to accord him the smallest credit when he boasts that the subjects in the western provinces are not oppressed by heavy taxes, and that the treasury is not replenished by extortion.¹

Stilicho and Eutropius had shaken hands over the death of Rufinus, but the good understanding was not destined to last longer than the song of triumph. We cannot justly blame Eutropius for this. No minister of Arcadius could regard with goodwill or indifference the desire of Stilicho to interfere in the affairs of New Rome; for this desire cannot be denied, even if one do not accept the theory that the scheme of detaching Illyricum from Arcadius' dominion was entertained by him at as early a date as 396. His position as master of soldiers in Italy gave him no power in other parts of the Empire; and the attitude which he assumed as an elderly relative, solicitously concerned for the welfare of his wife's young cousin, in obedience to the wishes of that cousin's father, was untenable, when it led him to exceed the acts of a strictly private friendship.

We can then well understand the indignation felt at New Rome, not only by Eutropius, but probably also by men of a quite different faction, when the news arrived that Stilicho purposed to visit Constantinople to set things in order and arrange matters for Arcadius.² Such officiousness was intolerable, and it was plain that the strongest protest must be made against it. The senate accordingly passed a resolution declaring Stilicho a public enemy. This action of the senate is very remarkable, and its signification is not generally perceived. If the act had been altogether due to Eutropius, it would surely have taken the form of an imperial decree. Eutropius would not have resorted to the troublesome method of bribing or threatening the whole senate even if he had been

¹ *In Hon. Cons.* 495 sq. Claudian is at his finest in his eulogies of Theodosius *avus*, the hero of Africa and

Britain, and Theodosius *pater*, the Great.

² Zosimus, Bk. v. 11.

able to do so. We must conclude, then, that the general feeling against Stilicho was strong, and we must confess naturally strong.

The situation was now complicated by a revolt in Africa, which eventually proved highly fortunate for the glory and influence of Stilicho.

Eighteen years before, the Moor Firmus had made an attempt to create a kingdom for himself in the African provinces (379 A.D.), and had been quelled by the arms of Theodosius, who received important assistance from Gildo, the brother and enemy of Firmus. Gildo was duly rewarded. He was finally appointed military commander, or count, of Africa, and his daughter Salvina was united in marriage to a nephew of the Empress Aelia Flaccilla.¹ But the faith of the Moors was as the faith of Carthaginians. Gildo refused to send aid to Theodosius in his expedition against Eugenius. After Theodosius' death he prepared to take a more positive attitude, and he engaged numerous African nomad tribes to support him in his revolt. The strained relations between Old and New Rome, which did not escape his notice, suggested to him that his rebellion might assume the form of a transition from the sovereignty of Honorius to the sovereignty of Arcadius. He knew that if he were dependent only on New Rome, he would be practically independent.² He entered accordingly into communication with the government of Arcadius, but the negotiations came to nothing. It appears that Gildo demanded that Libya should be consigned to his rule, and he certainly took possession of it. It also appears that embassies on the subject passed between Italy and Constantinople, and that Symmachus the orator was one of the ambassadors. But it is certain that Arcadius did not in any way assist Gildo, and the comparatively slight and moderate references which the hostile Claudian makes to the hesitating attitude of New Rome indicate that the government of Arcadius did not behave very badly after all.

We need not go into the details of the Gildonic war,³ through which Stilicho won well-deserved laurels, although he did not take the field himself. What made the revolt of the

¹ Nebridius. Salvina was afterwards a friend of John Chrysostom.

² Orosius, *Historiae adv. Paganos*, vii. 36.

³ See the *Bellum Gildonicum* of Claudian.

count of Africa of such great moment was the fact that the African provinces were the granary of Old Rome, as Egypt was the granary of New Rome. By stopping the supplies of corn, Gildo might hope to starve out Italy. The prompt action and efficient management of Stilicho, however, prevented any catastrophe; for ships from Gaul and from Spain, laden with corn, appeared in the Tiber, and Rome was supplied during the winter months. Early in 398 a fleet sailed against the tyrant, whose hideous cruelties and oppressions were worthy of his Moorish blood; and it is a curious fact that this fleet was under the command of Mascezel, Gildo's brother, who was now playing the same part towards Gildo that Gildo had played towards his brother Firmus. The undisciplined nomadic army of the rebel was scattered without labour at Ardalion, and Africa was delivered from the Moor's reign of ruin and terror, to which Roman rule, with all its fiscal sternness, was peace and prosperity.¹ This subjugation of the man whom the senate of Old Rome had pronounced a public enemy redounded far and wide to the glory of the man whom the senate of New Rome had proclaimed a public enemy. And in the meantime Stilicho's position had become still more splendid and secure by the marriage of his daughter Maria with the Emperor Honorius (Spring 398), for which an epithalamium was written by Claudian, who, as we might expect, celebrates the father-in-law as expressly as the bridal pair. The Gildonic war also supplied, we need hardly remark, a grateful material for his favourite theme; and the year 400, to which Stilicho gave his name as consul, inspired an enthusiastic effusion.²

¹ The complications which resulted in Africa from the despotism of Gildo, and the attempts to right wrongs and restore property, lasted for many years. The large property which Gildo had amassed required a special official to administer it, entitled *comes Gildoniaci patrimonii*. See *Cod. Theod.* vii. 8, 7, and *Notit. Occ.* xi.

² Two inscriptions on marble bases, found at Rome (*C. I. L.* vi. 1730 and 1731), celebrate the career of Stilicho. One of them (1730) is as follows—

FLAVIO STILICHONI INLUSTRISSIMO
VIRO MAGISTRO EQUITUM PEDITUMQUE COMITI DOMESTICORUM
TRIBUNO PRAETORIANO ET AB IN-
EUNTE AETATE PER GRADUS CLAR-

ISSIMAE MILITIAE AD COLUMEN
GLORIAE SEMPITERNAE ET REGIAE
ADFINITATIS EVecto PROGENERO
DIVI THEODOSII COMITI DIVI
THEODOSII AUGUSTI IN OMNIBUS
BELLIS ADQUE VICTORIIS ET AB
EO IN ADFINITATEM REGIAM CO-
OPTATO ITEMQUE SOCERO D. N.
HONORI AUGUSTI AFRICA CON-
SILIIS EJUS ET PROVISIONE
LIBERATA.

Several inscriptions found on Roman gates commemorate the restoration of the "walls, gates, and towers" of the city by Honorius, a work which was undertaken at Stilicho's suggestion, (see *C. I. L.* vi. 1188-1190) before the invasion of Alaric in 402.

It may seem strange that now, almost at the zenith of his fame, the father-in-law of the Emperor and the hero of the Gildonic war did not make some attempt to carry out his favourite project of interference with the government of the eastern provinces. But there are two considerations which may help to explain this. In the first place, Stilicho himself was not the man of indomitable will who forms a project and carries it through; he was a man rather of that ambitious but hesitating character which Mommsen attributes to Pompey. He was half a Roman and half a barbarian; he was half-strong and half-weak; he was half-patriotic and half-selfish. His intentions were unscrupulous, but he was almost afraid of them. Besides this, his wife Serena probably endeavoured to check his policy of discord and maintain unity in the Theodosian house. In the second place, it is sufficiently probable that he was in constant communication with Gainas, the German general of the eastern armies and chief representative of the German interests in the realm of Arcadius, and that Gainas was awaiting his time for an outbreak, by which Stilicho hoped to profit and execute his designs. He had no excuse for interference, and he was willing to wait. His inactive policy of the next few years must not be taken to indicate that he cherished no ambitious projects.

The Germans looked up to Stilicho as the most important German in the Empire, their natural protector and friend, while there was a large Roman faction opposed to him as a foreigner. But as yet this faction was not strong enough to overpower him. It is remarkable that his fall was finally brought about by the influence of a palace official (408 A.D.), while the fall of his rival Eutropius, which occurred far sooner (399 A.D.), was brought about by the compulsion of a German general. These facts indicate that the two dangers to which I already called attention—the preponderating influence of German soldiers and the preponderating influence of chamberlains and eunuchs—were mutually checks on each other. I must reserve for the next chapter an account of the danger from the Germans which threatened New Rome, but was fortunately weathered—a danger whose aversion was of really critical importance for the maintenance of the Roman Empire in the East, and whose gravity has not always been sufficiently accentuated.

CHAPTER II

THE GERMANS IN THE EAST

THERE were at this time three political parties at Constantinople. There was the German party, of which the chief representative was Gainas, the commander of the Eastern army, and which counted not only barbarians but Romans among its members. It is probable that this party was in constant communication with Stilicho in the West, and it is possible that the Frankish Empress Eudoxia may have looked upon it with a certain amount of favour. But I think we must reject the assumption of any very close bond between her and the Goths, because she was an orthodox Catholic and they were Arians. It must never be forgotten that the difference in religion which marked off the German nations was an important element in the situation. Secondly, there was the party of Eutropius, consisting entirely of time-serving hangers-on, bound together by no principle or common purpose—an ephemeral clique, clustering round the eunuch to receive his favours as long as he was in favour himself. These two factions, the faction of Eutropius and the faction of Gainas, were opposed.

There was a third party, opposed to both of these, consisting of those senators and ministers who entertained a Roman abhorrence of the increase of German influence in the Empire, and a strong Roman detestation of the bedchamber administration of eunuchs¹; men who were equally scandalised by the fact that three commanders-in-chief in the Roman Empire were Germans (Stilicho in Italy, Alaric in Illyricum, and

¹ The Roman sentiment against the power of eunuchs is strongly expressed in Claudian's poem against Eutropius.

Gainas in the East), and by the appointment of Eutropius to the consulship in the year 399, an honour which was soon followed by his elevation to the rank of *Patrician*, which, after the imperial, was the highest title in the State. *Omnia cesserunt eunuchō consule monstra.* We may call this party the party of Aurelian, for Aurelian was its most important and respected member. He was the son of a distinguished prætorian prefect named Taurus, and he had himself filled the offices of quaestor and prefect of the city.

I have said that the Germans had friends among the Romans. The most distinguished of their Roman supporters was an enigmatical figure, whose real name we shall probably never know, the brother of Aurelian, but in character diametrically opposed to him. This shadowy person, who played a leading part at this period, is one of the riddles of history, like the Man of the Iron Mask. We derive all that we know about him from a historical sketch, written in the form of an allegory, by Synesius, bishop of Cyrene, entitled *Concerning Providence, or the Egyptians*. Its subject is the contest for the Egyptian kingdom between the two sons of Taurus,¹ Osiris and Typhos. Osiris, by whom is meant Aurelian, is the type of everything that is good and laudable; while Typhos, a sort of nature's byblow, differing from Osiris as Edmund differed from Edgar in *King Lear*, is "left-handed" and perverse, gross and ignorant. It will be most convenient to call this unknown person by his allegorical name.

We are told that Typhos at one time held a financial post,² but was soon obliged to abdicate it on account of malversation. He then obtained some other office, and performed its duties equally badly.

He allied himself closely with the German party, who saw in him, as a Roman of good family and position, an important supporter. In private life he is represented as a profligate, and Synesius tells stories to illustrate his indecent and frivolous habits. He mentions, as the climax of indecency, that Typhos used to snore on purpose when awake, and take delight in hearing others producing the same noise, as if it were marvellously

¹ γέγονται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ταύρου παῖσιν (Προβλεψία of the Αἰγύπτιοι). Compare Sievers, *Studien*, p. 387 sqq.

² ταμίας χρημάτων, Synes. p. 1217, ed. Migne. The expression usually means *comes sacrarum largitionum*.

fine music; and he used to praise and honour him who uttered most tunefully the licentious sound, and evolved the finest and "roundest snort."¹ We must remember that these are the allegations of an opponent, but at the same time it is just to observe that the prose allegory of Synesius has a truer ring than the poetical histories of Claudian.

The sketch which Synesius gives of the wife of Typhos, an ambitious and fashionable lady, is valuable and interesting, even if it be considerably overdrawn, as the picture of a type of contemporary society. She was, in the first place, her own tirewoman,² a reproach which seems to imply that she was inordinately attentive to the details of her toilet. She liked to be seen, and constantly showed herself in the marketplace and the theatre, thinking that the eyes of all were turned towards her. This desire of notoriety prevented her from being too nice in her choice of society; she liked to have her house and drawing-room filled, and her doors were not closed against professional courtesans. It may be supposed that select Byzantine society refused to know her. Synesius contrasts with her the wife of Aurelian, who never left the house, and asserts the great virtue of a woman to be that neither her body nor her name should ever cross the threshold. Such an extreme idea, however, was almost obsolete; and if Synesius really believed in it he cannot have approved of the behaviour of his friend and teacher Hypatia. But I believe this is a mere rhetorical flourish, in imitation of the celebrated dictum of Thucydides.

The great struggle between the alien and the native element in the East, which was to decide that the eastern provinces were not to be dismembered by the Teutonic nations, began at the end of the year 398. It took the form of a contest between the two brothers, Aurelian and Typhos, for the office of praetorian prefect. The former was successful in obtaining the nomination, which was a great triumph for the anti-German party. Synesius was at this time at Constantinople, and lived on very intimate terms with Aurelian and his friends, so that

¹ *μουσικήν τινα θανμαστήν τὸ πάθος ἡγουμένους*. Dio Chrysostom finds fault with the people of Tarsus for their habit of snoring. We might imagine from this account that Typhos was the leading

spirit of a sort of society for the promotion of indecency.

² *ἐαυτῆς κομμώτρια, θεάτρου καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀπληστος, κ.τ.λ.*

he had an excellent opportunity of observing all that went on. Penetrated with the spirit of old Hellenedom, especially Platonism, and feeling a Hellenic antagonism to barbarians, he sympathised fully with the aspirations and purposes of the Roman party at Byzantium. Aurelian seems to have been a man of culture and learning, and was surrounded with men of letters, such as Troilus the poet and Polyæmon the rhetor.

The success of Aurelian was a great blow to Typhos and his wife and his friends. His wife had been looking forward eagerly to the prefecture for the sake of the social advantages which it would confer. Synesius gives a curious account of the measures which Typhos took to console himself and his friends for their disappointment. He constructed a large pond (*κολυμβήθρα*), in which he made artificial islands, provided with warm baths; and in these islands he and his friends, in the company of women, used to indulge in licentious pleasures.

But this was only the prologue to the drama proper. It was a movement on the part of Ostrogoths, who had been settled in Phrygia by Theodosius, that brought on the main struggle; and this movement was hardly independent of the German faction in the capital, though we have no distinct evidence to show that it was instigated by Gainas or Typhos.¹ The Count Tribigild, who commanded the troops in Phrygia, bore a personal grudge against Eutropius, and this drove him to excite to revolt the Teutonic *lacti*, or colons, consisting of Ostrogoths and Gruthungi,² whom Theodosius, the friend of the Goths, had established in the fertile regions of Phrygia in 386. The revolt broke out in spring, as Arcadius and his court were preparing to start for Ancyra in Galatia, whither the Emperor was fond of resorting in summer on account of its pleasant and salubrious climate. The barbarians, recruited by runaway slaves, spread destruction throughout many provinces, Galatia and Pisidia and Bithynia.

¹ Tribigild was in Constantinople at the beginning of 399, paying his respects to the new consul Eutropius, who on that occasion offended him by neglect. It seems very probable that he arranged the whole plan of campaign with Gainas before he left the capital. That their complicity began

only after Gainas had taken the field is hard to believe. On the chronology of these events, see *Güldenpenning*, p. 99.

² Claudian, in *Eutrop.* ii. 153. *Ostrogothis colitur mistisque Gruthungis Phryx ager.* Is the first part of *Gruthungus* the same as *Gurth*?

At this moment Synesius presented a crown to Arcadius on behalf of his native town, Cyrene, and delivered his celebrated speech, "Concerning the Office of King."¹ This may be regarded, as has been well pointed out,² the anti-German manifesto of the Roman party of Aurelian. It urged the policy of imposing disabilities on barbarians, and thereby eradicating the German element in the State. The argument depends on the by no means christian assumption that the Roman and the barbarian are different in kind, and that therefore their union is unnatural. The soldiers of a state should be like watchdogs, as Plato says, but our armies are full of wolves in the guise of dogs; moreover, our homes are full of German servants. The lawgiver cannot wisely give arms to any who are not born and reared in his laws; the shepherd cannot expect to tame wolves' cubs. The German soldiers are a stone of Tantalus suspended over the State. The only salvation is to remove the alien element—ἐκκρίναι δὲ δεῖ τὰλλότριον. This speech was not calculated to induce Gainas to take energetic measures against his fellow-Germans, whom he was sent to reduce.

For there seem to have been only two generals of any account at this time—Gainas, the Goth, and Leo, the Falstaff of that age. Both were sent with armies against Tribigild. The rebels, seeking to avoid an engagement with Leo, turned their steps to Pisidia and thence proceeded to Pamphylia, where they met with a brave and unexpected resistance.³ While Gainas was purposely inactive, and writing in his letters to Constantinople that Tribigild was very formidable, a land proprietor of the town of Selge, named Valentinus, formed a corps of peasants and slaves and laid an ambush hard by a winding narrow pass in the mountains leading from Pisidia to Pamphylia. The advancing enemy was surprised by showers of stones from the heights above them, and there was no means of escape, as they were hemmed in by a treacherous marsh. After a great loss of life, Tribigild bribed the commander, Florentius, who held the pass, and thus succeeded in effecting his escape. But he had no sooner escaped than he was shut in between two rivers,

¹ Compare Sievers, *Studien*, p. 379.

² Guldenpenning has brought out this point.

³ See the narrative in Zosimus, v. 16.

the Melas and the Eurymedon, by the warlike inhabitants of those regions, who were well used to warfare from their experience of Isaurian freebooters. Leo meanwhile was advancing, and the insurrection might have been utterly and easily crushed, but that Gainas secretly replenished the forces of Tribigild with detachments from his own army. Thus Leo had really two enemies in the field against him, one in the disguise of a friend. He found Tribigild at the head of a large army, with which he could not attempt to cope; but this was not all. The German regiments in his own army preponderated, and they suddenly attacked the minority of Roman soldiers, and easily overpowered them. Leo lost his life in attempting to escape,¹ so that Gainas and Tribigild were left masters of the situation.

Gainas, who still posed as a loyal general foiled by the superior ability and power of Tribigild, despatched a message to the Emperor, misrepresenting the defeat of Leo, dwelling on the superiority of the rebel, and urging Arcadius to yield to his demands—the chief demand being that Eutropius should be surrendered. The Emperor hesitated, for he was probably attached to his chamberlain, but, in addition to the pressure of the Germans, another influence was brought to bear which secured the fall of the eunuch. The Empress Eudoxia, who had owed her position to the machinations of Eutropius, became jealous of his power with her husband; dissension and antagonism were born between them; and one day Eudoxia appeared in the presence of the Emperor, leading her two little daughters, Flaccilla and Pulcheria, by the hand, and complained bitterly of the eunuch's insulting behaviour.

When Eutropius heard of the demand of Gainas, he did not disguise from himself his extreme peril, but fled to the refuge of the sanctuary of St. Sophia.² There he might not only trust in the protection of the holy place, but might expect that the Patriarch of Constantinople, Johannes Chrysostomus, would stand by him in his extremity, when he was abandoned by his noonday friends. For it was through his influence that Johan-

¹ Claudian's account of Leo's death is intended to be a little comical—appropriate to the Falstaff of the ago. He was killed, according to the poet, by fright—*valuil pro vul-*

nere terror (in *Eutrop.* ii. 240 sq.)

² For the fall of Eutropius, see Sozomen, *H. E.* vi. 5; Sozomen, *H. E.* viii. 7; Philostorgius, *H. E.* xi. 6; Zosimus, v. 18.

nes, a Syrian presbyter of Antioch, had been nominated to the episcopal chair (398 A.D.) And the personal interference of Johannes was actually necessary; he had to stand between the cowering eunuch and those who would have dragged him from beneath the altar. This incident seems to have taken place on Saturday, and on the following day, Sunday, the service must have been curiously impressive, and the feelings of the congregation strange. Hidden under the altar, overwhelmed with fear and shame, lay the old chamberlain, whose will had been almost supreme a few days before, and in the pulpit the eloquent archbishop delivered a sermon "on the fallen eunuch," beginning with the words, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."¹ In this discourse he dwelled without mercy on the frivolity and irreligion of the party of Eutropius; but at the same time he sought to excite the sympathy of the audience.

When the church had been again surrounded and entered by soldiers, and Johannes had again personally interposed, Eutropius allowed himself to be taken away, on condition that his life should be spared. He was banished to Cyprus. Gainas, however, was not content with anything less than his death; and availing himself of the quibble that security of life had been granted to him only in Constantinople, Arcadius caused him to be brought back and tried at Chalcedon, where he was condemned on trivial, probably false, charges, and executed (autumn 399 A.D.)

The edict concerning Eutropius which was issued by Arcadius is a curious document, and deserves to be quoted. It will serve also as a specimen of imperial edicts in general.

"The Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, Augusti, to Aurelianus, Praetorian Prefect.

"We have added to our treasury all the property of Eutropius, who was formerly the *Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi*, having stripped him of his splendour, and delivered the consulate from the foul stain of his tenure, and from the recollection of his name and the base filth thereof; so that, all his acts having been repealed, all time may be dumb concerning him; and that the blot of our age may not appear by the mention of him; and that those who by their valour and wounds extend the Roman borders or guard the same by equity in the maintenance of law, may not groan over

¹ See Chrysostom's Works, ed. Mont-faucon, vol. iii. ὁμιλία εἰς Εὐτρόπιον εὐνούχου πατρικίου καὶ ὑπατοῦ. We

are reminded of Massillon's words in the funeral oration on Louis XIV, "Dieu seul est grand."

the fact that the divine guerdon of consulship has been befouled and defiled by a filthy monster. Let him learn that he has been deprived of the rank of the patriciate and all lower dignities that he stained with the perversity of his character (*morum polluit scaevitate*). That all the statues, all the images—whether of bronze or marble, or painted in colours, or of any other material used in art—we command to be abolished in all cities, towns, private and public places, that they may not, as a brand of infamy on our age, pollute the gaze of beholders. Accordingly under the conduct of faithful guards let him be taken to the island of Cyprus, whither let your sublimity know that he has been banished; so that therein guarded with most watchful diligence he may be unable to work confusion with his mad designs.

"Dated . . .¹ at Constantinople in the Consulship of Theodorus, *vir clarissimus*."

The quaestor in drawing up this document did not spare vigorous language, and it seems strange that Arcadius should have allowed an edict to go forth which reflects so seriously on himself, by provoking immediately the question why the Emperor countenanced the "filth" so long. The weakness of the Emperor was proportional to the force of the language.

It was after the fall of Eutropius that Gainas seems to have declared his real colours openly, and acted no longer as a mediator for Tribigild, but as an adversary, bargaining for terms. He and Tribigild had met at Thyatira and proceeded to the Hellespont, plundering as they went. At Chalcedon, Gainas demanded and obtained an interview with Arcadius, and an agreement was made that Gainas should continue to hold the post of *magister militum per orientem*, and that he and Tribigild might cross over with impunity to Europe. As a security, three hostages were to be handed over to Gainas—namely, Aurelian, the praetorian prefect; Saturninus, one of the chief men of Aurelian's party; and Johannes, the friend (report said the lover) of Eudoxia.

The surrender of Aurelian as a hostage to the German general was a triumph for his brother Typhos, who appears to have succeeded him in the prefecture. Synesius attributes the combination against Aurelian to a drawing-room cabal—a plot brewed for his destruction by the wife of Typhos and the wife of Gainas.² It is evident at least that both city and camp were

¹ xvi. Kal. Febr. (MSS.) Febr. seems to be an error for Octobr. or Novembr., though the order of laws in the Codex seems to forbid this. The edict

will be found in *Cod. Theod.* ix. 40, 17.

² τυρεύεται δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐν δύο γυναικώτεσσιν. Synes. *Aegypt.* i. 15.

full of intrigues at this time, and that during the first half of the year 400 A.D. Typhos was the most important minister in the Empire. He did not however prevail upon the cautious Gainas to sacrifice his brother Aurelian; the three hostages underwent a sham execution, the sword grazing their necks, and were banished for a short time. We may probably attribute this unexpected clemency partly to the intercession of the Patriarch Johannes, who crossed over to Chalcedon in order to plead for them.

This event took place towards the end of 399 A.D., and soon afterwards Gainas crossed the Bosphorus with his Goths,¹ and took up his quarters in the capital. Of Tribigild we hear no more; his historical importance is that he was a tool in the hands of Gainas. What events took place during the next six months, what were the designs of Gainas, what were the details of the administration of Typhos—all these, and many other questions, history leaves unanswered. Above all, we desire to know what circumstances checked and almost paralysed the action of Gainas and his Goths in Constantinople. It certainly seems that there were somewhere in the vicinity Roman troops (over and above the bodyguard of the Emperor), of which our authorities have left no record; for (1) Fravitta had troops at his command to oppose Gainas when he left the city; and (2) what is the meaning of Gainas' bargain with the Emperor for a safe-conduct to Europe, if he had not some hostile force to fear? (3) All that we hear of the conduct of Gainas in the city demands such a supposition.

One great object of the combination of Typhos and Gainas was to relieve the Arians of their disabilities and establish the full freedom of Arian worship in the city. We might almost conjecture that it was their common religious belief that united originally the interests of Typhos and the Germans. This policy, however, was defeated by the firmness and courage of the Patriarch, who opposed Gainas face to face. The Emperor refused to yield to the demands of the Goths, and here we may suspect that the influence of Eudoxia was also operative.

About midsummer Gainas formed the resolve to leave the city, which he and Typhos together had kept in a ferment for six months. In two clandestine attempts—one to seize the

¹ Gildenpenning (p. 119) reckons their number about 30,000.

imperial palace, the other to sack the bureaux of the money-changers—he had been frustrated; and combining this with his resolution to quit the capital with his large army, we must conclude that some material danger threatened or checked him. We know not what his wishes or designs were,¹ but we can hardly see why he could not have carried them through, if Constantinople was as entirely unprotected by military forces as historians generally represent it to have been.

At length, feeling that his position in the city was not agreeable, Gainas resolved to leave it. Making an excuse of illness, he went to perform devotions in a church of St. John, about seven miles distant, and he ordered the Gothic forces to follow him in relays. The preparations made by the foreigners for departure frightened the citizens, who did not understand their intentions, and the city was in such a state of excitement that any accident might lead to serious consequences. It so happened that a beggar-woman standing at the gate of the city early in the morning to receive alms, and seeing the Goths depart, thought the end of the world was coming, and prayed aloud. Her prayer offended a Goth who had just approached, and as he was about to cut her down, a Roman intervened and slew him. This occurrence brought about a general tumult, in which the citizens proved superior, and gave full vent to their rancour against the barbarians. Many of the Goths fled from the city. Then the gates were closed, and more than seven thousand remained, unable to communicate with their friends without, at the mercy of the infuriated mob. They fled to their church, which was near the imperial palace, but the sanctity of the building was not respected. The Romans obtained permission from the Emperor to resort to extremities, and the Gothic soldiers suffered a fate similar to that which befell the oligarchs at Corcyra during the Peloponnesian war. The roof of the building was removed, and the detested barbarians were crushed under showers of stones and burning brands² [12th July 400].

¹ Guldenpenning thinks he had none, and we may admit that he had no clearly defined plan.

² ξύλα περπωμένα, Zosimus, v. 19, 10. This historian gives a sufficiently full account (taken doubtless from Euna-

pius) of the revolt of Gainas, but many of the minor details are gathered from the *Egyptians* of Synesius. Cf. also Sozomen, viii. 4; Socrates, vi. 6; Philostorgius, xi. 8.

Soon afterwards the conduct of Typhos was subjected to an investigation, his treasonable collusion with Gainas was abundantly exposed, and he was condemned preliminarily to imprisonment. He was afterwards rescued from the vengeance of the mob by his brother Aurelian, who had returned from banishment: but what further befell him we do not hear. Gainas meanwhile, as a declared enemy, proceeded through Thrace, seeking what he and his Goths might plunder.¹ But his expedition was disappointing, for the inhabitants had in good time retreated into the strong places, and he was unable to take them. No resource remained but to pass over into Asia, and he marched to the Hellespont. But when he arrived at the coast near Abydos, he found that the opposite shore was occupied by an army, ready to dispute his passage, under the loyal pagan Goth Fravitta, who had once rescued Theodosius I. from his own countrymen,² and was now, in advanced years, to perform a similar service for Arcadius. Gainas tarried on the shore until his provisions were exhausted, and then, constrained to essay the passage for which he was unprovided with ships, constructed rude rafts, which he committed to the current. Fravitta's ships easily sank these unwieldy contrivances, and Gainas, who remained on shore and saw his troops exterminated before his eyes, hastened northward through Thrace, beyond Mount Haemus, even beyond the Ister, expecting to be pursued by the victor. Fravitta made no attempt to capture him, but he fell into the hands of Uldes, king of the Huns, who cut off his head and sent it as a grateful offering to Arcadius.³

The Gothic discomfiter of the Goths enjoyed a triumph for his decisive success, and the christian Emperor granted to the old pagan the only favour he requested—to be allowed to worship God after the fashion of his fathers.⁴

Thus the great danger which was hanging over the Empire was warded off from the eastern provinces at the very beginning of the fifth century, and it was decided that it was not in the east that the Empire was to be dismembered by the Germans.

¹ The neutral attitude of Alaric during these events is presumably to be explained by jealousy of Gainas.

² Fravitta had also cleared the east, "from Cilicia to Syria and Palestine,"

of pirates. Zosimus, v. 20, 2.

³ In February 401 the head arrived at Constantinople. The sea fight took place about 23d December 400.

⁴ Fravitta was made consul in 401.

Alaric, indeed, was still commander-in-chief in Illyricum, but his eyes were bent westward, and within a few years the Illyrian lands were to be delivered for ever from the Visigoths. It was indeed an important episode in Roman history, and although modern writers have often treated it more casually than it deserves, it attracted appropriate attention in the fifth century, and was celebrated in two epic poems¹ as well as in the myth of Synesius of Cyrene.

It is worthy of observation that it was this German movement that brought about the fall of the eunuch Eutropius. Eight years later it was the machinations of the palace official Olympius that brought about the fall of the German Stilicho. Thus, as I remarked before, the chamberlains in the palace and the Germans in the camp—the representatives of the Orientalising and Germanising tendencies that were eating into the Roman spirit—were each a check upon the other; and the antagonism between these forces of corrosion was a temporary safeguard for the Roman party. With the Roman party, moreover, the Church was thoroughly in sympathy, for a defeat of the Germans was equivalent to a defeat of Arianism.

¹ The *Gainca* of Eusebius (a pupil of Troilus, the friend of Aurelian), and a poem by Ammonius (recited in 437). *Guldenpenning* is the first historian who has insisted duly on the importance of this German movement, and this perhaps is the most valuable part of his work.

CHAPTER III

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

THE strange drama of Gainas, which decided the relation of the Empire to its German subjects in the East, was followed by another drama, equally strange, wherein the power of the Patriarch of Constantinople appeared in conflict with the imperial authority. A collision had not taken place before. With the exception of Valens, no Emperor had resided for any length of time in the capital until Arcadius, who never left it except to take a summer holiday at Ancyra. Hitherto the Emperors had been military commanders, who flew from frontier to frontier and city to city to direct campaigns or arrange administrative innovations. Moreover, the see of Constantinople had not attained to the first rank in the eastern half of the Empire until the council of 381. Hence in the reign of Arcadius it was inevitable that a mutual adjustment of the relations between the court and the patriarchal palace should take place. To this adjustment the characters of the persons concerned gave a peculiar complexion. If it had depended solely on Arcadius, who was pious and weak, the struggle perhaps would not have come to pass so soon, but would have been reserved for a stronger Emperor, of the temper of his father. But he had a worldly queen, who exerted great influence over him, and she drew him into collision with the bishop. On the other hand, if the mild old Nectarius had lived ten years longer, there would hardly have been room for discord, and in this case, too, the adjustment would have been reserved for the advent of a more decided and independent hierarch. But he died, and a man thoroughly independent and

thoroughly in earnest, of rough and uncourtly ways, one who was not afraid to hear his own voice crying in a wilderness of worldliness, and who, if he did not desire to fight, was perfectly ready for the fray, was appointed to the episcopal throne.

And thus we have a spectacle of more than usual interest, the asceticism of the Church, represented by John Chrysostom,¹ ranged against a superb court led by the Empress Eudoxia, who made herself, as it were, the champion and example of the pride of life and the pomps and vanities of the world. And on the other hand, the course of the conflict brings out the worldliness, the enmities, the unscrupulousness, the abuses that grew rank within the Church itself. Side issues disguised the real import of this war of four years; but though it appeared merely to concern Chrysostom personally, it really decided that in future the Patriarch of Constantinople was to be dependent on the Emperor.

We must first become acquainted with some of the actors in this drama, which began in social circles before it acquired a political significance.²

The Empress Eudoxia herself, on whose worldliness and ambition we have dwelt, naturally gave the tone to the ladies of her court, and to the more frivolous portion of the gentlemen. Whether she was guilty of adultery or not, the mere fact of the rumour prevailing that Count John³ was the father of her son Theodosius is evidence as to the character she bore; and we can imagine what the society was like over which this ambitious and beautiful woman, not above the

¹ Johannes, called Chrysostomus ("golden-mouthed") from his eloquent preaching, was born at Antioch in 351 or 352; ordained deacon in 381 and presbyter in 386; succeeded Nectarius as Patriarch of Constantinople 26th February 398. A monograph, which I believe is good, has been written on Chrysostom by F. Ludwig (*Der hl. Joh. Chrys. in seinem Verhältniss zum byzantinischen Hofe*, 1883); Neander has written an elaborate study, but unfortunately with a view to be edifying; there is a book on the *Life and Times of Chrysostom* by Mr. W. R. W. Stephens (1872); there is a monograph (*St. Jean Chrysostome et l'impératrice Eudoxie*) by Amédée Thierry; and there is a full

and careful article by Mr. E. Venables in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

² For the events connected with Chrysostom's career, the *Dialogue* on his life written by Palladius (the author of the *Historia Lausiaca*), his own letters and sermons, and the accounts given by Socrates and Sozomen, are the most important sources. Zosimus' notice of the fall of Chrysostom is characteristic (Bk. v.)

³ One of the causes of Eudoxia's dislike to Chrysostom is said to have been that he was reported to have pointed out Count John's hiding-place when he was pursued by a furious mob.

suspicion of criminal intrigues, presided. One curious trait of manners indicates clearly enough the tone of the court. It was the custom of christian ladies to wear veils or bands on their foreheads, so as to conceal their hair. Women of meretricious life were distinguished by the way they wore their hair cut and combed over their brows, just like modern fringes. The ladies of Eudoxia's court were so immodest, and had such bad taste, as to adopt this fashion from the courtesans.¹ The next step probably was that the example of the court influenced respectable christian matrons to wear the obnoxious fringe. In this fast aristocratic society three ladies were prominent—Marsa, the widow of Promotus, a distant relation of the Empress; Castricia, the widow of Saturninus; and Eugraphia, who had also lost her husband. These widows were all rich, and if they were not young in years they made themselves young in appearance. Eugraphia used rouge and white lead to maintain her complexion—a habit which was a serious scandal to pious Christians, and which Chrysostom condemned especially on the ground that it was a waste of money which should be given to the poor.

Such a court was revolting to the austere and earnest spirit of Chrysostom, who was far too sincere to make any compromise with Mammon. He used, as a matter of duty, to pay pastoral visits to these great ladies, and we may be sure that he did not hesitate, through any scruples of politeness, to tell them unpleasant truths and urge them to amend their ways. His unbending austerity and uncompromising candour made him an unwelcome visitor. But his campaign against luxury and worldliness did not cease here. He not only preached publicly on the subject in St. Sophia, but made such open and unmistakable allusions, which he could make the more pointed by turning his eyes towards the Empress and her ladies, who sat in a prominent place in the gallery,² that he gave great umbrage, and was hated as the mother of Herodias hated John the Baptist. The climax came when he preached a sermon in which Eudoxia was openly called Jezebel, and it was partly from this allusion that the unfounded tale got abroad that

¹ This trait is mentioned by Palladius (cap. 8).

² Chrysostom preached from the

ambo, not from the apse. Am. Thierry, in his monograph on Chrysostom, brings out this point very well.

Eudoxia had actually robbed a widow of her vineyard, as Ahab robbed Naboth.¹

The aristocratic ladies, indignant at being insulted and outraged, as they considered it, before the mob, determined to work the ruin of Chrysostom, and formed a league against him, of which the centre was the house of Eugraphia. Although it was evident enough, and all probably knew in their hearts that Chrysostom was a single-hearted man, thoroughly in earnest and austere moral, yet it was easy to find pretexts against him; and his ascetic mode of life and certain peculiar theories which he held made it all the easier. Moreover, he had a great many enemies within the Church—priests, monks, and nuns, who had revolted against the strict discipline of their Patriarch, and eagerly embraced the opportunity to place themselves at the service of the great persons who wished to undo him. For it was not only against the corruption of the court that the reformer had to contend, but against the corruption of the clergy and monks. Their sensuality, their gluttony, their avarice, were matters of public scandal; and John's austerity was to them, in the words of Palladius, "as a lamp burning before sore eyes." Women were introduced into the monasteries, or shared the houses of priests as spiritual sisters; and this was always a "snare," even if it were often innocent. But still more scandalous was the conduct of the deaconesses, who, if they could not adopt the meretricious apparel that had become the mode, arranged their coarse dresses with an immodest coquetry² which made them more piquant than an ordinary courtesan. Another class of religious persons hostile to Chrysostom were the begging tramps, drones whom he had endeavoured to suppress.

But the Patriarch was also the centre of a society of admirers. Of these, the most attached and most distinguished was Olympias,³ the daughter of a woman who had been be-

¹ The tale (see Nicephorus Callistus, xiii. 14, xiv. 48) seems to have arisen partly from this and partly from a passage in Marcus' *Life of Porphyrius of Gaza*, where Chrysostom is represented as saying that Eudoxia was angry with him διότι ἐγκάλεσα (ἐνεκάλεσα?) αὐτῇ χάριν κτήματος οὐ ἐπιθυμήσασα ἀφήρπασεν. See Güldenpenning, p. 142.

² On the other hand, actresses and

public prostitutes used to imitate the dress of consecrated virgins, and this abuse had to be suppressed by legislation. See the constitution of Theodosius I. i. 394 (*Cod. Just.* i. 4, 4): "Mimae et quae ludibrio corporis sui quaestum faciunt publice habitu earum virginum quae deo dicatae sunt non utantur."

³ Sozomen, viii. 9.

trothed in her youth to the Emperor Constans, had afterwards married a king of Armenia, and after his death married a Roman noble. Her bounty to the poor, her untiring devotion to Chrysostom in his misfortunes, her delicacy and unselfishness, have earned for her a high place among the "good," as distinguished from the great, women who appear in history. Another friend of Chrysostom was the Moorish princess Salvina, daughter of Gildo, whom Theodosius had taken as a hostage and given in marriage to Nebridius, his wife's nephew. She led a calm life in Constantinople; and in a "letter to a young widow," Chrysostom contrasts this peaceful happiness with the turbulent and unrestful life of her father. The deacon Serapion must also be mentioned here as a person devoted to John, but one whose influence was exerted in the wrong way. He was a man without judgment or moderation, and instead of trying to calm the hot temper of the bishop, he used to incite him to rash acts, with thoroughly honest intentions. It is interesting to note that Cassian, who afterwards founded the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, was in Byzantium at this period and a warm friend of Chrysostom.

But the great strength of John's position lay in his popularity. It was not merely that he possessed the christian virtues of charity and sympathy with the poor, or even that he was no respecter of persons; he actually held theories of socialism—a sort of Ebionistic socialism—which might have been very dangerous to the established order of things if he had carried them to any length. He rejected not political but social inequality, in fact he held a sort of social socialism. It might seem that such a theory, if it gained ground, would necessarily lead to a political revolution, an overthrow of the Empire; but there was no danger of such a catastrophe. The idea of the Empire was almost a necessity of thought to the Romans of that time; it would not have been possible for them to conceive the world without the Empire; the end of the Empire would have seemed to them the Deluge. But Chrysostom's spirit attracted the lower classes, and his tirades against the rich delighted the poor. On the occasion of an earthquake he said publicly that "the vices of the rich had caused it, and the prayers of the poor had averted the worst consequences."

It was easy for his enemies to fasten on such utterances as

these, and accuse Chrysostom of "seducing the people." His intimate relations of friendship with Olympias and other women, whom he used to receive alone, perhaps unwisely, supplied matter for another charge. Having a weak digestion, and obliged to restrict himself to the most lenten fare, he made a practice of never dining out¹; and this anchoretic habit, combined with the reception of women alone in his house, was converted into the charge that he used to celebrate Cyclopean orgies under the cover of unsocial habits.

The expedition which he made in the year 400 to regulate the affairs of the Ephesian and other churches² in Asia Minor, where abuses had crept in, not only made many new enemies, but furnished another ground of accusation. He seems to have acted here with more zeal than wariness; he deposed and appointed bishops like an autocrat, not only going beyond his proper jurisdiction, but neglecting to give a fair hearing to the cases. On some occasions, it is said, he had been himself accuser, witness, and judge.

In another way also this visit to Asia Minor was disadvantageous to him. His enemies had time and room to arrange their machinations against him, and the man whom he had left at Byzantium to fill his place, Severian of Gabala, wishing to oust and succeed Chrysostom, flattered the court and joined the league of his enemies. When Chrysostom returned and found his church disorganised by the unbecoming conduct of Severian, of which the deacon Serapion had no few complaints to make, he preached a sermon in which he made allusion to the time-serving relations of Severian to the Empress. Severian, feeling himself sure of support in high quarters, would not yield, and Chrysostom, with the people on his side, excommunicated the ambitious Syrian. He fled to Chalcedon, and the Emperor and Empress begged the Patriarch to allow him to return to the fold. Their intervention prevailed, but the enthusiasm of the populace for their beloved bishop was not satisfied, and in order to quiet them and remove peaceably the ban of excommunication, he had to exert all his powers of

¹ Acacius of Beroea, displeased with the entertainment of the patriarchal palace, said "I'll season his soup for him," and joined the party opposed to Chrysostom.

² Cf. Sozomen, viii. 6. Eusebius of Valentinopolis accused Antoninus, bishop of Ephesus, of simony, etc., and Chrysostom was appealed to. He deposed and replaced several bishops.

eloquence in a pacific sermon,¹ which ended with the words, "Receive our brother Severian the bishop." The next day Severian preached a sermon, of which the note was likewise peace.

It was crying peace where there was no peace. After a short lull, the storm burst louder than ever over the Patriarch, but came from a new quarter. Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, was a worldly man, whose ambition and avidity have been painted in the blackest colours. He had hoped, on the death of Nectarius, to place a candidate of his own on the pontifical chair of Constantinople, and he owed Chrysostom a grudge for his disappointment, so that he willingly seized an opportunity to assist in compassing his ruin. His power in Egypt was very great, and he exercised considerable influence in Syria and Palestine. It was he who had excited the people to dismantle the great temple of Serapis in Alexandria, in the days of Theodosius.

Now at Nitria in Upper Egypt there was a monastic settlement over which the four so-called "Tall Brothers" presided.² Theophilus desired to gain over the monks to his interests and make them bishops, but they refused positively, and the vengeance of the Patriarch pursued them. He brought against them the charge of Origenism, and obtained troops from the augustal prefect to arrest them. Warned in time, they concealed themselves, but their monastery was sacked, and they made their way slowly and with great difficulty to Constantinople, to place themselves under the protection of John Chrysostom. In their journey through Syria they had no rest for the soles of their feet, as the authority of Theophilus induced the bishops of those parts to refuse them shelter. Chrysostom was rightly wary in his dealings with the suppliants. He would not communicate with them, although he promised them his protection, and he lodged them in the cloisters of the church of Anastasia, where their wants were ministered to by religious women. The astuteness and unscrupulousness of Theophilus made him a dangerous foe, and he wrote to Arcadius in regard to the Tall Brothers, accusing them of

¹ This sermon is preserved in a Latin translation, *de recipiendo Severiano*.

² Charles Kingsley has given a sketch

of life at Nitria in his *Hypatia*. See Socrates, vi. 9, Sozomen, viii. 11, 12, 13, for the following events.

practising magic. The envoys whom he sent to Constantinople spread such calumnious reports about the Tall Brothers that they were unable to stir from their lodgings, and at length in despair they drew up, contrary to the wishes of Chrysostom, a manifesto, accusing Theophilus as well as the envoys, without any reserve, of the grossest iniquities, so that Chrysostom recoiled in horror. This document must have been extremely curious, for Palladius declines to give a full account of its contents, as they would appear quite incredible.

Chrysostom's disavowal was fortunate for the Tall Brothers and unfortunate for himself. A reaction set in in their favour; Eudoxia espoused their cause, and it became a matter for fashionable interest. Theophilus was cited to appear and answer for his conduct.

It was some time before the bishop of Alexandria arrived on the scene himself, but he sent one to prepare the way before him. In the selection of an ally he manifested his craft for intrigue. He wrote to Epiphanius, the aged bishop of Salamis in Cyprus,¹ and, representing to him that the Tall Brothers held the heretical opinions of Origen, and that Chrysostom also shared them, asked him to proceed to Constantinople as the champion of orthodoxy and the accuser of the Patriarch. Theophilus knew how much prestige the high character of the veteran churchman would lend to his cause, and he also knew how to touch his weak side. Epiphanius was an upright and single-hearted old man, but extremely vain of his theological learning. He fancied himself a sort of infallible oracle on questions of doctrine, and thought his own *ipse dixit* of paramount importance. We have examples of old men, in all ages and all departments, trading on a reputation acquired in the prime of their manhood. Theophilus judiciously anointed the old bishop with flattery, and made him harbour the agreeable fancy that a vital crisis in the Church depended on his interference. Epiphanius was like an old war-horse, eager for battle; he sailed to Constantinople, but he soon found himself out of place amid the intrigues, the enmities, the calumnies and violences which filled that city; and he discovered that the questions of doctrine were a mere pretext to cloak unworthy motives. He became acquainted with the Tall Brothers, and

¹ Sozomen, viii. 14.

saw that there was no guile in them. Disgusted and dejected, he set sail for home, but the fatigue and excitement had overtaxed his failing strength and he died on the voyage. There is something melancholy in this visit of Epiphanius to Constantinople before his death, and the somewhat humorous conceit of the old man enhances the pathos.

At length Theophilus appeared, with the unconcealed object of deposing John Chrysostom. The affair of the Tall Brothers was now a secondary consideration to him. In the meantime the relations between Eudoxia and Chrysostom, who did not cease his *ex cathedra* attacks upon her, were as hostile as ever; so that on Theophilus' arrival there were two hostile camps—the camp of aristocrats in the house of Eugraphia, and the camp of the Alexandrian party in the palace of Placidia, where Theophilus had taken up his quarters, refusing to accept of Chrysostom's proffered hospitality. The city was a scene of uproar and excitement. It was divided into two parts, the adherents of Chrysostom and the Alexandrians. So high ran the popular feeling that the opposition party were afraid to hold the council, which was to decide on Chrysostom's conduct, within the precincts of Constantinople; it was held on the other side of the Bosphorus at Chalcedon, and was called the Synod of the Oak (*ad quercum*). Three different points were discussed at this council: (1) the affair of the Tall Brothers; (2) the complaints of Asiatic ecclesiastics against Chrysostom for his proceedings in 400; (3) various charges preferred against Chrysostom, among the rest that of fornication.¹ The Patriarch refused to appear at this synod or to acknowledge it; he and his party held a counter-synod in the reception room (triclinium) of the patriarchal palace. He was condemned in his absence and formally deposed, but so far was he from being intimidated that in the few days which intervened between the condemnation and the execution of the sentence he preached a sermon,² in which he played with pointed sarcasm on the name of the Empress, using the word *adoria*. But the matter could not rest here; the people would not lightly submit to the removal of their idol. At this period of history, one notices, it was in church matters that the spirit of the people revealed itself, it was

¹ Mansi, *Concil.* iii. 1152, *seqq.*

² ὁμιλία πρὸς τῆς ἐξορίας (in the third volume of Montfaucon's ed.)

for church matters chiefly that they cared. Loud clamours were raised for a general council. The condemnation of a small packed assembly like that of the Oak would not be accepted. The city was in an uproar, distracted with scenes of riot and violence between the small but united body of the Alexandrians, who had come to support their bishop, and the followers of the man of the people. Theophilus fled to Egypt, and there was a revolt in Constantinople. In addition to all this, an earthquake took place,¹ which frightened the Empress, who, if she had few scruples, was, like her husband, very superstitious. Chrysostom, who had gone to Bithynia, was allowed to return and resume the duties of his office. If he had at this time assumed a more conciliatory tone towards the court, or even adopted a policy of quietism and abstained from open attacks on the Empress, he might have continued to hold the episcopal chair till his death. But he was not the man to compromise or to turn back on his way; and if we consider him often obstinate and devoid of ordinary tact, we cannot but yield respect to the unswerving man who chose the difficult road and followed it to the end.

In September 403 a silver statue on a porphyry column was erected to Eudoxia in the Augusteum by Simplicius, the prefect of the city.² The erection of public statues usually took place on Sunday, and was accompanied by certain old pagan customs which lingered on, like formulae which have lost their meaning, overlooked and even countenanced in the christian world. The dances and merriment of the festivity, probably innocent enough, were so loud that they interrupted the services of St. Sophia. What course was taken by Chrysostom we cannot say, as we have no reliable testimony,³ but he must have manifested his disapproval and indignation in some way which outraged the pride of the Empress, for after this event

¹ Theodoret, v. 34.

² D. N. Aeliae Eudoxiae semper Augustae vir clarissimus Simplicius Præf. U. dedicavit, was on one side of the stylobate; on the other Greek hexameters—

κίονα πορφυρέην καὶ ἀργυρέην βασιλείαν
δέρκεο, ἐνθα πόλιν θεμιστεύουσιν ἄνακτες.
ὄνομα δ' εἰ ποθέεις Εὐδόξια· τίς δ' ἀνέ-
θηκεν;
Σιμπλικίος μεγάλων ἐπάτων γένος,
ἑσθλὸς ἑπαρχος.

The stylobate was discovered in 1848, when the ground was dug up for the erection of the University. See Paspatis, Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάκτορα, p. 97. For the uproar, see Sozomen, viii. 20, Marcell. Com. ad ann.

³ I agree with Ludwig, Gùldenpenning, and others that the discourse beginning "Herodias is furiously raging again," attributed to Chrysostom, is a malicious forgery. But Socrates and Sozomen quote the words.

the breach became so wide that the mild Emperor Arcadius refused to communicate with the Patriarch.

A new synod was summoned early in 404. Theophilus did not venture to be present, but Chrysostom was again condemned. Arcadius hesitated until Easter to enforce the sentence, which the Patriarch declined to obey; but at length, on the night of Easter Eve, he sent a corps of soldiers into the great church, in which at that moment male and female catechumens of riper years were receiving the rite of baptism. The congregation was scattered by the soldiers, who showed little reverence for the sanctity of the place. On the following day the people would not attend the services in St. Sophia, and, leaving the city, celebrated Easter under trees in the country; it was a sort of church secession, and the seceders were called *Johannites*. Meanwhile *Johannes* had not been arrested, and things continued as they were until Whitsuntide,¹ owing to the timorous indecision of the Emperor, who perhaps felt some compunction. But on the 20th of June the final blow was struck, and Chrysostom, submitting to the inevitable, quietly allowed himself to be conducted stealthily to the shore and conveyed in a boat to the Asiatic coast.

On the same night a memorable event took place, the conflagration of St. Sophia. Late in the evening the people had crowded into the church, expecting Chrysostom. He did not come, and as they were leaving it the fire broke out. It began at the episcopal chair, and flaming upwards caught the roof and twined round the building "like a serpent." A short time previously a high wind had arisen, and the flames were blown southwards in the direction of the senate house, which was involved in the conflagration. The destruction of the senate house was a greater misfortune than that of the church, for the former was a museum of the most precious antique works of art. The statues of the nine Muses were burnt, and here the pagan historian Zosimus observes that the conflagration betokened "estrangement from the Muses"; it was some consolation to him, however, as a sign of the providence of the Olympians, that the Zeus of Dodona and the Athene of Lindus escaped.²

¹ Attempts were made on *Johannes*' life by assassins who were tried, but allowed to escape.

² On the other hand the Christians rejoiced because the episcopal treasury was found intact in the sacristy.

The cause of this misfortune was made a matter of judicial investigation. Some actually attributed it to Chrysostom himself; others to his followers.¹ The superstitious said it was miraculous; while the bigoted, who had infidelity on the brain, said it was the work of a pagan. A modern writer suggests that some fanatical admirer of Chrysostom wished to light a farewell bonfire in his honour.² It was at all events made an excuse for persecuting the friends of John, and we hear of all sorts of cruelties perpetrated; for example, of tortures inflicted on a young lad named Eutropius, "pure as a virgin," who had been a lector of the Patriarch. Olympias was condemned to exile, as well as many others. Among those who anticipated the sentence by flight was an old maid named Nicarete, who deserves mention as a curious figure of the time. She was a philanthropist who devoted her means to works of charity, and always went about with a chest of drugs, which she used to dispense gratis, and which pious rumour said were always effectual. She reminds us of charitable ladies of modern times who distribute tracts, have a craze for homoeopathy, and hang on the lips of some favourite clergyman. Many were exiled for refusing to communicate with Arsacius, the new Patriarch. Partaking of the communion with him was made a sort of test for discovering who was a Johannite.³

Meanwhile John was being transported to Cucusus, a place where the mountain chains of Cappadocia and Armenia meet, hardly consoling himself with the reflection that Barabbas was preferred to Christ. We cannot follow out the details of his experiences in that cold climate,⁴ of all the hardships he underwent, of the various projects he still entered into with Jerome, of his correspondence with Olympias. Such details are for the biographer or the ecclesiastical historian. But we may note here a refined trait of the spiritual woman in Olympias; she did not mention in her letter to Chrysostom the persecution which she had undergone for his sake. But she was seized by a deep melancholy, that had a flavour of distrust in God, in spite of her own convictions; and all the arguments of Chrysostom to prevent her from feeling scandalised at the

¹ Zosimus, v. 24.

² Guldenpenning, p. 163.

³ For the Johannites, see Socrates, vi.

18. For Nicarete, see Sozomen, viii. 23.

⁴ For the Isaurian depredations, see above, p. 70.

triumph of the unjust cause seem to have hardly consoled her. A legend was current in later times that her encoffined body had, by her own directions, been cast into the sea at Nicomedia, that it had been carried to Constantinople and thence to Brochthi, where it was placed in the church of St. Thomas. The sea voyages of sainted bodies were a favourite subject of christian legend, and reappear in the legends of the Round Table.

About a year after John's exile earthquakes took place, which terrified the superstitious nature of the Emperor. He sent to consult a certain St. Nilus,¹ who lived on Mount Sinai. Nilus had been once a brilliant figure in the world; a handsome and elegant man at the court of Theodosius, he had attained to the highest political office, the praetorian prefecture of the East; he had contracted a happy marriage with a woman whom he loved, and he had two sons. Quite suddenly he said goodbye to them all, except one of his sons, with whom he departed and took up his abode on Mount Sinai. A sudden desire had come upon him to save his soul, a sudden craving for the spiritual life. He enjoyed a great and widespread reputation for sanctity, and was consulted as a sort of oracle.² In answer to Arcadius' queries he replied by blaming him for the exile of John, whom he called "the lamp of truth and the trumpet of God," saying that when he heard of what had happened he was "lightning struck with the fire of grief." But the oracle had no effect; the earthquake ceased, and then Arcadius, like Pharaoh, hardened his heart.

In 407 it was determined to change the place of Chrysostom's exile. At Cucusus he had kept up a large correspondence, and his life, if dreary, was tolerable. His enemies wished that he should be quite out of the world, and Pityus, a desolate place on the south-eastern coast of the Euxine, was fixed on as his future abode. But on the way thither he died from exhaustion (14th September).³

Besides the fact that they decided the relation of the patriarchate to the imperial power in Constantinople, the events narrated in this chapter present other points worthy of remark.

¹ See Nilus, *Epist.* iii. 279 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxix.)

² It should be noticed that anchorites

were in the christian world what oracles had been in the Greek world.

³ Socrates, vi. 21.

Never after Chrysostom have we the spectacle of a Byzantine Patriarch standing out against the corruption or frivolity of the court, and inveighing against those who are arrayed in purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day. We meet many Patriarchs ready to defy the Emperor and endure persecution for a comparatively nugatory tittle of doctrine, but few who threw all their soul into the spirit of the religion, as distinct from the theology of Christianity, and none who would have had the boldness or ill-breeding to criticise the dress or censure the habits of the Empress and her ladies. The Patriarchs after Chrysostom were, if not mere theologians, either austere quietists like John the Faster under Maurice, or ambitious men of the world. It was the distinguishing mark of John Chrysostom, that he cared more for religion and less for theology.¹ It is further interesting to reflect that, at the very beginning of the long period of the queenship of New Rome, where some of the leading traits of Byzantinism, especially the oriental style of the court, had already been fully developed, a great protest was raised against it—the voice of one crying in the midst of it, denouncing the luxury and the pomp. It was as if the spirit of early Christianity, which was now extinct—smothered by its contact with empire and the things of this world—were, through Chrysostom, raising its voice from the grave and protesting against the worldliness, the splendour, and the lusts of the new christian Empire.

The treatment of John Chrysostom led to an estrangement between the courts of Constantinople and Ravenna, or rather to an exacerbation of an estrangement that already existed. Two important elements enter into these transactions—the reference of ecclesiastical affairs in the East to the bishop of Rome as to a court of appeal, and the influence exercised by the bishop of Rome on the Emperor Honorius.

Theophilus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, now triumphant, first apprised Innocent that John had been deposed from his office; letters from John himself and his Byzantine clergy, delivered three days afterwards by four “Johannite” bishops, probably convinced the pontiff that the condemnation of Chrysostom

¹ Compare Gass, *Gesch. der christlichen Ethik*, i. 201. The practical tendency of Chrysostom—who, as Gass

remarks, was an ethical optimist—contrasts with the idealistic tendency of Gregory of Nyssa.

was unjust; and this conviction was confirmed, when he received a copy of the acts of the synod *ad quercum*, for which his signature was required. He determined that it was necessary to summon a general council, and in the meantime refused to desist from communion with the Patriarch, to whom he indited a letter of consolation. A preliminary synod, held in Italy, declared the condemnation of Chrysostom invalid, and demanded that a general council should be held at Thessalonica.

Meanwhile the Emperor Honorius, under the influence of Innocent, wrote a severe letter of admonition to his elder brother,¹ deploring the tumults and conflagrations that had disgraced and disfigured Constantinople in the recent affair, and censuring the inconvenient haste with which the sentence against the condemned had been carried out, before the decision of the head of the Church had been ascertained.

The important and striking point in this letter of Honorius is that it contains the declaration *by an Emperor* of a principle which had before been asserted *by a Bishop*, that "the interpretation of divine things concerns churchmen, the observation of religion concerns us (the Emperors)"²—a principle directly opposed to that tendency of the princes who ruled at New Rome, which was to result in the Caesaropapism of Justinian.

Arcadius vouchsafed not to notice his brother's communications, whose candid censure offended him, and took no steps towards summoning a general council. At length four bishops, including Aemilius of Beneventum, and two priests, were sent from Italy with imperial letters to Arcadius. They had reason to repent of their expedition. Their treatment was such that if it had been practised by an oriental despot, it would have been considered outrageous and exceptional. Escorted by soldiers from Athens to Constantinople, they were not allowed to land in that city, but were thrown into a Thracian fortress, forcibly deprived of the letters which they bore, and then hardly permitted to return to Italy (406 A.D.)

¹ Honorius refers in his letter to the criticisms which the imperial honours of Eudoxia had evoked in the West; "quamvis super imagine muliebri novo exemplo per provincias circumlata et diffusa per universum mundum obtrectantium fama litteris aliis communuerim" (Mansi, iii. 1122). See Gilden-

penning (*op. cit.* p. 167), whose account of this affair is very good. Palladius gives the details of these transactions (*de vita Chrys.* caps. 1, 2, 3).

² Ad illos enim divinarum rerum interpretatio, ad nos religionis spectat obsequium.

The estrangement which ensued between the two halves of the Empire, in consequence of this imbecile barbarity on the part of the eastern government, continued until the death of Arcadius on 1st May 408,¹ after which event friendly relations were renewed between "the twin worlds" which constituted the Empire.

¹ Socrates, vi. 23 ; Prosper Aquit. *Chron. ad ann.*

CHAPTER IV

STILICHO AND ALARIC

THE fourth century has a dull and murky atmosphere about it, an atmosphere which hangs over the pages of Ammianus; the storm was brewing that was to change the face of Europe. The usurpation of Magnentius, the battle of Hadrianople, the consulate of Merobaudes were foreshadows of the storm that was to come, but it did not actually come until after the death of Theodosius the Great. We may perhaps say that it began with Alaric's invasion of Greece.

But we must not exaggerate the storm and conceive it as greater than it really was. The idea of the "wandering of the nations" and unproven speculations as to its connection with tremendous movements in the heart of Asia—an hypothesis which is as superfluous as it is indemonstrable—have led to unhistorical notions as to the nature of the break-up of the Empire. The facts do not warrant us in looking at the German movements in the fourth and fifth centuries as anything more than a continuation of the old war on the frontiers (*limites*).

We must understand clearly the form which the danger from the Germanic nations assumed. Three kinds of Germans must be distinguished—(1) the nations and tribes outside the Empire; (2) those settled within the Empire, such as the Visigoths settled by Theodosius I. in Illyricum and Thrace, and the Ostrogoths settled in Phrygia; (3) the Germans distributed throughout the Empire as soldiers or serfs, half or wholly Romanised, but with German sympathies, whom we already named semi-barbarians. All three classes of Germans contri-

buted to the dislocation of the Empire and the Germanisation of occidental Europe, and there is no greater mistake than to imagine that the Empire was suddenly overwhelmed by foreign hordes. In the third century it had been in imminent danger from the nations who bordered on the Rhine and the Danube, and it was again harassed in the fourth century, especially in the reign of Constantius. At the same time the dangers latent in the position of Germans in the Roman army became apparent in the revolt of Magnentius (350 A.D.) It has been remarked that the battle of Mursa, in which Constantius quelled that revolt, is a sort of anticipation of the battles of the fifth century. The danger arising from the settlements of German *foederati* displayed itself in a manner still more unequivocal by the disaster of Hadrianople in 378. The policy of Theodosius I, who was called the friend of the Goths, maintained the integrity of the Empire during his own reign, but on his death, the dangers which were only averted by his personal ability, immediately appeared. Through these dangers, as we have seen, the eastern half of the Empire was safely steered; on the other hand, the provinces of the western dynasty were dismembered, and developed into German kingdoms. It is not my purpose to go into all the details of this process of dismemberment or of the history of the Emperors who reigned at Ravenna and Rome, but an outline of the chief facts is indispensable. Through all these facts a double process is observable. On the one hand, provinces are cut off from the Empire by Germans from without, who invade and take possession; on the other hand, the Empire is undermined within by the influence of half-Roman Germans or half-German Romans, like Stilicho, Aetius, and Ricimer.

The career of Stilicho and Alaric's invasions of Italy present themselves first to our view. Stilicho was absent in Rhaetia in the latter months of 401 A.D., when Alaric, who occupied the double position—characteristic of this ambiguous epoch—of king of the West Goths and master of the soldiers in Illyricum, suddenly advanced with a large army to the Julian Alps and entered Italy.¹ The causes which led him to

¹ By the pass *ad Pyrum* near Hrudschizza (Güldenpenning, p. 133); the date was 18th November 401, for there can be no doubt that von Wietersheim

take this step are sufficiently clear, though they are not categorically asserted. His relations to the government of New Rome, lately elated with having subdued a Germanic revolt, were not of an agreeable kind; to attempt to make himself an independent king of the Balkan peninsula would have been impracticable, for he could not have maintained such a position in the heart of the Roman Empire; and he became weary of a monotonous life, destitute of enterprise, in a land exhausted by plunder. With the Teutonic instinct to turn the face westwards, he determined to invade Italy. There was, however, I believe, another element in the situation—the relation of Alaric to Stilicho. If my conjectures were right respecting an understanding between the two generals at Pholoe in 396 A.D., Alaric was continually expecting Stilicho to carry out the execution of his design,¹ while Stilicho was prevented by the revolt of Gildo and other affairs which demanded his attention. This will explain what may seem surprising, that Alaric waited so long (five years) inactive in Illyricum. At length—willing to wait no longer, and indignant at the delays of Stilicho, who was not sufficiently imbued with the illness that should have attended his ambition, and was probably also influenced by his wife Serena, who did not approve of his projects²—he marched into Italy,³ and thus placed himself in a position of hostility to his confederate. Stilicho hastened to protect the throne and kingdom of Honorius; the legions of Gaul and Britain were summoned to defend Italy. The Emperor, who was at Milan, proceeded, on Alaric's approach, to Asti, and Alaric followed him into Liguria. At Pollentia, on the river Tanarus, a battle was fought on Easter Day (6th April 402), and Alaric, although perhaps he did not experience an absolute defeat, thought it prudent to make a truce and retire.⁴ But as he

and others are right in following here the Ravenna Chronicle and rejecting the date of Prosper (400).

¹ This is expressly stated by Zosimus (v. 26) who, however, omits the invasion of 402, and passes from 396 to 405 as though Alaric had stayed all that time quiet in Epirus. His words are: τὸ παρὰ Στελίωνος ἀνέμεινε σύνθημα τοιόνδε πῶς ἔν. The σύνθημα was τῇ Ὀνωρίου βασιλείᾳ τὰ ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις ἔθνη πάντα προσθεῖναι, with the help of Alaric. Of the advantages which Alaric

was to gain, we only know that he was to be made *magister utriusque militiae*.

² Serena's influence in this direction is expressly stated in respect to a later period (Zosimus, v. 29).

³ The passage of Alaric into Italy is placed by Anon. Cuspin. in November 401, but Prosper gives the date 400.

⁴ O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia seclis! writes Claudian (*de Bell. Get.* 635). The words of Prosper are, *vehementer utriusque partis clade pugnatum est*. As far as I understand, it

returned he attempted to surprise Verona, and Stilicho was obliged to attack him again. The army of the Goths was decimated by a noxious disease, and was entirely at Stilicho's mercy, but he acted as he had acted before in the Peloponnesus, making a compact with Alaric and allowing him to withdraw to his Illyric provinces.¹

It was in the course of the year 402 that Honorius, influenced perhaps by the invasion of Alaric, established his home and court at Ravenna, and discarded the former imperial residences of Rome and Milan. This step was decisive for the history of Ravenna, which, but for the choice of Honorius, would probably never have been the capital of the Ostrogothic sovereigns or the seat of the Exarchs.

The years 403 and 404 passed peacefully enough away, but in 405 Stilicho was called upon to defend Italy against a vast invasion of German hordes, which had combined to plunder the land.² The invaders, who were perhaps half a million in number—East Goths, Alans, Vandals, and Quadi—overran northern Italy. After some time they divided into three companies, of which one under Radagaisus besieged Florence. Stilicho seized the favourable moment and enclosed him in an inextricable position at Fiesole, where the Romans were able to massacre the barbarians at their pleasure. It is strange that we are not told what became of the other two companies.

In 407 Stilicho at length made up his mind to strike the blow and occupy Illyricum. The unfriendly feeling which had arisen between the eastern and western courts on the subject of the treatment of John Chrysostom (*see* p. 106) offered a ready pretext for a hostile movement. An edict was issued, at the instance of Stilicho, closing the ports of Italy to the ships of Arcadius' subjects, and breaking off all intercourse between the two halves of the Empire.³ Stilicho and Alaric formed a plan to seize Illyricum and transfer it from the rule of Arcadius to that of Honorius; but it is hinted that the

was a victory for Stilicho in the same sense that the battle of the Catalaunian Plain was a victory for Aetius. Alaric, like Attila, was not defeated, in the strict sense, but his plans were defeated; he was disabled from proceeding further.

¹ Claudian apologises for Stilicho

(*de Bell. Get.* 104), saying that care of Rome influenced him: *tua cura coegit inclusis aperire fugam ne peior in arto sacervet rabies venturae nuntia mortis.*

² Paulinus, *Vita Ambros.* cap. 50; Augustine, *de civ. Dei*, v. 23; *C. I. L.* vi. 1196.

³ See *Codex Theodosianus*, vii. 16, 1.

real purpose was to establish a separate dominion under Stilicho's son, Eucherius. Stilicho was at Ravenna making preparations to join Alaric on the other side of the Adriatic, when a letter arrived from Honorius that Constantine, the general of Britain, had crossed over to Gaul and raised the standard of rebellion. A report also spread that Alaric was dead, and Stilicho's design was thwarted when it seemed on the point of fulfilment. He was obliged to desist from the enterprise that had been so long deferred, and to repair to the presence of the Emperor at Rome to consult as to the measures to be taken against the tyrant Constantine.

Of the tyrant Constantine I shall have more to say in another chapter, but we must observe here that this rebellion of the Britannic army signified an opposition to the influence of the foreigner Stilicho, and was specially directed against him, just as the revolt of Maximus had been aimed against Merobaudes. During the year 406 two tyrants had been elevated in Britain, but both, proving incompetent, were slain; Constantine was their successor. What measures in the meantime, one naturally asks, was Stilicho taking against these movements in Britain, which must soon spread to Gaul? They must have been known to him, and their significance apprehended long before the passage of Constantine across the English Channel. The answer seems to be contained in a notice of Orosius and a notice of Prosper Tiro, which state that Stilicho solicited a mixed host of barbarians to cross the Rhine and enter Gaul at the end of the year 406.¹ Both these writers affirm as his motive that he wished to force the Emperor to bestow imperial rank upon his son Eucherius; but that can hardly have been the direct, though it may have been the indirect, cause. It seems probable that Stilicho wished to have his hands free for operations in Illyricum, and that he called the barbarians into Gaul that they might oppose the progress of the Britannic legions. He thought that once the

¹ The words of Orosius deserve to be quoted (vii. 38): *gentes Alanorum Suevorum Vandalarum ultro in arma sollicitans, eas interim ripas quaterere et pulsare Gallias voluit sperans quod et extorquere imperium genero posset in filium et barbarae gentes tam facile communi quam commoveri valerent.* L. von

Ranke, I think, has set these transactions in their true light (*Weltgeschichte*, iv. 1, 253, 254). The edict which condemned Stilicho after his death confirms the charge—*opes quibus ille usus est ad omnem dilandam inquietandamque barbariem.*—*Cod. Theod.* ix. 42, 22.

barbarians had accomplished what he wished them to accomplish, he would easily be able to crush them and drive them out, as he had crushed the army of Radagaisus.

But Alaric, who was not dead, was deeply disappointed, and disdained to wait meekly for the convenience of Stilicho. He advanced to the frontiers of Italy at the Julian Alps, and loudly demanded compensation for the time he had wasted by waiting in Epirus and for the expenses of his march. Stilicho's influence induced the Roman senate, which assembled to decide the matter (408 A.D.), to agree to Alaric's demand, and pay compensation money to the amount of £180,000; but many were dissatisfied with Stilicho's Germanising policy, and one senator bolder than the rest exclaimed, "That is not a peace; it is a compact of thralldom." Such, however, was the almost imperial power of the Emperor's father-in-law,¹ and such the awe in which he was held, that the rash speaker after the dissolution of the assembly deemed it prudent to seek refuge in a church.

Stilicho was not destined either to carry out his designs against the Balkan provinces of New Rome or to win the glory of suppressing the new Constantine, the Emperor whom Gaul had accepted. There was a strong though secret opposition to Stilicho in Italy; at any time a favourable moment might be seized to poison the ears or enlighten the eyes of Honorius respecting the designs of his father-in-law, on which an ugly interpretation might be placed. Even among the soldiers Stilicho's popularity was by no means so established as to be secure. From an obscure passage in one of our authorities we can gather this at least, that a forensic friend of Stilicho, even while he and Honorius were yet at Rome in the early months of 408, foresaw the danger that awaited the general, and connected it—rightly as the event proved—with the spirit of the soldiers stationed at Ticinum.²

Honorius was at Bononia, on his way from Ravenna to Ticinum, when the news reached him of his brother's death (May 408).³ He entertained the idea of proceeding himself

¹ The marriage of Honorius and Maria had been celebrated in 398. Claudian had written a wanton epithalamium; but the wife is said to have died a virgin. Honorius married

her sister Thermantia in 408, who died in 415.

² Zosimus, v. 30, 4; the prophet was Justinianus.

³ *Ib.* 31, 1.

to Constantinople to set in order the affairs of the realm, which now devolved on a child of seven years; and he summoned Stilicho from Ravenna for consultation. Stilicho dissuaded him from this purpose, and undertook to proceed himself to New Rome, while he proposed to employ Alaric against the usurper Constantine, who ruled in Gaul. The death of Arcadius seemed to present to Stilicho an opportunity for accomplishing his purposes without Alaric's aid. But meanwhile a minister named Olympius was winning the ear of Honorius. The Romans who hated Germans and Arians were weaving a web of destruction for the Vandal father-in-law of the Emperor; they accused him of treason; and on 23d August Stilicho was put to death at Ravenna. Many ministers were executed at the same time, as members of his party and privy to his treasonable designs.¹ His son Eucherius was slain soon afterwards, while his wife Serena was spared; but she was destined to be strangled a year later, by order of the Roman senate, for pagan impiety, while Alaric was besieging Rome. Thermantia, the wife of the Emperor, was put away because she was the daughter of Stilicho.² It was stated definitely by Stilicho's opponents that he aimed at winning the imperial purple for his son Eucherius,³ and the poet Claudian had hinted at a possible marriage between the Emperor's half-sister Galla Placidia and the son of Stilicho. I have already stated my opinion that this charge was in the main true, nor does it seem confuted by the mere fact—which may have been actually intended to disarm suspicion—that Eucherius was entrusted with insignificant posts by his father.⁴

The relations between the eastern half and the western half of the Empire had been strained and often positively hostile during the reign of Arcadius; or, I think, we should rather say

¹ Zosimus, v. 32, 4; Limenius, praet. pref. of Gaul; Chariobaudes, master of soldiers in Gaul (both of them had fled to Italy before the tyrant Constantine); Vincentius, *magister equitum praesentalis*. Stilicho himself was *magister utriusque militiae*. See note of Mendelssohn on the cited passage of Zosimus. Vincentius was succeeded by Turpilio, Stilicho by Varanes. Heraclian, who slew Stilicho, was appointed count of Africa.

² *Ib.* 35, 3. Eucherius very nearly escaped his fate; for when he was slain Alaric was approaching Rome, and if the executioners had been a little slower he would have fallen into Alaric's hands and been saved (*ib.* 37, 4).

³ Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 38; Zosimus, v. 32, 1; Sozomen, ix. 4.

⁴ Zosimus, v. 34, 7.

during the lifetime of Stilicho. The death of the great general changed the relations of the courts; concord and friendly co-operation succeeded coldness and enmity; and the law which excluded eastern commerce from western ports, passed by the influence of the "public enemy" Stilicho, was rescinded. It is a mistake to attribute this to the death of Arcadius. If Arcadius had lived many years longer, the death of Stilicho would have been followed by the same result. This is evident if we reflect on the elements of the situation. In the realm of Arcadius the Roman spirit had triumphed and won the upper hand by the suppression of Gainas and Tribigild. In the realm of Honorius, on the contrary, the German interest predominated as long as Stilicho lived. Hence the two courts were discordant. But the fall of Stilicho was a triumph for the Roman party in Italy, and a cause of rejoicing for the court of Byzantium; he who was the obstacle to unity, he whose private ambition threatened an integral portion of the provinces ruled from New Rome, was removed, and the Empire was again for a time really as well as nominally one.

After Stilicho's death, the new government, led by Olympius,¹ who was appointed master of offices, had two problems to face. How was Alaric, still threatening in Noricum, to be dealt with? and what measures were to be taken in regard to Constantine, the Emperor or tyrant of Gaul? Alaric promised to withdraw from Noricum to Pannonia if the balance of the sum of money promised by the senate, and as yet only partly paid, were delivered to him. With an unwise audacity the Emperor's new advisers refused the proposal, and at the same time took no measures for defence. It would have been best to pay the money, but if they were determined to defy the Goth they should have taken steps to resist him, and (as a historian of that century suggested)² they might have enlisted a Goth named Sarus, an excellent warrior and a rival of Alaric, to oppose the entry of the latter into Italy.

The king of the West Goths invaded Italy for the second

¹ Zosimus, v. 35. The chamberlain Deuterius and the scribe Peter, friends of Stilicho, were beaten to death, because they refused to make any revelations about the deceased general.

² *Ib.* 36. Zosimus (after Olympiodorus) insists on the desire of Alaric to come to terms. In these transactions the obstinacy of Honorius was a vital element.

time and marched straight to Rome,¹ without turning aside to besiege Ravenna, where Honorius resided sufficiently secure. It is related that a monk warned the invader not to turn his arms against the capital of the world, and that Alaric replied that he was irresistibly led thither, not by his own will but by a divine impulse²; and the story is suitable to the solemnity of the moment. The German king laid siege to the eternal city. Reduced to extremities by famine,³ and even plague, the inhabitants of Rome, where there was still a strong pagan element, essayed the efficacy of heathen sacrifices; but they were at length compelled to make a hard peace with Alaric. Honorius and Olympius, however, still persisted in adopting the strange policy of defying the invader and not resisting him. But Olympius soon fell, through the hostility of a cabal of eunuchs,⁴ and the praetorian prefect and Patrician, Jovius, succeeded to his influence.⁵ Other changes in the civil service and the military commands were made about the same time; after the death of Stilicho ministers rose and fell in rapid succession.⁶ Jovius was anxious to bring about a peace with Alaric, and was ready to make reasonable concessions; and for this purpose he appointed an interview with the Gothic king at Ariminum. Alaric demanded that the provinces of Venetia, Noricum, and Dalmatia⁷ should be ceded to himself and his people as a permanent abode, and that a certain annual supply of corn and money should be granted by the Emperor. In his letter to Honorius Jovius suggested that Alaric might relax the severity of these demands, if the rank of *magister*

¹ His route by Aquileia, Concordia, Altinum, Crenona (?), Bononia, Ariminum is described by Zosimus, v. 37.

² Socrates, vii. 10.

³ It is mentioned that Laeta, the widow of the Emperor Gratian, and Tisamene her mother, alleviated the want by their distributions (*ib.* 39, 4). The siege took place in the last months of 408.

⁴ Olympius fled to Dalmatia (Zosimus, v. 46, 1). He obtained power, however, once more, and was once more disgraced; Constantius, the husband of Placidia, cut off his ears and beat him to death. (Olympiodorus, fr. 8.)

⁵ *Ib.* 47. Olympiodorus calls him Jovian.

⁶ Varanes, the *magister peditum*, had been deposed some time before, and Turpilio, the *mag. equit.*, had succeeded him, while Vigilantius, the count of the domestics, stepped into the place of Turpilio, and Allobich (or Hellebich) succeeded Vigilantius as *comes domesticorum*. Turpilio was now banished on account of a military sedition, and Valens, the other *comes dom.*, succeeded him, and in the following year (410) was elevated to the rank of *magister utriusque militiae*; Hellebich succeeded Vigilantius, who was a victim of the same sedition as *mag. eq.* See Mendelssohn's note on Zosimus, v. 47, 2.

⁷ *Ib.* 48, Βενετίας ἀμφω καὶ Νωρικῶς καὶ Δελματίας.

utriusque militiae, which Stilicho had held, were conferred on him. But Honorius could not rise to the idea of granting to the barbarian Visigoth the post which had been held by the semi-barbarian Vandal; he decidedly refused either to confer the title or to grant the lands. It is interesting to note, however, that there was for a moment the possibility that a West Gothic kingdom might have been established to the north-east, instead of to the west of Italy.

Jovius opened the answer of Honorius in the presence of Alaric and read it aloud. The German looked upon the refusal of the military command as a contumely to himself, and "rising up in anger, ordered his barbarians to march to Rome to avenge the insult which was offered to himself and all his kin."

Here we have the Roman exclusiveness, manifested by the son of Theodosius, and the ambition of the German to win a place and recognition in the Empire, as the main elements of the situation; and the remarkable circumstance is that Alaric did not desire war, and that Honorius had no adequate forces to support his resistance.¹

Once more Alaric attempted to induce the Emperor to accept his proposals, and even offered more moderate terms. The bishop of Rome, which the Goths once more threatened, was, with other bishops,² sent as an envoy to Ravenna, if even yet the Emperor might pause ere he exposed the city which had ruled over the world for more than four hundred years to the ravages of barbarians, and allowed the magnificent edifices to be consumed by the fire of the foe. All that Alaric asked now was the province of Noricum on the Danube; he did not ask for Venetia nor yet for Dalmatia. Let Honorius assign the Goths Noricum, and grant them a certain sum of money and supplies of corn annually; Italy would then be delivered from the invader. It is hard to see why Honorius and his ministers declined to accept these terms, which, considering the situation, were moderate; but on this occasion Jovius, instead of advising peace, which he had desired before, advised a firm refusal. It appears that Honorius had taken him to task for his disposition to yield to Alaric at Ariminum, and that, fearing for

¹ Zosimus (v. 50) states that Honorius called in 10,000 Huns, and imposed upon the Dalmatians the burden of supplying them with corn, sheep, and

oxen. But of these Huns we hear nothing more.

² Zosimus uses the plural *τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ἐπισκόπους*.

his personal safety, he had rushed to the other extreme, and sworn, and made others swear, by the head of Honorius, to war to the death with Alaric.¹

Having met with this new refusal, and perceiving that it was a hopeless aim to extort anything from the obstinacy and prejudice of the son of him who "pacified the Goths," Alaric marched to the walls of Rome, and called upon the citizens to side with him against the Emperor. When this invitation was refused, he seized the port and blockaded the eternal city for the second time. The corn stores of the city lay in the harbour, and Alaric threatened that if the Romans did not comply with his demand he would use them for his own army. The senate met, and, with the fear of famine before their eyes, yielded.

Alaric's purpose was to elect a new Emperor who should be more pliable than Honorius. He had selected the prefect of the city, Attalus, to play this somewhat undignified part; and Attalus was invested with the purple and crowned with the diadem. Alaric received the post of master of soldiers, which the legitimate Emperor had disdained to bestow on him; and Athaulf, his brother-in-law, was created count of the domestics.²

Nor was it merely to the Goths that a new Emperor was acceptable; he was also welcome to the pagans³ and the Arians, who were numerous in the city on the Tiber and had suffered from the severe laws of the orthodox Honorius. One might say that the elevation of Attalus involved a twofold reaction against the established order of things; a reaction on the one hand against catholicism, an opposition on the other hand of the Teutonic to the Roman spirit. In fact the coalition of Alaric and Attalus was a repetition in a new form of the coalition of Arbogast and Eugenius. What saved the throne of Honorius was that the two factors of the coalition fell asunder, because they too were divided by the opposition of Roman to Teuton.

It is worthy of remark that the situation in Gaul—which will be described in another chapter—was determined by the same three elements as the situation in Italy, but these elements were

¹ See Zosimus, v. 51.

² Sozomen, ix. 7.

³ Attalus had been once a pagan himself; Sozomen, ix. 9.

not adjusted in the same relations. In both countries the imperial authority was represented; in both countries there were tyrants or usurpers; and in both countries there were barbarians hostile to the imperial government. But in Gaul it was the tyrant against whom the legitimate Emperor prepared to contend; in Italy it was the Emperor against whom the tyrant prepared to contend. In Gaul the tyrant and the barbarians, Vandals, Suevians, and Alans, had originally been in opposition, and had come to terms, which left them independent of each other; in Italy the tyrant was the creation of the barbarian, and an opposition developed itself afterwards. The watchword of the new Augustus who came from Britain had been opposition to German influence; the watchword of the new Augustus who arose at Rome was opposition to catholic intolerance. Constantine was the successor of Maximus; Attalus was the successor of Eugenius.

Attalus created Lampadius,¹ probably the same senator who had once exclaimed bravely in the senate house against the "compact of servitude" with Alaric, praetorian prefect of Italy, and a certain Marcian prefect of the city; Tertullus was elected as consul for the year 410. We are told that the inhabitants of Rome were in high spirits, because the new officers were well versed in the art of administration; only the rich house of the Anicii was vexed at the new order of things.²

The first problem which presented itself to Attalus and Alaric was how they were to act in regard to Africa, which was held by Count Heraclian, an officer loyal to Honorius. They were not safe as long as they did not possess the African provinces, on which Rome depended for her supplies of corn. Alaric advised that troops should be sent to seize the power in Africa by force; but Attalus would not consent, confident that he could win Carthage without fighting a battle. He appointed a certain Constans commander of the soldiers in Libya, and sent him thither with a small company of guards, while he prepared himself to march against Ravenna.

Honorius was overwhelmed with terror at the tidings that a usurper had arisen in Italy, and that Rome had given her adhesion. He made ready ships in Classis, which, if it came to the worst, might bear him to the shelter of New Rome, and

¹ Zosimus, vi. 7. Valens, who had been general in Dalmatia, was created *magister militum*.

² *Ib.* 7, 4.

sent messages to Attalus, proposing a division of the Empire.¹ But Attalus had such high hopes that he would not consent to a compromise; he agreed to allow the legitimate Caesar to retire to an island and end his days as a private individual. So probable did it seem that the tottering throne of Honorius would fall, and so bright the prospects of his rival, that the praetorian prefect Jovius or Jovian, who had sworn eternal enmity to Alaric, went over to the camp or the palace of the usurper. The policy of Jovius was ever, when he adopted a new cause, to carry it to a further extreme than any one else. From wishing to make large concessions to Alaric, he had rebounded to the position of refusing to make even small concessions; and now, when he joined the side of Attalus, he went further than Attalus in hostility to Honorius, and recommended that the Emperor, when he was dethroned, should be deformed by bodily mutilation.² But for this proposal Attalus is said to have chidden him; Attalus knew not then that it was to be his own fate hereafter.

Attalus and his master of soldiers advanced upon Ravenna, and it seemed probable that Honorius would flee. But at this juncture the eastern came to the assistance of the western government, and Anthemius, the praetorian prefect of the East, sent about four thousand soldiers to Ravenna. With these Honorius was able to secure the city of the marshes against the hostile army, and await the result of the operations of Constans, Attalus' emissary in Africa. If Heraclian maintained the province loyally against the usurper, the war might be prosecuted in Italy against Alaric and Attalus; if, on the other hand, Africa accepted a change of rule, Honorius determined to abandon the position.³

The news soon arrived that Constans had been slain. At

¹ Several embassies passed between Attalus and Honorius (Olympiodorus, fr. 13). Besides Jovius, Valens *mag. utr. mil.*, Potaninus the quaestor, and Julian *primicerius notariorum*, were employed as envoys. Attalus created Jovius patrician (*ib.*); according to the text of Zosimus he created him praet. pref., but that post he had already given to Lampadius. Zosimus drew his facts from Olympiodorus, and here I suspect a slight omission in the text has produced the confusion; the word

παρτικός has probably fallen out. Read (vi. 8, 1) 'Ιόςβιος ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπαρχος [*παρτικός*] παρὰ Ἀττάλου καθεστάνμενος. Between the somewhat similar letters *παρχος* and *παπα* on either side, it might easily have been omitted.

² So Olympiodorus, followed by Sozomen (ix. 8) and Zosimus. Philostorgius, however (xii. 3), attributes the proposal of *acroteriasm* to Attalus himself.

³ Zosimus, vi. 8.

this point, the latent opposition between the ideas of Attalus and the ideas of Alaric began to assert itself. Alaric wished to send an army to Africa; and Jovius supported the policy in a speech to the Roman senate. But neither the senate nor Attalus were disposed to send an army of barbarians against a Roman province; such a course seemed *indecent*¹—unworthy of Rome.

Jovius, the shifty Patrician, seems to have decided, on account of the failure in Africa, to desert his allegiance to Attalus, and return to his allegiance to Honorius; and he attempted to turn Alaric away from his league with the Emperor whom he had created. But Alaric would not yet throw off his allegiance. He had said that he was resolved to persist in the blockade of Ravenna until he had taken it, but the new strength which Honorius had obtained from Byzantium seems to have convinced him that it would be futile to continue the siege. He marched through the Aemilia, receiving or extorting from the cities acknowledgment of the Empire of Attalus, and failing to take Bononia, which held out for Honorius, passed on to Liguria, to force that province also to accept the tyrant.

Attalus meanwhile returned to Rome, which he found in a sad plight. Count Heraclian had stopped the transport of corn and oil from the granary of Italy, and Rome was reduced to such extremities of starvation, that some one cried in the circus, *Pretium impone carni humanae*, "Set a price on human flesh."² The senate was now desirous to carry out the plan which it had rejected with Roman dignity before, and send an army of barbarians to Africa; but the Princeps again refused to consent to such a step, as he had formerly refused when it was proposed by Alaric.

Accordingly Alaric determined to pull down the tyrant whom he had set up; he had found that in Attalus, as well as in Honorius, the Roman temper was firm, and that he too was keenly conscious that the Visigoths were only barbarians. Near Ariminum Attalus was discrowned and divested of the purple robe with ceremonious solemnity; but Alaric provided for his safety, and retained him in his own camp.³

¹ Zosimus, vi. 9, ἀφελὶς πρὸς αὐτὴν [the senate] ἀπρεπὴ τινὰ ρήματα.

² *Ib.* 11.

³ Along with his son Ampelius (*Ib.* 12).

It now seemed that Alaric might approach Honorius again with better chance of a satisfactory adjustment; and he marched in the direction of Ravenna. At this juncture the Goth Sarus, a brave warrior, appears upon the scene. With three hundred men he had stationed himself in the Picentine territory, and held aloof from the two contending parties. According to one writer,¹ he now attacked the Goths of Alaric or Athaulf, because he wished to prevent the conclusion of peace; according to another writer,² he was not the attacker, but the attacked. Whichever of the two accounts be true, his accession to the side of the Emperor seems to have induced Honorius to continue in his implacable hostility to Alaric.³

It was in August 410 that Alaric marched upon Rome for the third time, but now he occupied it without resistance. It is not clear how far this occupation was due to an unfriendly attitude on the part of Honorius; events may have intervened between the battle with Sarus and the march on Rome of which we are ignorant. The eternal city was surrendered to the pillage of the soldiers; but it was confessed that respect was shown for churches, and that the "immanity" of the barbarians was softened by the veneration which christian things inspired.⁴ Alaric then proceeded to southern Italy with the purpose of crossing to Africa, and relieving Italy from the pressure of famine. If Alaric had succeeded in this enterprise and returned to Italy, that peninsula might have been the seat of a West Gothic kingdom, almost a hundred years before it became the seat of an East Gothic kingdom. But Alaric died in Bruttii,⁵ before the year was over, at Consentia, and the Goths laid his body in the bed of the river

¹ Sozomen, ix. 9.

² Zosimus, vi. 13. Cf. Olympiodorus, fr. 3, τοῦτον δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγαιρίσαντο δι' ἐχθρὰς Ἀλαρίχῳ ὅντα ἀσπονδὸν ἐχθρὸν Ἀλαρίχον ἐποιήσαντο.

³ Philostorgius, xii. 3, says that Alaric's proposals were rejected through the influence of Sarus. Philostorgius, however, makes the wrong statement that Sarus succeeded Stilicho as *magister utriusque militiae* (cf. Mendelssohn's note on Zosimus, vi. 9); and this may lead us to question his other statements about Sarus, when they are unsupported.

⁴ St. Augustine, *de civ. Dei*, Lib. i. cap. 7: "quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitata rerum facie inmanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimæ basilicæ explendæ populo cui parceretur eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, etc. . . . hoc Christiani nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum quisquis non videt caecus" (cf. cap. 1). He comes back to the subject in iii. 29, and contrasts the invasions of the Gauls.

⁵ Orosius states that ships of Alaric, when he attempted to cross to Sicily, were wrecked in the Straits (*Hist.* vii. 43).

Bucentus. His work had been accomplished; he had not himself entered in to possess, but he had prepared the way for a Visigothic kingdom, which was to arise, not in Illyricum, where he had sojourned so long, not in Italy, nor yet in Africa, but in a country where Alaric had never trodden. Alaric might be called the Moses of the Visigoths; he guided them on their wanderings until they came in sight of the promised land which he was not destined to enjoy himself.

CHAPTER V

THEODOSIUS II AND MARCIAN

WHEN Arcadius died in 408, his son Theodosius was only eight years old. Anthemius acted as protector of the Empire, and apparently also as guardian of the young prince until 414,¹ and the measures which were passed during these six years exhibit an intelligent and sincere solicitude for the welfare of the people and the correction of abuses. At the same time a better understanding subsisted between the court of New Rome and the court of Ravenna, due partly to the death of Arcadius and partly to that of Stilicho, who was executed in the same year. As a result of the new mode of palatial life, the influence of women as well as the influence of eunuchs made itself felt. The keynote of this new departure was struck by Eudoxia, the first wife of a Roman Emperor who received the title Augusta, a novelty to which the court of Honorius objected; and throughout the whole space of the fifth and sixth centuries we meet remarkable ladies of the imperial house playing a prominent part. The daughters of Eudoxia formed a great contrast to their mother, and the court of Theodosius I. was very different from that of Arcadius. The princesses Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina, and the young Emperor, inherited the religious temperament of their father, with which Pulcheria combined her grandfather's strength of character. The court, as a contemporary says, assumed the character of a cloister. The singing of hymns, pious practices, and charitable works were the order of the day, and the Patriarch Atticus

¹ Socrates, vii. 1. For the children of the house of Theodosius. Theodosius of Arcadius, see the genealogical table II was born 10th April 401.

acted as a spiritual adviser. But religion was accompanied with culture; Theodosius was a student of natural science, and from his skill in writing received the name of Kalligraphos.

In 414 Pulcheria was created Augusta, and assumed the regency in the name of her brother, who was two years younger than herself. She superintended and assisted in his education; she supported by her countenance the reforming spirit of the senate, and protected her brother from falling under the influence of intriguing court officials, to which his weak character would easily have rendered him a prey. This was the import of Pulcheria's political position. She resolved to remain a virgin, and influenced her sisters to form the same determination, in which they were confirmed by their friend Atticus, who is said to have written a book for them on the subject of virginity.

In 421 a new element was introduced into the monastic court life by the marriage of the Emperor with Athenais. The story of the Athenian girl who became the Empress Eudocia is well known. She was the daughter of Leontius, a philosopher and a pagan, and was by him instructed in all pagan learning. After the death of her father she sought refuge in Constantinople (418) from her brothers, who were less than kind, and the beauty and learning of the girl, dedicated to Athene, won the patronage of Pulcheria, who chose her as a suitable bride for her brother.¹ The marriage was followed by the birth of a daughter, Eudoxia (named after the late Empress), who afterwards became the wife of Valentinian III, and in 423 Eudocia was proclaimed Augusta. She had embraced Christianity before her marriage, and she wrote religious poetry; but she always retained some pagan leanings, and we may be sure that, when her influence began to assert itself, the strict monastic character of the court was considerably modified, and that breaches with Pulcheria were not infrequent, as both ladies had decided characters. The early undivided allegiance of Theodosius to his sister was gone; by degrees it was felt that there were two not necessarily united powers in the

¹ The modern parallel is Sophia of Russia marrying her brother Ivan to a beautiful young Siberian named Soltikof (Voltaire, *Histoire de Russie sous*

Pierre le Grand, cap. v.) Gregorovius has made *Athenais* the subject of a historical monograph.

palace; and of this feeling intriguing courtiers or churchmen would not be slow to take advantage. The dissension showed itself clearly in the Nestorian controversy.

When we read the chronicles of the reign of Theodosius II, we at first receive the impression that it was a period of few important events, though set with curious stories. The invasions of Attila and the general council of Ephesus are the only facts which seem to stand out prominently in the chronicles, while they are full of stories and interesting traits which attract the imagination, such as the life of Athenais, the martyrdom of Hypatia, the monastic life of the imperial votaries Pulcheria and her sisters, the story of the waking of the seven sleepers—the young saints who in the reign of Decius had fallen asleep in a cave. But on further study we come to the conclusion that it was a period of capital importance,—a period in which the Empire was passing a vital crisis.

To an unprejudiced observer in the reign of Arcadius it might have seemed that the Empire in its eastern parts was doomed to a speedy decline. One possessed of the insight of Synesius might have thought it impossible that it could last for eight hundred years more when he considered the threatening masses of barbarians who environed it, the corruption and divisions of the imperial court, the oppression of the subjects, and all the evils which Synesius actually pointed out. For with the beginning of the fifth century a critical time approached for the whole Empire. At the end of the same century we find that while the western half had been found wanting in the day of its trial, the eastern half had passed the crisis and all the dangers successfully; we find strong and prudent Emperors ruling at New Rome, disposed to alleviate the burdens of the subjects, and in the court a different atmosphere from that of the days of Arcadius.

Now the significance of the reign of Theodosius II is that it was the transition from the court of Arcadius to the court of the steady reforming Emperors in the latter half of the century, and it partook of both characters. This double-sidedness is its peculiarity. Theodosius was weak, like his father, but he was not so weak, and he seems to have profited more by his education. The senate struggles with effect against irresponsible officialism, and although we hear that there was venality and

corruption in the days of Pulcheria,¹ a great improvement is in progress. In the chronicles we do not hear much about the senate, everything is attributed to Pulcheria or Theodosius; but the words of Socrates that the Emperor was much beloved "by the senate and people" are significant, and there is no doubt that the much-lauded wisdom of Pulcheria's regency consisted in the wisdom of the senate which she supported. And although towards the close of the reign eunuchs had power, the ground gained by the senate was not lost; the spirit of its administration and the lines of its policy were followed by the succeeding Emperors, and it guided the State safely through a most momentous period which proved fatal to the integrity of the western provinces.

As has been already stated, the guidance of the State through this critical period following the death of Arcadius devolved upon the praetorian prefect Anthemius,² and was successfully performed by him. A new treaty was made which secured peace on the Persian frontier; it was agreed that Roman merchants were not to travel farther east than Artaxata and Nisibis, nor Persian merchants farther west than Callinicum. An invasion of Lower Moesia by Uldes, the king of the Huns who had executed Gainas, seemed at first serious and menacing, but was successfully tided over.³ In words worthy of his successor Attila, Uldes boasted that he could subdue the whole earth or even the sun. He captured Castra Martis, but as he advanced against Thrace he was deserted by a large multitude of his followers, who joined the Romans in driving their king beyond the Danube. An immense horde of Scyri were in Uldes' host, and so many were taken prisoners that the government had some trouble in disposing of them. They were given to large landowners to be employed as serfs (*coloni*) in Asia, not in Thrace or Illyricum. In order to prevent future invasions of Huns or other barbarians, Anthemius provided for the improvement of the fleet stationed on the Danube; a large number of new ships were built to protect the borders of Moesia and Scythia, and the old crafts were repaired.⁴

¹ Eunapius, fr. 87.

² Anthemius was the grandson of Philippus, who was praet. pref. in 346. In 400 he held the office of *comes sacrarum largitionum*, in 404 he was *magister officiorum*, in 405 he was prae-

torian prefect and consul, in 408 he was made a Patrician. Gildenpenning gives an excellent and detailed account of his administration.

³ Sozomen, *Hist. Ecc.* ix. 5.

⁴ *Cod. Theod.* vii. 1 (28th January

Of the other acts of "the great Anthemius" we may mention that he strengthened the capital, which tended to stretch beyond the wall of Constantine, by a new wall (413),¹ and that he made provision for the more efficient transportation of the corn supplies from Alexandria to Constantinople.² He also took measures to revive the prostrate condition of the Illyrian provinces, which through the protracted presence of Alaric and his Visigoths had been reduced to a state of defencelessness and misery.³

One of the men who held a distinguished position in this reign, and was highly characteristic of the epoch in many ways, was Cyrus of Panopolis. A poet, like his fellow-townsmen Nonnus, a student of art and architecture, a "Greek" in faith, he was penetrated with thoroughly Hellenic instincts; and when it is remarked that the Empire was beginning to assume in the East a Greek complexion in the reign of Theodosius II, "the first Greek Emperor,"⁴ it is often forgotten that Cyrus had a great deal to do with this, and was in fact the chief leader of the movement. He was prefect of the city for many years, and he used to issue decrees in Greek, an innovation for which a writer of the following century expressly blames him. His prefecture was very popular and long remembered at Constantinople, for he built or restored many buildings and improved the illumination of the town, so that the people enthusiastically cried on one occasion in the circus, "Constantine built the city but Cyrus renewed it." This popularity made the prefect an object of suspicion, and his fall soon followed, his paganism furnishing a convenient ground for accusation. By a sort of irony he was compelled to take orders and made bishop of Cotyaeum in Phrygia.⁵ His first sermon, which his mali-

412). The Danube boats were called *Isuriae*. For the Scyri, see *Cod. Theod.* v. 4, 3.

¹ The towers of the *novus murus* are mentioned in *Cod. Theod.* xv. 1, 51 (cf. Socrates, *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 1). It is interesting to find a reference in an inscription (*Corp. Ins. Lat.* iii. 2, 739)—

Portarum valido firmavit online muros
Pusaeus magno non minor Anthemio.

² The responsibility was transferred from the *navicularii*, or naval *collegia*, to the *summatae* of the fleets, whose recompense for their trouble was increased by the addition of a *mercedula*.

The island of Carpathus was the half-way station between Alexandria and Byzantium, and thus the care of the corn supplies devolved conjointly on the prefect of the city, the prefect of Egypt, and the *praeses insularum*.

³ Compare *Cod. Theod.* xii. 1, 177.

⁴ Julian might also claim this title, but although a Greek in sympathies, he was in many ways more Roman than Greek.

⁵ It strikes one as a very curious thing that an undisguised pagan should be not only compelled to take orders but appointed to a bishopric, as a sort

cious congregation forced him to preach against his will on Christmas Day, is delectable, and shows the readiness of the man:—

“Brethren, let the birth of God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ be honoured by silence, because he was conceived in the holy virgin through hearing only. To the Word itself be glory for ever and ever, Amen.”¹

The two most important acts of Theodosius were the foundation of a university at Constantinople and the compilation of the code called after his name. The inauguration of the university was an important measure for Byzantine life, and indicates the enlightenment of Theodosius’ reign. It was intended to supersede the university of Athens, the headquarters of paganism—with which, however, the government preferred not to interfere directly—and thereby to further the cause of Christianity. This negative effect was expected, and did to a certain extent follow. The Latin language was represented by ten grammarians or philologists and three rhetors, the Greek likewise by ten grammarians, but by five rhetors or sophists; one chair of philosophy was endowed and two chairs of jurisprudence. Thus the Greek language had two more chairs than the Latin, and this fact may be cited as marking a stage in the Graecisation of the eastern half of the Roman Empire.

In the year 429 Theodosius determined to form a collection of all the constitutions issued by the “renowned Constantine, the divine Emperors who succeeded him, and ourselves.” The new code was to be drawn up on the model of the Gregorian and Hermogenian codes, and the execution of the work was entrusted to a commission of nine persons, among whom was Apelles, professor of law at the new university. In 438 the work was completed and published, but during the intervening years the members of the commission had changed;

of punishment; and that such a measure was not considered an insult to the Church. Gregorovius says that he was perhaps made bishop of Cotyaeum “weil die dortlge Christengemeinde in dem Rufe stand vier ihrer Bischöfe umgebracht zu haben” (*Athenais*, p. 198). For laws concerning the pagans, see *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10. *Lex* 24 of this title is a law of toleration (423 A.D.)

commanding Christians not to dare to attack *Judeis ac paganis in quiete degentibus—religionis auctoritate abusi*. May we attribute this to Eudocia’s influence?

¹ This sermon is preserved by John Malalas. I have corrected the text by a change of punctuation; *παθένω* evidently ends a period, and I suspect *τῷ* should be inserted before *λόγῳ*.

of the eight who are mentioned in the edict which accompanied the final publication only two, Antiochus and Theodorus, were among the original workers, and a constitution of 435, which conferred full powers on the committee for the consummation of the work, mentions sixteen compilers, *contextores*.

The new codex was issued conjointly by Theodosius and Valentinian, and it impressed a sort of seal on the unity of the Empire (15th February 438). The visit of the younger Emperor to Constantinople on the occasion of his marriage with Eudoxia facilitated this co-operation. On 23d December of the same year, at a meeting of the senate of Old Rome, the code which had been drawn up by the lawyers of New Rome was publicly recognised, and an official account of the proceedings on that occasion—*gesta in senatu Urbis Romae de recipiendo Codice Theodosiano*—may still be read. The praetorian prefect and consul of the year, Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus, spoke as follows :—

“The felicity of the eternal Emperors proceeds so far as to adorn with the ornaments of peace those whom it defends by warfare. Last year when we loyally attended the celebration of the most fortunate of all ceremonies, and when the marriage had been happily concluded, the most sacred Prince, our Lord Theodosius, was fain to add this dignity also to his world, and ordered the precepts of the laws to be collected and drawn up in a compendious form of sixteen books, which he wished to be consecrated by his most sacred name. Which thing the eternal Prince, our Lord Valentinian, approved with the loyalty of a colleague and the affection of a son.”

And all the senators cried out in the usual form, “Well spoken !” (*nove diserte, vere diserte*). But instead of following the course of the *gesta* in the Roman senate house, it will be more instructive to read the imperial constitution which introduced the great code to the Roman world.

“The Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, Augusti, to Florentius, Praetorian Prefect of the East.

“Our clemency has often been at a loss to understand the cause of the fact, that, when so many rewards are held out for the maintenance of arts and (liberal) studies, so few are found who are endowed with a full knowledge of the Civil Law, and even they so seldom ; we are astonished that amid so many whose faces have grown pale from late lucubrations hardly one or two have attained to sound and complete learning.

“When we consider the enormous multitude of books, the diverse modes of process and the difficulty of legal cases, and further the huge

mass of imperial constitutions, which hidden as it were under a veil¹ of gross mist and darkness precludes men's intellects from gaining a knowledge of them, we feel that we have met a real need of our age, and dispelling the darkness have given light to the laws by a short compendium. We selected noble men of approved faith, lawyers of well-known learning ; and clearing the interpretation of all difficulties, we have published the constitutions of our predecessors (*lit.* back Emperors), so that men may no longer have to await formidable Responses from expert lawyers as from an inner shrine, when it is really quite plain what action is to be adopted in suing for an inheritance, or what is to be the weight of a donation. These details, unveiled by the assiduity of the learned, have been brought into open day under the radiant splendour of our name.

"Nor let those to whom we have consigned the divine secrets of our heart imagine that they have obtained a poor reward. For if our mind's eye rightly foresees the future, their names will descend to posterity linked with ours.

"Thus having wiped away the cloud of volumes, on which many wasted their lives and explained nothing in the end, we establish a compendious knowledge of the Imperial constitutions since the time of the divine Constantine, and allow no one after the first day of next January to use any authority in the practice of law except these books which bear our name and are kept in the sacred bureaux. None of the older Emperors however has been deprived of his eternity, the name of no issuer of a constitution has fallen to the ground ; nay rather they enjoy a borrowed light in that their august decrees are associated with us. The glory of the originators, duly refined (filed), remains and will remain for ever ; nor has any brilliance passed thereby to our name except the light of brevity (*nisi lux sola brevitatis*).

"And though the undertaking of the whole work was due to our auspicious initiation, we nevertheless deemed it more worthy of the imperial majesty (*magis imperatorium*) and more illustrious, to put envy to flight and allow the memory of the authors to survive perennially. It is enough and more than enough to satisfy our consciences, that we have unveiled the laws and redeemed the works of our ancestors from the injury of obscurity.

"To this we add that henceforward no constitution can be passed in the West (*in partibus occidentis*) or in any other place, by the unconquerable Emperor, the son of our clemency, the everlasting Augustus, Valentinian, or possess any validity, except the same by a divine *pragmatica* be communicated to us.

"The same precaution is to be observed in the acts which are promulgated by us in the East (*per Orientem*) ; and those are to be condemned as spurious which are not recorded in the Theodosian Code, excepting special documents in the official bureaux.

"It would be a long tale to relate all that has been contributed to the completion of this work by the labours of Antiochus, the all-sublime ex-prefect and consul ; by the illustrious Maximin, ex-quaestor of our palace,

¹ Sub alto crassae demersa caliginis et obscuritatis vallo. I read *volo*, compare below *revelatis legibus*.

eminent in all departments of literature ; by the illustrious Martyrius, count and quaestor, the faithful interpreter of our clemency ; by Sperantius, Apollodorus, and Theodore, all respectable men and counts of our sacred consistory ; by the respectable Epigenes, count and magister memoriae ; by the respectable Procopius, count, formerly magister libellorum. These men may be compared to any of the ancients.

"It remains, O Florentius, most dear and affectionate relation, for your illustrious and magnificent authority, whose delight and constant practice is to please Emperors, to cause the decrees of our August Majesty to come to the knowledge of all peoples and all provinces.

"Date 15 February at Constantinople" (438).

We have already referred to the fact that a marriage was arranged between the young princess Eudoxia and the youthful Emperor, Valentinian III, her second cousin. It was celebrated in 437 at Constantinople, whither the bridegroom came for the occasion. After the departure of her daughter the Empress probably felt lonely, and she undertook, in accordance with her husband's wishes, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to return thanks to the Deity for the marriage of their daughter. In this decision they seem to have been confirmed by a saintly lady of high reputation, Melana by name, a Roman of noble family, who had been forced into a marriage repugnant to her, and had afterwards, along with her husband, whom she converted to Christianity, taken up her abode at first in the land of Egypt, where she founded monastic houses, and then at Jerusalem. She had visited Constantinople to see her uncle Volusian, whom she converted before his death, and, moving in the most exalted society of the capital, she exercised considerable influence even over the Emperor and his household. The journey of Eudocia to Jerusalem (in spring 438) was marked by her visit to Antioch, where she created a great effect by the elegant Greek oration which she delivered, posing rather as one trained in Greek rhetoric and animated with Hellenic traditions and proud of her Athenian descent, than as a pilgrim to the great christian shrine. Although there was a large element of theological bigotry both in Antioch and in Alexandria, yet in both these cities there was probably more appreciation of Hellenic style and polish than in Constantinople. The last words of Eudocia's oration brought down the house—a quotation from Homer,

ὑμετέρης γενέης τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι,

"I boast that I am of your race and blood." The city that

hated and mocked the Emperor Julian and his pagan Hellenism loved and fêted the Empress Eudocia with her christian Hellenism; a golden statue was erected to her in the curia and one of bronze in the museum. Her interest in Antioch took a practical form, for she induced Theodosius to erect a new basilica, restore the *thermae* (hot baths), extend the walls, and bestow other marks of favour on the city.

Eudocia's visit to Aelia Capitolina, as Jerusalem was called, brings to the recollection the visit of Constantine's mother Helena, one hundred years before, and, although Christianity had lost some of its freshness in the intervening period, it must have been a strange and impressive experience for one whose youth was spent amid the heathen memories and philosophers' gardens of Athens, and who in New Rome, with its museums of ancient art and its men of many creeds, had not been entirely weaned from the ways and affections of her youth, to visit, with all the solemnity of an exalted christian pilgrim, a city whose memories were typically and diametrically opposed to Hellenism, a city whose monuments were the bones and relics of saints.¹ It was probably only this ideal side that came under Eudocia's notice; for Jerusalem at this period was a strange mixture of idealism with gross realism—it was double in character as it was double in name. The christian reminiscences which affected Eudocia were the rich hangings in a more than homely house; epicurism and lust made it "more like a tavern or a brothel than a graced palace." We are told by an ecclesiastical writer of the age that it was more depraved than Gomorrah; and the fact that it was a garrison town had something to do with this depravity.

The fall of Eudocia took place soon after her return, but although a circumstantial story is told about it, historians are all inclined to treat it as a legend, and the matter seems shrouded in impenetrable obscurity. It is best to relate the story in the words of the earliest chronicler who records it.²

¹ Of the relics which she received (the bishop of Jerusalem plied a trade in relics), especially remarkable were the chains with which Herod gyved Peter. One of these she gave to her daughter Eudoxia, who founded a church in Rome (called originally after

herself, and in later times St. Peter ad vincula), where it is still preserved. Gregorovius brings out very well the psychological element in Eudocia's visit to Aelia.

² John Malalas, Bk. xiv. p. 356, ed. Bonn.

"It so happened that as the Emperor Theodosius was proceeding to the church in sanctis theophaniis, the master of offices, Paulinus, being indisposed on account of an ailment in his foot, remained at home and made an excuse. But a certain poor man brought to Theodosius a Phrygiatic apple, of enormously large size, and the Emperor was surprised at it, and all his court (senate). And straightway the Emperor gave 150 nomismata to the man who brought the apple, and sent it to Eudocia Augusta; and the Augusta sent it to Paulinus, the master of offices, as being a friend of the Emperor. But Paulinus, not being aware that the Emperor had sent it to the Empress, took it and sent it to the Emperor Theodosius, even as he entered the Palace. And when the Emperor received it he recognised it and concealed it. And having called Augusta, he questioned her, saying, 'Where is the apple that I sent you?' And she said, 'I ate it.' Then he caused her to swear the truth by his salvation, whether she ate it or sent it to some one; and she swore, 'I sent it unto no man but ate it.' And the Emperor commanded the apple to be brought and showed it to her. And he was indignant against her, suspecting that she was enamoured of Paulinus and sent him the apple, and denied it. And on this account Theodosius put Paulinus to death. And the Empress Eudocia was grieved, and thought herself insulted, for it was known everywhere that Paulinus was slain on account of her, for he was a very handsome young man. And she asked the Emperor that she might go to the holy places to pray; and he allowed her. And she went down from Constantinople to Jerusalem to pray."

Gregorovius remarks that Eudocia's apple of Phrygia eludes criticism as completely as Eve's apple of Eden, but perhaps both may be explicable as having arisen from the language of oriental metaphor.¹ We know on good evidence that the

¹ In regard to the famous story of the apple, whose oriental colour—it has a parallel in the Arabian Nights—makes it seem suspicious, so that it is generally rejected as a legend, it must be remarked that there is nothing intrinsically impossible or even improbable in it, and the fact that it is first related by a writer who at the earliest lived in the seventh century—though it is plainly alluded to by Evagrius—is really no evidence against it, as of fifth century historians only fragments remain to us. The question is, did Evagrius and Malalas derive their knowledge of it from Priscus (or a writer of that time) or from oral tradition? If Priscus related it, we should be bound to accept it: but if Priscus had related it, it is almost certain that Evagrius would not have rejected it as untrue, for Priscus' authority as to the events at Theodosius' court could not be reasonably impugned by him. The probability therefore is,

that Priscus did not countenance the story, and that it is not true, but sprang up or was invented at a later period—probably before the end of the fifth century (one might conjecture that it was related by Johannes of Antioch, who flourished in the reigns of Anastasius and Justin, and that both Evagrius and Malalas derived their information from him). I have never seen any suggestion as to the way in which it might possibly have arisen. It seems to me that its germ may have been simply an allegorical mode of expression, in which (perhaps at Antioch) some one covertly told the story of the suspected intrigue. Remembering that the basis of the tale is the amorous intercourse of Paulinus and the Empress, we can conceive one accustomed to oriental allegory saying or writing that Eudocia had given her precious apple to Paulinus, symbolising thereby that she had surrendered her chastity. Like the rose in the "Romaunt

magister officiorum Paulinus was put to death by Theodosius' command¹ in 440; and history seems entitled to draw the conclusion that it was probably a charge, whether true or false, of a criminal attachment to the beautiful Paulinus that led to the disgrace of the Empress and the execution of the minister. It would be unwarrantable to ascribe this affair to machinations of the eunuch Chrysaphius, whose influence began about this time, and who is said to have been in league with Eudocia to bring about the decline of Pulcheria's influence. Pulcheria retired from court to Hebdomon at this period. These court intrigues, scarcely more than hinted at by our authorities, are very slippery ground, and we must beware of that tendency among modern as well as ancient historians to attribute on all occasions unprincipled acts to eunuchs.

For two or three years after the death of Paulinus, the Empress remained at Constantinople; in what relation she stood to the Emperor, whether she was partially reconciled or quite estranged, we know not. It is possible that the affair of Paulinus may have been forgotten, and that her retirement to Jerusalem in 443² was either voluntary or the result of some web of intrigue spun perhaps by the eunuch Chrysaphius. However this may have been, a messenger of Theodosius' displeasure or jealousy, the count of the bodyguard, Saturninus, followed her to Jerusalem, and "slew the priest Severus and the deacon Johannes who served the Empress Eudocia in the town of Aelia."³ Eudocia avenged this act by permitting the death of Saturninus; the words of the best authority would lead us to suppose that she caused him to be assassinated,⁴

of the Rose" the fruit signified chastity or virginity. Out of such a germ, I would suggest, the myth of the apple of Athanasius may have grown up, the metaphorical expression being taken literally. One might compare the origin of the tale (already told and explained) that Eudocia robbed a widow of her vine. See p. 94. It may also be remembered that in Hellenistic romances the apple was a conventional love gift, and meant on the part of a woman who bestowed it on a man a declaration of love.

¹ Marcellinus, *Chron. ad annum*. Paulinus was brought up along with Theodosius, and at his marriage acted as *παράνυμφος* or "groom's man."

² Both Cedrenus and Zonaras place

Eudocia's visit to Jerusalem in the 42d year of Theodosius; "also 450, was ganz irrig ist," says Gregorovius, p. 187, and himself determines the date between the limits 441 and 444. But Gregorovius is mistaken. We must reckon the 42d year, not from 408, but from 402 (Jan. 10) when he was created Augustus. The 42d year = Jan. 10, 443—Jan. 10, 444. This explanation is confirmed by Malalas' mode of reckoning; he says of Theodosius, *ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔτη ν' καὶ μῆνας ζ'*. Although the figures are not exact, it is plain that he reckoned from the earlier date.

³ Marcellinus, *Chron. ad 444*.

⁴ Besides Marcellinus, Priscus, speak-

but it has been suggested that officious servants or an indignant mob may have too hastily anticipated her supposed wishes. Then, by her husband's command, she was compelled to "disquantify" her train, and she remained at Aelia, where she was destined to die.

When Theodosius died, of a spinal injury caused by a fall from his horse,¹ in 450 (28th July), leaving only one daughter, Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian III, the difficulty of the succession to the throne was solved by the Empress Pulcheria, who became the nominal wife of Marcian, an able senator and soldier. We read that on his deathbed Theodosius said to Marcian, in the presence of Aspar, the general, and all the senators, "It has been revealed to me that you will reign after me." Thus a capable successor was secured and the Theodosian dynasty formally preserved. The first act of the new reign² was the execution of Chrysaphius, the obnoxious eunuch, whose influence with Theodosius had been on the decline for some time before his death. It is significant that Chrysaphius had favoured the green faction of the circus, and that Marcian patronised the Blues, while at the same time the new reign was attended with a religious reaction against the monophysitic heresy, which Theodosius had been inclined to favour.³

Marcian belonged to the senatorial party of reform, which at the beginning of Theodosius' reign was led by Anthemius; and we are told that his reign and that of his successor Leo were a period of profound calm, a sort of golden interval, all the more striking when contrasted with the storms which preceded the dismemberment of the Empire in the West. The good policy of these sovereigns consisted in paying regard to the condition of their subjects and alleviating the pressure of taxes as far as Roman fiscal principles would permit, in assisting them from the imperial treasury when unwonted calamities befell, in keeping the expenses of the court within reasonable

ing of the heiress of Saturninus, says, τὸν δὲ Σαροπύλον ἀνιέρηκει Ἀθηναῖς ἢ καὶ Εὐδοκία (Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. 93). See the discussion of Gregorovius, *Athenais*, cap. xxiii.

¹ See John Malalas and *Paschal Chronicle*. The accident happened near the river Leucos, not far from the city. Arcadia had died in 444, Marina in 449.

² Marcian was raised to the throne 25th August.

³ I have reserved the subject of the religious controversies of the reigns of Theodosius and Marcian for the ninth chapter of this Book. As to the green and blue factions the reader will find some information below, Bk. iv. cap. i.

limits. Marcian in particular did away with the *foliis*, which pressed heavily on the higher classes; he confined the burdensome office of the *praetura* to residents in the capital, and made its burden lighter by compelling the consuls to share the expenses of building with the praetors.¹ Leo, Zeno, and Anastasius pursued more or less the same policy; for the financial difficulties in which the Empire was involved during the last thirty years of the century were greatly due to the mismanagement of the expensive naval expedition of Leo against the Vandals, as will be explained in due course. At this period of the world heaven was often wroth; earthquakes were frequent and cities were constantly laid in ruins by these divine visitations (*theomenia*). The Emperors always exhibited a laudable solicitude to repair these losses.

One of Marcian's first acts at once reduced the expenses of the treasury, and redounded to the dignity of the Roman name. Attila sent an embassy demanding the tribute which he had been wont to receive, and Marcian refused to pay it. This refusal would have involved a war, if it had been made some years before, but Attila was already preparing to overwhelm the West, and was interfering in the politics of the Franks. Marcian was doubtless well informed of the state of Attila's affairs, and knew he could refuse with impunity.²

The only event of striking importance in the East during this reign was the council of Chalcedon (451), which finally decided the orthodox christian doctrine as to the natures of Christ; of this something will be said in another place. Pulcheria died in 453, having earned by her pious and charitable works the eulogies of the Church; Marcian died in the first month of 457,³ and with him the Theodosian house, of which he may be considered a representative, as being the husband of Pulcheria, ceased to reign at New Rome.

¹ See above, p. 41. The first Novel of Marcian aims at reforming the bad administration of justice which prevailed in the provinces—due to a lack of “integrity and severity” in local judges. Complaints and complainants had flocked to the Emperor from all sides—*catervas adventium infinitas*. In the second Novel he states the ideal of an Emperor's duty: *curae nobis*

est utilitati humani generis providere, etc.

² See below, cap. vii. Chronologically the relations of the Huns to the Empire belong to the present chapter, but it is more convenient to treat of them separately.

³ Some time between 26th January and 7th February. See Clinton, *F. R. ad ann.* 427.

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNINGS OF THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE

ALARIC'S brother-in-law Athaulf (Adolphus) succeeded him (410), and the Visigoths remained in Italy for two years longer, spoiling the land. In 412 they came to an understanding with Honorius, and Athaulf engaged to suppress the tyrants who had risen up in Gaul.¹ This leads us to record the events which had agitated the Gallic provinces during the preceding six years.

The noteworthy circumstance about the events of these years, which were decisive for the future of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was that two series of phenomena were going on at the same time, to some extent side by side and without clashing, but mutually conditioning and limiting one another. These two series of events are the rise of usurpers and the invasion of barbarians; and it seems that the same conditions which favoured the dismemberment of the western provinces by the Teutons favoured also the enterprise of illegitimate aspirants to the purple.

Up to the year 406 the Rhine was maintained as the frontier of the Roman Empire against the numerous barbarian races and tribes that swarmed uneasily in central Europe. From the Flavian Emperors until the time of Probus (282), the great military line from Coblenz to Kehlheim on the Danube had been really defended, though often overstepped and always

¹ Jordanes says (cap. 31) that Athaulf captured Placidia and married her. *Ut gentes hac societate comperta, quasi adunata Gothis republica* [that is the Empire] *efficacius terrentur. Honoriumque Augustum quamvis opibus exhaus-*

tum tamen quasi cognatum, grato animo derelinquens Gallias tendit, and Orosius, although he wrote in 417, seems also to commit the error of placing the marriage in 411.

a strain on the Romans, and thus a tract of territory (including Baden and Württemberg) on the east shore of the Upper Rhine, the titheland as it was called, belonged to the Empire. But in the fourth century it was as much as could be done to keep off the Alemanni and Franks who were threatening the provinces of Gaul. The victories of Julian and Valentinian produced only temporary effects. On the last day of December 406 a vast company of Vandals, Suevians, and Alans crossed the Rhine. The frontier was not really defended; a handful of Franks who professed to guard it for the Romans were easily swept aside, and the invaders desolated Gaul at pleasure for the three following years. Such is the bare fact which the chroniclers tell us, but this migration seems to have been preceded by considerable movements on a large scale along the whole Rhine frontier, and these movements may have agitated the inhabitants of Britain, and excited apprehensions there of approaching danger.¹ Three tyrants had been recently elected by the legions in rapid succession; the first two, Marcus and Gratian, were slain, but the third Augustus, who bore the auspicious name of Constantine, was destined to play a considerable part for a year or two on the stage of the western world.²

It seems almost certain that these two movements, the passage of the Germans across the Rhine and the rise of the tyrants in Britain, were not without causal connection; and it also seems certain that both events were connected with the general Stilicho. The tyrants were elevated in the course of the year 406, and it was at the end of the same year that the Vandals crossed the Rhine. Now the revolt of the legions in Britain was evidently aimed against Stilicho, as the revolt of Maximus had been aimed against Merobaudes; there was a Roman spirit alive in the northern island, which was jealous of the growth of German influence. There is direct contemporary evidence, to which I have referred in a preceding chapter, that it was by Stilicho's invitation that the barbarians invaded Gaul;

¹ See the monograph on "Tyrants of Britain, Gaul, and Spain" (*English Historical Review*, Jan. 1886), which has been my guide for the following events. It is written in Mr. Freeman's most attractive style, and lights up the

meagre statements of the chroniclers, which form the basis of the history of this period.

² Olympiodorus, fr. 12. Zosimus, vi. 2.

he thought that when they had done the work for which he designed them he would find no difficulty in crushing them or otherwise disposing of them.¹ We can hardly avoid supposing that the work which he wished them to perform was to oppose the tyrant of Britain—Constantine, or Gratian, or Marcus, whoever was tyrant then; for it was quite certain that, like Maximus, he would pass into Gaul, where numerous Gallo-Roman adherents would flock to his standards. Stilicho died before Constantine was crushed, and the barbarians whom he had so lightly summoned were still in the land, harrying Gaul, destined soon to harry and occupy Spain and seize Africa. From a Roman point of view Stilicho had much to answer for in the dismemberment of the Empire; from a Teutonic point of view, he contributed largely to preparing the way for the foundation of the German kingdoms.

The first act of the tyrant Constantine was to cross with all his military forces into Gaul, which sorely needed a defender to expel the barbarians who were harrying it, or, failing that, to protect the Rhine frontier against new invaders. He inflicted a severe defeat on the intruders, though he did not expel them; and, according to Zosimus, he guarded the Rhine more securely than it had been guarded since the reign of Julian. The representatives of the rule of Honorius, the praetorian prefect Limenius and the general Chariobaudes, fled into Italy probably soon after the arrival of the usurper from Britain, and Constantine passed into the south-eastern provinces which had escaped the devastations of the barbarians. "For two years," writes Mr. Freeman, "they and he both carry on operations in Gaul, each, it would seem, without any interruption from the other. And when the scene of action is moved from Gaul to Spain, each party carries on its operations there also with as little of mutual let or hindrance. It was most likely only by winking at the presence of the invaders and at their doings that Constantine obtained possession, so far as Roman troops and Roman administration were concerned, of all Gaul from

¹ See p. 111 note 1, where the passage in Orosius is quoted. Cf. Prosper Tiro, *universarium gentium rabies Gallias dilacerare exorsa, inmissu quam maxime Stilichonis indigna ferentes filio suo regnum negatum*. For the Chronicle of

Prosper of Aquitaine, which ends A.D. 455, and its continuation (in the *Codex Havniensis*), which ends A.D. 514, see an article by Holder-Egger in *Neues Archiv*, 1876.

the Channel to the Alps. Certain it is that at no very long time after his landing, before the end of the year 407, he was possessed of it. But at that moment no Roman prince could be possessed of much authority in central or western Gaul, where Vandals, Suevians, and Alans were ravaging at pleasure. The dominion of Constantine must have consisted of a long and narrow strip of eastern Gaul, from the Channel to the Mediterranean, which could not have differed very widely from the earliest and most extended of the many uses of the word Lotharingia. He held the imperial city on the Mosel, the home of Valentinian and the earlier Constantine."

When Constantine obtained possession of Arelate, then the most prosperous city of Gaul, it was time for Honorius and his general to rouse themselves. Stilicho formed the design of assigning to Alaric the task of subduing the adventurer from Britain, who had conferred upon his two sons, Constans, a monk, and Julian, the titles of caesar and nobilissimus respectively. But this design was not carried out. A Goth indeed, and a brave Goth, but not Alaric, crossed the Alps to recover the usurped provinces; and Sarus defeated the army which was sent by Constantine to oppose him. But he failed to take Valentia, and was obliged to return to Italy without having accomplished his purpose (408).

The next movement of Constantine was to occupy Spain.¹ It is not necessary for us to follow Mr. Freeman in his account of the difficult and obscure operations which were carried on between the kinsmen of Theodosius and the troops which the Caesar Constans and his lieutenant Gerontius led across the Pyrenees. It is sufficient to notice the main point, which Mr. Freeman has made out, that we are not justified in accepting the version of the story which states that the representatives of the Theodosian house were engaged in defending the northern frontier of the peninsula against the Vandals and their fellow-plunderers before Constantine attempted to occupy it. The defenders of Spain were overcome, and Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) became the seat of the Roman Caesar. Thus in the realm of Constantine almost all the

¹ Zosimus, vi. 4. Terentius was appointed *mag. mil.*, Apollinaris (father of Sidonius the poet) praetorian prefect (*ib.*), and Decimius Rusticus master of offices (Greg. Tur. ii. 9, quoted fr. Renatus Frigeridus).

lands composing the Gallic prefecture were included ; he might claim to be the lord of Britain, which he had left masterless ; the province of Tingitana, beyond the Straits of Gades, was the only province that had obeyed Limenius and did not in theory obey Constantine.

Constans, however, was soon recalled to Gaul by his father, and elevated to the rank of Augustus. But Constantine himself meanwhile, possessing the power of an Emperor, was not wholly content ; he desired also to be acknowledged as a colleague by the son of Theodosius, and become, as it were, legitimised. He sent an embassy for this purpose to Ravenna, and Honorius, hampered at the time by the presence of Alaric, was too weak to refuse the pacific proposals. Thus Constantine was recognised as an Augustus and an imperial brother by the legitimate Emperor ; but the fact that the recognition was extorted and soon repudiated, combined with the fact that he was never acknowledged by the other Augustus at New Rome, justifies history in refusing to recognise as the third Constantine the invader from Britain who ruled at Arelate.¹ Some time afterwards another embassy, of whose purpose we are not informed, arrived at Ravenna, and Constantine promised to assist his colleague Honorius against Alaric, who was threatening Rome. Perhaps what Honorius was to do in return for the proffered assistance was to permit the sovereign of Gaul to assume the consulship. In any case it was suspected that Constantine aspired to add Italy to his realm as he had added Spain, and that the subjugation of Alaric was only a pretext for his entering Italy, as it might have been said that the subjugation of the Vandals and their fellow-invaders had been only a pretext for his entering Gaul. A high official, Allobich, master of the horse, was also suspected of favouring the designs of the usurper, and the suspicion, whether true or false, cost him his life ; Honorius caused him to be assassinated. When this took place Constantine was already in Italy, and the fact that when the news reached him he immediately recrossed the mountains, strongly suggests that the suspicion was

¹ Captives of the Theodosian house, who had been taken in the Spanish expedition, were in the hands of Constantine, and a hope of their release seems to have been one of Honorius'

motives in sending the purple robe to the usurper ; but before the embassy was sent the captives had already been put to death.

true, and that he depended on the treason of the master of horse for the success of his Italian designs.

Constans had left the general Gerontius in charge of Spain,¹ and the error was committed—it is not clear whether through a want of judgment on the part of Gerontius or of Constans—of substituting barbarian mercenaries for the Spanish legions to defend the Pyrenees. This unwise act produced an insurrection of the legions; the barbarian soldiers indulged in unlawful plunder; and Constans was sent back to Spain to restore order. Blame seems to have been thrown on Gerontius, and the Augusti resolved to supersede him by the appointment of a certain Justus; but Gerontius was not of a spirit to submit tamely. He rose against the usurper whom he had supported, and, though he did not assume the purple himself, raised up a new Emperor—a tyrant against a tyrant—in the person of Maximus, who was perhaps his own son. For a while there were six Emperors, legitimate or illegitimate, ruling over parts of the Roman Empire, even as there had been one hundred years before. Besides Theodosius ruling at New Rome and Honorius at Ravenna, there were Constantine and his son Constans at Arelate; there was Attalus at Old Rome, who had been set up by Alaric; and Maximus at Tarragona, who had been set up by Gerontius.

This act of Gerontius, although both he and the Emperor he made soon vanished from the scene, led to important consequences. In order to hold out against the old usurper, the new usurper adopted the momentous course of inviting the Vandals, Suevians, and Alans, who for three years had been ravaging Gaul,² to pass into Spain. This act led to the loss of Spain; it led also to the loss of Africa. And thus we may say that it was the loss or abandonment of Britain in 407 that led to the further loss of Spain and Africa. Africa would not have been conquered by the Vandals if they had not passed into Spain; Spain would not have become the possession of Vandals and Suevians, to be afterwards the realm of the Visigoths, if Gerontius had not revolted and invited them to enter; the revolt of

¹ Zos. vi. 5: φύλακα τῆς ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρόδου. Zosimus affects to speak of the Keltoi instead of the Galatai.

² The misfortunes of Gaul are de-

scribed by Jerome (*ad Ageruchiam*, 409 A.D. before October), who mentions that Mainz was taken by the barbarians, and Tolosa only delivered through the bishop Exuperius.

Gerontius and his presence in Spain were a direct consequence of the "tyranny" of Constantine; and the tyranny of Constantine in Gaul and Spain depended upon his abandoning Britain. It is really worthy of notice how the loss of the furthest outlying of the Roman conquests in the West was followed by this curious series of effects; and how when the Roman armies retired from the Britannic borders, the retreat did not cease even at the Pillars of Hercules.

It may be noticed here that Britain was not yet forgotten. We learn that Honorius, when Alaric retired from besieging Ravenna, wrote letters to the cities of Britain, bidding them defend themselves, perhaps against Saxon enemies.¹

Constans soon fled before Gerontius and his new allies; and while Maximus reigned in state at Tarraco, his maker, if not his father, marched into Gaul against the father and son, who had been once his masters. Constans was speedily captured at Vienna and put to death; and the victor, marching down the Rhone, laid siege to Arelate.

Meanwhile Honorius had sent an army under the command of Constantius and Ulphilas to do what Sarus had failed to do before and win back "the Gauls." Thus Constantine was menaced on the one hand by the general of a usurper and on the other hand by the general of the lawful Emperor. Before the representatives of legitimacy the blockading army fled, and Gerontius returned to Spain, to meet death there at the hands of his own troops. The house in which he took refuge was set on fire; he and his Alan squire fought long and bravely against the besiegers; and at length in despair he slew his squire and his wife Nunechia, at their own request, and then stabbed himself.²

Thus besiegers in the interest of Honorius replaced the besiegers in the interest of Maximus at Arelate, where Constantine and his second son Julian held out. For more than three months the siege wore on, and the hopes of the usurper depended upon the arrival of Edobich, his Frankish master of soldiers (it is to be presumed he held this title), who had been sent to engage barbarian reinforcements beyond the Rhine.

¹ Zosimus, vi. 10: 'Ὁρωπῖον δὲ γράμμασι πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ χρησαμένους πόλεις φυλάττεσθαι παραγγέλλουσι. There is no reason to read the conjecture of Godefroy—*Βρυτανίᾳ*.

² I reproduce here the short account in Olympiodorus (fr. 16); a romantic narration of the scene will be found in Sozomen, ix. 14.

Edobich at length returned with a formidable army, and a battle was fought near the city, which resulted in a victory for the besiegers. Edobich was slain by the treachery of a friend in whose house he sought shelter, and Constantine, seeing that his crown was irrecoverably lost, thought only of saving his life. "He fled to a sanctuary, where he was ordained priest, and the victors gave a sworn guarantee for his personal safety. Then the gates of the city were thrown open to the besiegers, and Constantine was sent with his son to Honorius. But that Emperor, cherishing resentment towards them for his cousins, whom Constantine had slain, violated the oaths and ordered them to be put to death, thirty miles from Ravenna."¹ (September 411.)

But Constantine and Constans were not the only adventurers who called themselves Emperors in Gaul in the year 411. While the army of Constantine was still blockading Arelate, Jovinus, a Gallo-Roman, was proclaimed at Moguntiacum (Mainz). Like Attalus, he was set up by barbarians, but by barbarians farther from the pale of civilisation than Alaric. Gundicar, the king of the Burgundians—prototype of the Gunther of the Nibelungen—and Goar, a chief of the Alans, were the makers of this Emperor, and his elevation was intimately connected with the occupation of the Middle Rhine by the Burgundians. We know not how it was that Constantius and Ulfilas, the victors of Arles, returned to Italy without striking a blow against the other tyrant who had arisen on the Rhine, ere he had yet gathered strength. But the subjugation of Jovinus was reserved, not for the Roman general, but for his rival in war and love, the Visigothic king.

At the beginning of 412 Athaulf² and his Goths abandon Italy and pass into Gaul, just as four years before Alaric had abandoned Illyricum and passed into Italy; the Visigoths were inevitably drawn to the shores of the Atlantic. It is sometimes represented that Athaulf crossed the Alps as the bearer of a commission from Honorius to suppress the tyrant Jovinus, but this was not so. Athaulf had come to no understanding with the court of Ravenna; he carried the captive Placidia with him, against her own will and the will of her brother, and

¹ Olympiodorus, fr. 16.

² For the reign of Athaulf, see Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, v. pp. 55-64.

he was far more disposed to side with Jovinus against Honorius than with Honorius against Jovinus. An accident decided that he was to be the champion of the legitimate Emperor.

Attalus, the ex-Emperor, who was to become a sham Emperor once more, was in the train of the Visigoths, and his persuasions induced Athaulf to march to Mainz, that he might co-operate with the tyrant. But it appears that the arrival of this unexpected help was not so welcome to the Augustus who reigned on the Rhine as the Visigoths might have hoped, and Jovinus blamed Attalus in dark sayings as the cause of the presence of an ungrateful supporter. Why the prince who had been elevated by one Teutonic king disliked the support of another is not clear; but perhaps he had already entered into friendly negotiations with Sarus, that Visigoth whom he saw acting with partial success against Constantine, and who was the mortal enemy of Athaulf as he had been the mortal enemy of Alaric. Sarus certainly arrived on the scene at this juncture with about a score of followers to attach himself to the fortunes of Jovinus; the feeble and prejudiced Honorius, who was unable to retain his best officers, had refused to grant him justice for the murder of a faithful domestic. The feuds of the West Goths proved favourable to the cause of legitimacy; Athaulf was incensed when he heard of the approach of Sarus, and advanced with ten thousand to crush twenty soldiers. Hardly was Sarus, after having performed deeds of marvellous heroism, taken alive; his relentless conqueror put him to death.¹

A quarrel soon ensued between Athaulf and Jovinus, and the latter defied the desires and injunctions of the former by proclaiming his brother Sebastian Augustus. Then Athaulf decided to war against him whom he had come to assist, and defend the rights of the Emperor whom he had intended to oppose. He sent envoys to Honorius, promising to send him the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian, and he seems to have been so prompt that when the ambassadors returned Sebastian was already crushed.²

It is not clear how far the Roman prefect Dardanus, who

¹ All this is related by Olympiodorus, fr. 17.

² I deduce this from the words of Olympiodorus, combined with those of Orosius; Olymp. fr. 19, *ὡς ὑποστρεψάντων*

καὶ ὅρων μεστεινδάντων Σεβαστιανοῦ μὲν πέμπεται τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡ κεφαλὴ, which sounds as if the head of Sebastian was ready to be sent when the envoys arrived at Athaulf's camp. This is

had resolutely opposed the tyranny of the man who was set up by the Burgundians, influenced Athaulf's change of attitude, but it is clear that once Athaulf had turned against the tyrant he co-operated with Dardanus. Jovinus fled from Mainz on the Rhine to Valence on the Rhone,¹ but soon surrendered to the Visigoths who blockaded him, and was executed by Dardanus at Narbonne (autumn 413).² His head, and that of his brother, were exposed at New Carthage in Spain,³ to assert in that troubled country the might of the Empire and the Theodosian house.

Before following further the actions of Athaulf in Gaul, we must turn for a moment to Africa and notice the revolt of Count Heraclian, whose rebellion, by the express testimony of a contemporary, was influenced by the examples of usurpation which he had observed in Gaul.⁴ The man who, three years before, had resisted so staunchly the proposals of Attalus and the threats of Alaric, and stood by the throne of Honorius, was now seized by the infectious disease of tyranny and threatened his sovereign without provocation. With an immense fleet, whose numbers even at the time were grossly exaggerated, he sailed to Italy, but was almost immediately defeated, and fled back to Africa to find its provinces prepared to reject him. He was slain at Carthage about the same time that Jovinus was slain at Narbo.

supported by Orosius (vii. 42), *Sebastianus frater ejusdem hoc solum ut tyrannus moreretur degit. Num continuo ut est creatus occisus est.* It seems clear that between the presence of Athaulf at Mainz and the blockade of Valentia hostile operations were carried on, battles perhaps fought—totally lost to history—between the Visigoths and the adherents of Jovinus.

¹ Olympiodorus does not name the city. See Prosper Tiro (19 Honor.), *Valentia nobilissima Galliarum civitas a Gothis effringitur ad quam se fugiens Jovinus contulerat.* He also mentions the death of Sallustius as one associated with the brother tyrants.

² The place of execution is mentioned by Idatius, who wrongly unites the deaths of the two brothers in time and place. The executioner is mentioned by Olympiodorus.

³ Olympiodorus, 19: *καὶ ἀποτίθενται ἀμφὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ Καρθαγίνης ἐξωθεν*—where, he adds, the heads of Constantine and Julian had been formerly “cut off” (a loose expression for “exposed when cut off”), as also those of the tyrants Maximus and Eugenius who had been subdued by the great Theodosius. Much difficulty has been found in these words, which are always referred to Carthage. Why should the heads have been exposed at Carthage? Mr. Hodgkin would read Milan—but that is arbitrary. Surely, if Olympiodorus meant Carthage, he would have written *Καρχηδόνας*. Surely he meant Carthage—Carthago Spartaria in Spain. It seems quite probable that Honorius might have liked to assert the triumphs of his arms in the country of his kin, then so terribly overrun by barbarians.

⁴ Philostorgius, xii. 4.

This revolt in Africa was partly influenced by recent events in Gaul, and it also exercised in turn an influence on affairs there. The great aim of Honorius, whose mental horizon was bounded by his family and his poultry-yard, was to recover his sister Placidia from the hands of the Visigoth, and this desire was ardently shared by his influential general Constantius, who aspired to the hand of the princess. Accordingly negotiations were carried on with Athaulf, who demanded that he and his people should be supplied with corn, and, as a consequence thereof, be recognised as dependants of the Roman Empire. To this Honorius and Constantius agreed; but Africa was the corn chamber of Italy, and when Heraclian revolted and inhibited the transport of supplies, it became impossible to fulfil the engagement with Athaulf. He therefore refused to fulfil his part of the treaty, and seized the three most important towns of south-western Gaul, Narbo Martius, Tolosa, and Burdigala (Bordeaux) the city of the poet Ausonius.¹ He also made an attempt to take Massilia, which he hoped might fall by treachery; but it was defended by "the most noble Boniface," who was afterwards to play a more ambiguous and more conspicuous part in Africa, and Athaulf himself was wounded wellnigh to death by a stroke which the Roman dealt him.

The assault on Massilia seems to have taken place in one of the latest months of 413, and almost immediately after it Athaulf determined to give himself a new status by marrying his captive, the Roman princess. Whether he had meditated this design before we are not told; but doubtless its execution at this juncture partly depended on the lady herself. It was celebrated in January 414 at Narbonne, in the house of one Ingenius, a leading citizen; and the pride of Constantius in his first consulship was spoiled for him by the news that the lady whom he loved was the bride of a barbarian. We are told how, arrayed in the dress of a Roman and a royal bride, Placidia sat in the hall of the citizen of Narbo, and how Athaulf sat beside her, he too

¹ Rutilius Namatianus, *Itiner.* i. 496. Paulinus of Pella, *Eucharisticon de vita sua* (published in the Appendix of 1579 to de la Bigne's *Bibl. ss. Patr.*), l. 317. *Aspera quacque omni urbe irrogavere cremata.* This Paulinus (not to be confounded with his namesake of Nola)

had joined Attalus, and was created by him *comes privatae largitionis* (a combination of the titles *com. sacr. larg.* and *com. rei priv.*) Prosper Tiro says that Aquitaine in this year was given to the Goths.

dressed as a Roman. With other nuptial gifts the Visigoth gave his queen fifty comely youths, apparelled in silk, each bearing two large chargers in his hands, filled one with gold, the other with priceless gems—the spoils of Rome. They had an ex-Emperor to pronounce an epithalamium, and Attalus was assisted by other Romans. The marriage festivities were celebrated with common hilarity by barbarians and Romans alike.¹

A contemporary writer² has recorded words spoken by Athaulf, which throw light on his attitude to the Empire. "At first," he said, "I ardently desired that the Roman name should be obliterated, and that all Roman soil should be converted into an empire of the Goths; I longed that Romania should become Gothia³ and Athaulf be what Caesar Augustus was. But I have been taught by much experience that the unbridled licence of the Goths will never admit of their obeying *laws*, and without laws a republic is not a republic. I have therefore chosen the safer course of aspiring to the glory of restoring and increasing the Roman name by Gothic vigour; and I hope to be handed down to posterity as the initiator of a Roman restoration, as it is impossible for me to change the form of the Empire."

The birth of a son, Theodosius, who died in infancy, rendered the sentiments of Athaulf still more Roman; but Honorius and Constantius were disposed to reject his friendly advances. Moved by resentment or policy, Athaulf, who had put down the tyrant Jovinus, set up the tyrant Attalus, the same who had been created Augustus by Alaric in 409, and was always ready to be made or unmade as it suited his Gothic friends. In the following year we find Constantius at Arelate, determined to drive his enemy from Gaul into Spain, and preventing all ships from reaching the coast of Septimania. Athaulf, taking his Emperor Attalus, complied with the wishes of the general and moved

¹ Olympiodorus, fr. 24. Philostorgius compares this marriage to the union of iron with pottery, and the Spanish bishop Idatius, who lived in the second half of the fifth century, saw in it the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy, that the queen of the south should marry a king of the north.

² Orosius, *Historiae adv.* Pag. vii. 42.

³ Romania, *ut vulgari ter loquar*. This use of Romania for the territory of the Roman Empire deserves notice. In the sixth century Chosroes II is to use 'Ρωμαία of the dominions of Maurice. It is chiefly put in the mouths of persons without the Empire, or used by writers when they are looking at the Empire from an enemy's point of view.

southward along the coast to Barcelona, where it was destined that the death of Sarus should be avenged. Unsuspectingly and unwisely he had received into his service a certain Dubius, one of the followers of Sarus, who avenged his first master by slaying his second master. The king had gone to the stable, as was his custom, to look after his own horses, and the servant, who had long waited for a favourable opportunity, stabbed him (September 415). Perhaps the assassin had been encouraged to commit this deed by Singeric, the brother of Sarus, who immediately seized the royalty, and put to death the children of the dead king, tearing them from the arms of the bishop Sigesar, to whose protection they had fled for refuge. Placidia herself, whose husband had killed and whose brother had offended Sarus, was compelled by the brother of Sarus to walk on foot in the company of captives. But Singeric's reign endured only for seven days; he was slain and succeeded by Wallia.¹

The new king was not disposed to adopt the policy of Athaulf and assume a pacific attitude towards Rome. The historian, who wrote two years later, informs us that "he was elected by the Goths just for the purpose of breaking the peace, while God ordained him for the purpose of confirming it."² His first act, apparently at the beginning of 416, was to organise an expedition against Africa; but it was not destined that the Visigoths should set foot there. Alaric had essayed the sea just before his death and could not reach Sicily; even so the ships of Wallia were shattered in the Straits of Gades. The object of Wallia was probably the same as the object of Alaric—he was pressed by want of supplies of corn. This ill-success had the fortunate effect of changing his policy. "Alarmed at the loss of a large body of Goths, who had perished last year by the storm in the straits, attempting to cross into Africa, he concluded a treaty with Honorius and honourably restored Placidia, engaging to undertake for the Romans the war against the barbarians in Spain. So far we are told that the Alani,

¹ Olympidorus, fr. 26. Theodosius, the son of Placidia and Athaulf, died at Barcelona, and was buried in a church there in a silver coffin. The other children were perhaps the offspring of that Sarmatian wife whom Athaulf

seems to have divorced in order to marry Placidia (Philostorgius, xii. 4). The news of Athaulf's death arrived at Byzantium on 24th September 415.

² Orosius, vii. 43.

the Vandals, and the Suevi are destroying one another, and it is said that Wallia is very anxious to bring about a peace."¹

The conditions of this peace of 416 were that the Romans on their part should supply Wallia with corn;² that Wallia on his part should restore Placidia, should give up the tyrant Attalus, and should fight in Spain against the barbarians who had occupied it. During the lifetime of Athaulf such a treaty could not have been concluded, the narrow-minded Honorius, who held fast by the Roman pride of family, would never have recognised a king of the Visigoths as his brother-in-law, and rivalry in love placed a barrier between the husband and the suitor of Placidia. Placidia might now be restored without detriment to Gothic honour.

Attalus escaped in a ship, and tried to elude the vigilance of the Romans, but he was captured and delivered alive to Constantius.³ In the eleventh consulship of Honorius and the second of Constantius, the Emperor entered Rome in triumph, with Attalus at the wheels of his chariot. He punished the inveterate and harmless tyrant by maiming him of a finger and thumb, and condemning him to the same fate that he had wished to inflict upon himself. Honorius had doubtless not forgotten how Attalus demanded, with an air of patronising clemency, that the son of Theodosius should retire to some small island, and he now banished his prisoner to Lipara. If the consulate of Honorius was sweetened by the triumph over Attalus, the second consulate of Constantius was sweetened for him by attainment to the object of his hopes, the hand of Placidia, even as his first consulate, three years ago, had been embittered by her marriage with Athaulf. On the first day of January she married him⁴ against her own will, by the constraint of her brother. The marriage was followed by the

¹ Orosius, vii. 43. He wrote his History against the Pagans in the following year, 417.

² Olympiodorus, fr. 31; Philostorgius, xii. 4: καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρατίθενται αὐτοὶ σιτήσεσι τε δεξιωθέντες καὶ μίσην τινὰ τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν χώρας εἰς γεωργίαν ἀποκληρωσάμενοι; the last clause seems due to a confusion with the compact of 418.

³ The news reached Constantinople on 28th June 416. Prosper wrongly places the capture of Attalus in the tenth con-

sulate of Honorius, but rightly places his punishment in the eleventh. As to the capture, he says, *a Gothis ad Hispanias migrantibus neglectus et praesidio carens capitur*; cf. Orosius (viii. 42) *unde discedens naui incerta motiens in mari captus et ad Constantium comitem deductus*, etc. Philostorgius also mentions his punishment.

⁴ Placidia was escorted to Italy by the magisterianus Euplутius (Olymp. fr. 31).

birth of two children, Honoria in 418 and Valentinian III in 419 (3d. July).

A personal description of the Count and Patrician Constantius, now the most influential minister of Honorius, the brother-in-law of the Emperor, and destined to be an Emperor himself, has come down to us from the pen of a contemporary writer. "When he walked in public," says Olympiodorus, "his eyes were downcast, and he looked askance; he had large eyes and a large neck and a flat head; when he rode, his whole body inclined over the neck of his steed, and he used to cast his eyes obliquely hither and thither; all deemed his appearance that of one who might aim at empire. At feasts and carouses he was amenable and sociable, descending even to vie with the mountebanks who performed for the guests." We can understand that Placidia was not attracted by this rough Roman. In 420 he entered upon his third consulate, and early in the following year was co-opted by Honorius and proclaimed Augustus, Placidia at the same time receiving the title Augusta, against whose assumption by his sister-in-law Eudoxia Honorius had protested more than twenty years ago.

We must now return to Spain, which we left in 409 when the barbarian, at the invitation of Gerontius, entered that fair land, rich in corn and crops, rich in mines of gold and precious stones. The four nations, the Vandal Asdings and the Vandal Silings, the Suevians and the Alans, divided the land between them. The Suevians and the Asdings together occupied the north-western province of Gallaecia, the regions north of the Douro; the Alans took up their abode in Lusitania, the modern Portugal; and the Silingi obtained the southern lands of the Baetis, whose name was changed by the Saracen occupation, and is now called Guadalquivir. The eastern coast of the peninsula was not occupied by the invaders, and throughout the whole country the Spaniards were able to defend themselves in the cities; but the bloody harryings and devastations of the Germans soon forced the inhabitants to make a compromise, by which the natives retained the cities and the invaders possessed the open country.¹

¹ Idatius, xvii. Honorii. Cf. Orosius, vii. 40. The Vandals belong to the Gothic group of Teutonic nations. Cf. Dahn, *Kön. der Germanen*, i. 140. They were conquered by Marcus Aurelius 171-173 A. D. (Capitolinus, *V. M. A.*

Wallia's treaty with the Empire had been made before the month of June in 416. He marched against the barbarians of Spain before the year was over, and fought successfully against the conquerors of Lusitania and Baetica.¹ The chief of the Silingian Vandals was sent to Honorius. In the following year, still fighting "for the Roman name," *Romani nominis causa*, he inflicted great slaughter upon the barbarians, and in 418 the Silingians were totally extinct through the valour of the Visigoth. Hispalis, Corduba, and Gades were at length delivered from the presence of a menacing foe. The Alans were not so completely exterminated, but their king Atax was killed, and the remnant of them who escaped the sword of Wallia fled to Gallaecia and submitted to Gunderic, the king of the Asdingian Vandals.²

Thus Wallia the chief, who had been elected for the express purpose of reversing the policy of Athaulf and warring with the Romans, is by the stress of events found fighting for the Roman name, and carrying out the ideal which Athaulf professed to have set before himself—the ideal of restoring the Roman power by Gothic arms. He received his reward. He was not obnoxious to Constantius and Honorius, as the rival and brother-in-law had been; and they were ready to recompense him for his services in Spain, as they were unwilling to recompense Athaulf for his similar services in Gaul. It was apparently in the consulship of Monaxius and Plintha (419) that the compact was made³ by which the Empire granted to the Visigoths a permanent home in south-western Gaul. The whole province of Aquitania Secunda, the northern part of the province of Narbonensis and part of Novempopulania, formed the nucleus of the Visigothic kingdom, which was afterwards to include a larger portion of Gaul. Thus the two great cities that are built on the banks of the Garonne, Burdigala at its mouth, now Bordeaux, and Tolosa, were ruled over by Wallia and his successors; but Narbo Martius, on the Mediterranean coast,

17). The Asdings were a royal family among them; Dahn would connect *asid* with High-Dutch *art*=genus (nobile), p. 186. ¹ See the notices in Idatius.

² Idatius, xxiv. Honorii. Gunderic succeeded his father Godigisel in Spain in 409 or 411 (Dahn, *Kön. der Germanen*, i. 143).

³ Compare Prosper: *Constantius pacem firmat cum Wallia dula ei ad habitandum Aquitania et quibusdam civitatibus confinium provinciarum*. Idatius places this and Wallia's death in the twenty-fourth year of Honorius = 418.

was reserved by the prudence of Constantius, who was the author of this compact. This final settlement of the Visigoths—who had been able to find no home in Illyricum, nor yet in Italy—after many wanderings, was a momentous event; it was the beginning of that compromise between the Empire and the Teutons to which everything had been tending for many years. Constantius was herein the successor of Theodosius the Great and Stilicho; he carried out that in which they had failed. About the same time the same policy was adopted in regard to the Burgundians who had settled on the Middle Rhine; a definite territory was marked out for them, and they were recognised as dependent on the Empire.

It has been justly pointed out that this arrangement in regard to the Visigoths must have been acceptable to the Gallo-Roman inhabitants of those regions.¹ In the year 418 an edict of Honorius—the work of Constantius—conferred local government on the inhabitants of the Seven Provinces²; a representative council was to be held every year at Arelate; and we may assume that the government, solicitous for the welfare of those provinces, would not have imposed the Visigoths upon any one of them against the will of the inhabitants. In fact, is it not legitimate to assume that the settlement of the Goths and the measure which instituted a provincial assembly were closely connected? The imperial government seems to have been deeply concerned for the state of southern Gaul, which had lately endured so much at the hands of tyrants and barbarians, and Constantius conceived the idea of combining a remedy with the solution of another problem. It was evident that the Visigoths must be allowed to occupy the lands which they had conquered for the Empire in Spain, or else receive an allotment of territory elsewhere. In any case the Roman Emperor would probably have hesitated to concede Spain, the land of gold mines, the land of Theodosius, to a German people; but perhaps the choice of south-western Gaul was influenced by the idea that the presence of the Visigoths might invigorate a declining region. The Roman inhabitants of the provinces where the strangers settled would naturally be in a

¹ By von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iv. i. pp. 271, 272.

² The Maritime Alps, Narbonensis

Prima, Narbonensis Secunda, Novempopulania, Aquitania Prima, Aquitania Secunda Viennensis.

looser relation to the Empire ; but it was important that the relation should not cease to exist. We can hardly then avoid seeing in the edict of Honorius of April 418 a very ingenious idea, intended not only to give new life to southern Gaul, but to enable the Empire to retain a hold on the lands which it was determined to surrender to the Goths. The idea consisted in relaxing the strict bonds of administration which connected all the Seven Provinces with the central government, by removing the imperial governors and allowing the inhabitants, as a dependent federation, to conduct their own affairs, for which purpose representatives of all the towns were to meet every year in Arles. Thus the Gallo-Romans of those provinces and towns, which were to pass into the hands of the Goths, would, without clashing with their masters, belong to a Roman political body, which was under imperial control. It seems hardly possible to set aside the notion (although, as far as I know, it has never been put forward) that the rescript was drawn up with full consciousness on the part of Constantius that the Visigoths were to be settled in Gaul. That settlement cannot have been made on the spur of the moment ; it must have received long and serious consideration, for it is represented by the consent of all our authorities as coming spontaneously from the Patrician.

The scheme of representative government for the Seven Provinces, intended to multiply social relations, to increase commerce and healthy life, was not taken up with enthusiasm by the municipalities. If the idea had taken root the history of southern Gaul might have been different. "The city of Constantine," the little Rome of Gaul, where all the famous products of the rich Orient, of perfumed Arabia and of delicate Assyria, of fertile Africa, of fair Spain and of brave Gaul, abounded so profusely that one might have thought the various marvels of all the world were indigenous in its soil—Arelate,¹ built at the union of the Rhone with the Tuscan sea, provided with all the facilities of trade, might have been the centre of a federation, able to have maintained a distinct Gallo-Roman life for many centuries, to have accelerated the civilisation of the Franks,

¹ Of the fourteen *nobiles urbes* sung by Ausonius Arelate comes eighth—

Gallula Roma Arelas, quam Narbo Martius et quam
accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colonis.

In the fifth century Arelate was close to the sea.

and to have prevented the Asiatic stranger from ever crossing the Pyrenees.

After the Visigoths left Spain there was war between Gunderic, king of the Vandals, and Hermeric, king of the Suevians.¹ The latter were blockaded in the Nervasian mountains; but suddenly Asterius, count of the Spains, appears upon the scene, and in consequence of his operations the Vandals abandoned their blockade of the Suevians. At Bracara a large number were slain by the Romans, and then they left Gallaccia and passed into the southern provinces of Baetica (420), which Wallia had cleared of their kinsmen two years before. Vigorous measures were now demanded if the Roman Emperor desired to save Spain, if the work of the Visigoths was not to be undone. The elevation of Constantius in February 421² seemed of good augury for the interests of the Roman republic³; but the third Constantius was not destined to wear the purple long. It is characteristic that he is said to have found the restraints attending imperial power intolerably irksome; he was not free to go and come as he used, when he was still a private individual. We shall see how this trait came out in his daughter Honoria. And his elevation was not without a bitter element. The announcement of his co-option was sent to Constantinople, but Theodosius refused to recognise him; and the new Augustus, indignant at the insult, prepared to force recognition by the sword. We are in the dark as to the motive of the hesitation of the ruler of New Rome to acquiesce in the choice of his uncle; it has been conjectured⁴ that he looked forward to the death of Honorius without heirs and the devolution of the western provinces upon himself. The warlike intentions of Constantius were fortunately not to be realised. After a reign of seven months he died of pleurisy (2d September).⁵ We know not whether it was at his suggestion that an expedition was undertaken in the following year (422) against the Vandals in Spain. Castinus commanded this

¹ See the notices in Idatius' *Chronicle*.

² Theophanes, 5913 A.M.

³ He is said, after his marriage with Placidia, to have lapsed into the vice of avarice, and after his death Ravenna

was deluged by the claims of persons by whom he had dealt unjustly. Olymp. fr. 39. Honorius was unwilling to grant him the imperial title. (*Ib.*)

⁴ By Guldenpenning, p. 240.

⁵ Olymp. fr. 34.

expedition; but all the expeditions which were sent at various times against the Vandals were destined to fail, until the days when the great Belisarius overcame Gelimer. The general Castinus fled before the enemy to Tarraco.

After the death of Constantius the relations between Honorius and his step-sister became close and tender, and slanderous tongues whispered that their kisses and endearments portended a criminal intimacy. But the sweetness was soon turned into gall. A cabal was formed, in which Leonteus, the steward of Placidia, and two of her women, Spadusa and Elpidia, played a prominent part in fostering suspicion and unkindness. There were frays in the streets of Ravenna, and the barbarians who had come with the widow of Athaulf from Barcelona struck blows for the name and the fame of their mistress. The breach widened, and at length the Augusta, with her two children, was banished from the city which Honorius loved, and sought refuge with her kindred in New Rome (423), even as her mother had once fled from the usurper Maximus.

It is probable that in the court intrigue more powerful personages were involved than the subordinates, such as the nurse Elpidia, who are mentioned as sowing the seeds of discord. We can hardly help conjecturing that the general Castinus and the Count Boniface were concerned in it. The celebrated Boniface now appears on the stage of history, and he was at this time probably count of Africa (422).

The circumstances, however, which attended his presence in Africa are veiled in obscurity.¹ In 422 he was ordered to accompany Castinus on the expedition against the Vandals in Spain, but he quarrelled with the commander and proceeded to Africa. It is hard to decide whether this was more than an act of disobedience,—whether he seized the African government without imperial warrant,² or, having been already governor in that province and having been summoned specially to Italy to organise the expedition, he returned in pique to the sphere of his administration. It may be observed that there is no hint that at this time Boniface really quarrelled with the court of Ravenna, and there is no mention of any commander in Africa whom Boniface ousted from his office; we may there-

¹ See Mr. Freeman's article on "Aetius and Boniface," *Eng. Histor. Review*, July 1887.

² Idatius, *Chron.*

fore best suppose that the intention was to combine the forces of Italy and the forces of Africa against the invaders of Spain, and that a quarrel between the two commanders thwarted its execution.

This act of Boniface, whatever character it bore, was, according to a chronicler, "the beginning of many labours to the republic." His administration was highly lauded by a contemporary, and he is not represented as having defied, at this period, the court of Ravenna. On the contrary, we shall find him espousing the cause of legitimacy against the usurper John in 424, when that very Castinus with whom he had quarrelled "connived" at the usurpation.¹ If we combine with this the fact that Boniface strongly upheld the cause of Placidia in her quarrel with Honorius in so far as he supported her with money in her exile at Constantinople, and remember that the quarrel between the brother and sister must have begun much upon the same time as the ambiguous departure of Boniface for Africa (422) took place, we shall be disposed to conjecture that the two events had some links of connection. If, when the Augustus and Augusta were in conflict, the latter were supported by Boniface and opposed by Castinus, not only would the conduct of Boniface be explained, but the uncertain language of the chroniclers in regard to his "seizure" of Africa would be accounted for. If he "deserted the palace" and proceeded to Africa, the seat of his administration, against the will and consent of Honorius, his act might be regarded as disobedient and illegitimate; while the same act, if it were approved of and supported by the Augusta Placidia, might be regarded as lawful.

Honorius, who, weak though he was, had by his mere existence held things together, died of dropsy on 15th August 423. When the news arrived at Constantinople, the first care of the government was to occupy the port of Salona in the province of Dalmatia, which belonged to the prefecture of Italy. The event was then made public²; for seven days the hippodrome of Constantinople was closed, and the city mourned for the deceased Emperor. The intervention of Theodosius at this

¹ Prosper: "conniventi ut putatur Castino."

² Cf. "Socrates, vii. 23. Theoph. 5915 A.M."

crisis was evidently indispensable, and two courses were open. He might overlook the claims of Valentinian, the son of the Augustus whom he had refused to recognise, he might aspire to rule the whole Empire himself, as his grandfather and namesake had ruled it, without dividing the power; or else he might recognise his child step-cousin as his colleague and act provisionally as his regent and protector. In either case there was fighting to be done in the West, for a usurper, whose name was John, had arisen at Ravenna, and the general Castinus did not disapprove of the usurpation. Theodosius and Pulcheria decided to take the second course, and to support the rights of their kinsman Valentinian and their kinswoman Placidia. The ambassadors of John, who soon arrived to demand his recognition by the sovereign of New Rome, were banished to different places on the Propontis¹; if Theodosius had disdained Constantius as a colleague, how much more would he have disdained John, the *primicerius notariorum*?

When Constantius had been proclaimed Augustus, Placidia had also been proclaimed Augusta, and the child Valentinian had received the title of *nobilissimus*; but the court of Constantinople had as little vouchsafed to recognise the *nobilissimus* or even the Augusta, as to recognise the Augustus. And so now Placidia and Valentinian received those titles anew,² and then set forth with a large army to recover their inheritance. The army was commanded by Ardaburius, who was supported by his son Aspar, and by Candidian, who had probably accompanied Placidia in her exile. At Thessalonica, which by this time had recovered from the terrible vengeance of the great Theodosius, the grandson of Theodosius was raised to the rank of Caesar. It was destined that he should once more see its churches, and look forth over Grecian waters, when he returned, not from a sort of exile, but from marriage festivities, accompanied by his bride Eudoxia.

The infantry were commanded by Ardaburius and the cavalry by Aspar, and when they arrived at Salona, the city of Diocletian's palace, the troops of Ardaburius embarked in the ships which were stationed there and sailed across to the coast of Italy, while the troops of Aspar proceeded by land to

¹ Philostorgius, xii. 11.

² *ἐπαναλαμβάνει* is the word of Olympiodorus, fr. 46.

Sirmium, and thence over the Julian Alps to the great city of the Venetian march, Aquileia.

The fleet of Ardaburius was unfortunate; it was caught in a storm and scattered. The general himself, driven ashore near Ravenna, was captured by the soldiers of John. If the usurper had immediately proceeded to operate against Aspar, he might have thwarted the expedition. But he waited and gave the enemy time. He relied on the arrival of an army of Huns, who were advancing to support him under the command of Aetius.

Ardaburius employed the time of his captivity in forming connections with the officers and ministers of the tyrant, and shaking the fidelity of his adherents in Ravenna. He then succeeded in sending a message to his son, who waited uneasily and expectantly at Aquileia, bidding him advance against Ravenna with all haste. Guided by a shepherd through the morasses which secured that city, the soldiers of Aspar entered without opposition; some thought that the shepherd was an angel of God in disguise. John was captured and conducted to Aquileia, where Placidia doomed him to death. His right hand was cut off; and, mounted on an ass, he was driven through the circus before he was executed.

Aetius now arrived on the scene with 6000 Huns; but John was no longer there to employ their aid. Aetius himself was pardoned and reconciled with Placidia; and his influence with the Huns was so great that he was able by a donation of money to induce that large army to retire to their homes.¹ The general Castinus, who had connived at the tyranny of John, was banished; and when all things had been peacefully arranged Valentinian was proclaimed Augustus at Rome on 23d October (425).

It is strange that the first appearance of Count Aetius, who was destined to be the great support of the Theodosian house, the right hand of Valentinian as was afterwards said,

¹ It is conjectured by Gùldenpenning (p. 264) that a statement of Socrates (vii. 43) to the effect that the Huns whom Aetius had collected to aid John ravaged Roman territory on their return, should be brought into connection with Marcellinus' notice that Pannonia was recovered in 427: *Pannoniæ quæ*

per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur a Romanis receptæ sunt. He holds that the troops of Theodosius, in repelling the Huns who had invaded parts of his own provinces, followed them into their haunts in Pannonia and recovered the province for the realm of Valentinian.

should have been as the champion of a usurper ; it may seem strange too that the first sight we have of him who was to be the great deliverer of Europe from the Huns is as the leader of an army of Huns, with whom he is on the best terms. But it has been well pointed out by Mr. Freeman that there was nothing remarkable—nothing recreant, we may say—at this period for a Roman to use Huns in contending against Romans¹ ; every general used Hun and Alan, as well as German, mercenaries in civil as well as in other wars. This employment of Huns on the part of Aetius did not mean that he Hunnised in an opprobrious sense. The circumstances of his youth had brought about his familiarity with the barbarians. He was the son of an Italian mother and of Gaudentius, who had fought with Theodosius against the tyrant Eugenius ; and he was born at the town of Dorostylum or Dorostena (now Dristra or Silistria) in Lower Moesia. He had been, as a child, a hostage with Alaric, and had afterwards been sent as a hostage to Rugila, king of the Huns ; his sojourn in Hunland made him familiar with Scythian ways. In later years too he was on friendly terms with Attila, until Attila threatened Europe.

¹ "Aetius and Boniface" (*English Historical Review*, July 1887).

CHAPTER VII

INVASIONS OF THE HUNS

IN 441 A.D. the realm of Theodosius was in danger from a powerful combination. It was involved in war with three powers, the Huns, Vandals, and Persians,¹ at the same time, and at least two of them, the Huns and Vandals, were in league.

The rise of the great Hunnic power, which threatened European civilisation in the fifth century, was as sudden and rapid as its fall. The Huns had gradually advanced from their Caucasian abodes, pressing westward the Goths who lined the north shores of the Black Sea, and had now become a great power. Attila, their king, ruled over a European empire stretching from the Don to Pannonia, and including many barbarian kingdoms. In 395 Asia Minor and Syria had been ravaged by Huns entering by the north-east passes, but in 400 we find Uldes, a king of other Huns, hovering on the shores of the Danube and putting Gainas to death. At the beginning of Theodosius' reign the Romans gained a victory over this Uldes, and followed up the success by defensive precautions. The strong cities in Illyricum were fortified, and new walls were built to protect Byzantium; the fleet on the Danube was increased and improved. But a payment of money was a more effectual barrier against the barbarians than walls, and about 424 Theodosius consented to pay 350 lbs. of gold to Rugila or Rua, king of the Huns, who had established himself in the land which is now Hungary, and to whom, about 433, the western government conceded a part of

¹ The relations of the Persian kingdom to the Empire during the fifth century may be more conveniently resumed in another place. With two

short interruptions in the reign of Theodosius, an unbroken peace prevailed until the reign of Anastasius. (See below, Bk. iii. cap. vii.)

Pannonia. It was to Rugila probably, that Aetius, afterwards to be the terror of Huns, was sent as a hostage; and it was he who supplied Aetius with the auxiliaries for the support of the tyrant John.¹ When Rugila died in 434 his nephews Attila and Bleda,² the sons of Mundiuch, succeeded him, and a new treaty was contracted by which the payment was doubled.³

Attila cherished friendly relations with Aetius, the general of Valentinian, and entered into an alliance with Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, who had passed from Spain into Africa in 429 and established themselves there, as will be related in another chapter. The movements of Attila from 434 to 441 are lost to us, but at the latter date we find him ruler over an enormous barbaric empire in central Europe, which stretched to the Caucasian mountains on the east, threatening the provinces of Theodosius. At the same time the forces of the East were required against the Vandals and the Persians; and it has been suspected that the hostilities of the latter were not uninfluenced by the Huns, as the hostilities of Attila were certainly influenced by the movements of Gaiseric.

The Vandals were unique among the German nations by the fact that they maintained a fleet, so that they were able to afflict the eastern as well as the western lands of the Mediterranean, and to make piratical raids on the coasts of Greece; it was even thought advisable to fortify the shore and harbours of Constantinople against a possible Vandal expedition. The security of traders and commercial interests demanded that an attempt should be made to suppress this evil, and a large armament, whose numbers have perhaps been exaggerated, was fitted out by Theodosius, and placed under the command of Arcobindus.⁴ It was despatched to Sicily to operate against Gaiseric, who had taken Lilybaeum and was besieging Pan-

¹ Priscus, fr. 1. On all matters relating to the Huns and their relations with the Empire Priscus is our chief and best-informed authority. 350 lbs. = £15,750, or rather more.

² There is a difficulty as to which was the elder. It seems more probable that Bleda was older than Attila; cf. Prosper Tiro (eleventh year of Theodosius). *Rugila rex Chunnorum, cum quo pax firmata, moritur cui Bleda successit*. He at least thought that Bleda succeeded Rugila, and Attila Bleda. The

spelling *Bdella* in Theophanes perhaps preserves an unkind Greek pun.

³ Priscus, fr. 1, where the meeting of the Roman ambassadors with the Huns at Margus-Constantia is described.

⁴ Theophanes, 5941 A.M. Other generals were Anaxilla, Arintheus, Germanus, and Inobind. The number of ships, which included private vessels and corn transports, is given by Theophanes as 1100, which has a suspicious resemblance to the number of Leo's great armada in 468 A.D.

ormus; but tidings of some dark danger which threatened him in Africa induced the friend of pirates to make a truce with the Roman general and hurry back to his kingdom. The danger came from a son-in-law of Boniface, the famous Sebastian, who died as a martyr and became a favourite subject with Italian painters; but how his passage into Mauretania, of which Prosper tells us, menaced Gaiseric is not clear. From a fragment, attributed to John of Antioch and preserved by Suidas,¹ it would seem that he was the commander of a pirate crew which served the Emperor Theodosius; and so we might suspect that his invasion of Mauretania was closely connected with the Sicilian expedition.

Most of the military forces which had not accompanied Areobindus to the West accompanied Anatolius and Aspar to the East. What happened there is not recorded clearly, but the hostilities were of short duration and slight importance.²

At this moment Attila determined to invade the Empire. It was destined that he, like Alaric the Visigoth at an earlier, and Theodoric the Ostrogoth at a later time, should desolate the provinces of the East before he turned to the West. He condescended to allege a cause for his invasion; he complained of the irregular payment of tribute, and that deserters had not been restored; but the government at Constantinople disregarded his embassy.³ Then Attila, who had advanced towards the Danube from his home, which was somewhere on the Theiss, laid siege to the city of Ratiaria, an important town on the Ister in Dacia ripensis. Here ambassadors arrived from New Rome to remonstrate with the Huns for breaking the peace, and the invader replied to their complaints by alleging that the bishop of Margus had entered Hunnic territory and robbed treasures from the tombs of their kings; the surrender of these treasures and of deserters was demanded as the condition of peace. The negotiations were futile, and, having

¹ Fr. 194, ed. Müller. The Mediterranean at this time was infested by pirates, who seem to have been encouraged by Gaiseric. In 438 a pirate chief, Coteadlis, was caught and executed (Marcellinus *ad ann.*) In 440, it may be noticed here, an ancestor of Cassiodorus won glory by opposing Gaiseric in Sicily (Variae, i. 4).

² The cause of the war was the inva-

sion of Roman territory by the Persians with Saracen and Tzanic auxiliaries (Marcellinus).

³ I have followed Gildenpenning in his transposition of the second and third frag. of Priscus, which seems very reasonable; and he is evidently right in placing the capture of Naissus (fr. 1^b) after the capture of Viminacium, etc. (fr. 2).

captured Ratiaria, the Hunnic horsemen rode up the course of the Ister and took the great towns which are situated on its banks. Viminacium and Singidunum, in Upper Moesia, were overwhelmed in the onslaught of the "Scythian shepherds," and it seems that the friendship of Attila with Aetius did not preserve the town of Sirmium in Lower Pannonia from being stormed. The town of Margus, which faces Constantia on the opposite side of the river, fell by treachery; the same bishop whom Attila accused of robbing tombs incurred the eternal disgrace of betraying a Roman town and its christian inhabitants to the greed and cruelty of the heathen destroyer. The invaders advanced up the valley of the Margus, now called the Morawa, and halted before the walls of Naissus, now called Nisch, in the province of Dardania—the city which had been strengthened and improved by the affection of the great Constantine, and which had recently given to the Empire a Third Constantius. The inhabitants made a brave defence, but the place fell before the machines of Attila and the missiles of a countless host. Then the victors passed south-eastward through narrow defiles into Thrace and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Attila was not to lay siege to New Rome, just as ten years later when he invaded Italy he was not to lay siege to Old Rome; but he took Philippopolis and Arcadiopolis, and a fort named Athyras, not far from the Bosphorus.¹

If the nameless bishop of Margus is branded with infamy for his recreant Hunnism, the name of the strong fortress of Aseumus in Lower Moesia deserves to be handed down by history in golden letters for its brave and successful resistance to the Hun, even as the town of Plataea earned an eternal fame by its noble action in the Persian war. While the great towns like Naissus and Singidunum yielded to the violence of the whirlwind, Aseumus did not bend. A division of the Huns, different from that which marched to Thrace, but of countless multitude, invaded Lower Moesia and laid siege to Aseumus. The garrison not only defied the foes, but so effectually harassed them by sallying forth that they retreated. The Aseumuntians were not satisfied with a successful defence. Their scouts discovered the opportune times, when plundering bodies of the Hunnic army were returning to the camp with spoils, and these

¹ Theophanes, 5942. See *Güldenpenning*, p. 344.

moments were eagerly seized by the adventurous citizens; the pillagers were unexpectedly attacked; many Scythians were slain, and many Roman prisoners, destined to languish in the wilds of Hungary, were rescued from captivity.¹

Meanwhile the Roman armies were returning from their campaigns in the East and in the West, but it is not clear whether the troops were actually employed against Attila, or whether Areobindus, who had commanded against Gaiseric, or Aspar, who had commanded against Isdigerd (Yezdegerd), the Persian king, accomplished anything of note against the Huns. A battle was certainly fought in the Thracian Chersonese, and Attila won the victory; but we know not who was his opponent.² Nor do we know what the master of soldiers in Thrace, Theodulus by name,³ was doing at Odessus.⁴ After this battle a peace was concluded between Theodosius and Attila. As it was Anatolius who was the negotiator, it was generally known as the "Peace of Anatolius" (443 A.D.)⁵ The terms were that the former payment of 700 lbs. of gold, made by the Romans to the Huns, was to be trebled; besides this 6000 lbs. of gold were to be paid at once; all Hunnic deserters were to be restored, while Roman deserters were only to be given up for a payment of 10 solidi a head.

For four years after this the Illyrian and Balkan lands were not laid waste by the harryings of the great enemy, but in 447 Scythia and Lower Moesia, which had suffered less in the former invasion, felt the presence of the Hun again.⁶ Marcianopolis was taken, and the Roman general Arnegisclus fell in a battle fought on the banks of the river Utus. At the same time another multitude descended the valley of the Vardar and advanced southward—though some doubt the record—as far as Thermopylae.⁷

Meanwhile embassies passed to and fro between the court of Attila and the court of Theodosius; and of the embassy

¹ Priscus, fr. 5.

² *Ib. ad init.*

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Id. fr. 4.*

⁵ The date is rightly determined by Güldenpenning (p. 346) to 443, who points out that the *expeditio Asiana* (Marcellinus, cf. *Chron. Pasch.*) would not have been undertaken by Theodosius until after the conclusion of the peace.

For these negotiations, see Priscus, fr. 5. Güldenpenning notices that the small success of the Huns in Lower Moesia proves the efficiency of the measures taken by Anthemius, the prefect, for the defence of the Danube east of the Cebus (p. 346).

⁶ See Marcellinus *ad ann.*; *Chron. Pasch.* (whose author used Priscus).

⁷ Marcellinus.

of Maximin the historian Priscus, who accompanied the ambassador, has left us copious and interesting details, which give us a glimpse of Hun life, and will be reproduced in another chapter.

Until the end of the reign of Theodosius the oppressive Hun-money was paid to Attila; but when Marcian came to the throne he refused to pay the stipulated tribute. It seemed that the Illyrian peninsula would be again trampled under the horse-hoofs of Hunnic cavalry; but complications in the West averted the course of the destroyer in that direction, and the realm of Valentinian, not the realm of Marcian, was to resist the storm.

The Hunnic empire had assumed a really formidable size and power under the ambitious warrior Attila, who, we are told, in spite of his hideous features and complexion, had the unmistakable aspect of a ruler of men. Gepids and Ostrogoths, with many other German tribes, acknowledged the overlordship of the king of the Huns, who, as Jordanes says, "possessed Scythian and German kingdoms"—*Scythica et Germanica regna possedit*—though the extent of his domination is often exaggerated. Before 440 the Huns had attempted an invasion of Persia, and Roman officers talked of the chances of the overthrow of the Persian power by Attila and the possible consequences of such an event for the Roman world. But it was not destined that Attila should attempt to confront the great power of Asia; he was to shatter his strength in a contest with the forces of Europe on one of the great battlefields of the world's history.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PATRICIAN AETIUS

WE have seen how Spain was lost to the Empire and occupied by the Teutonic Vandals and Suevians, and the probably not Aryan Alans,¹ whom the rebel Gerontius invited south of the Pyrenees. We have seen too how the Visigoths, who crossed the Alps to put down the usurpers in Gaul, formed a dependent kingdom in Aquitaine—the kingdom of Tolosa, as it is called by Dahn. Stilicho and Alaric, Constantius and Athaulf, who played such prominent parts in the first scene of the dismemberment of the Empire, have passed from the stage; new figures, Bonifacius and Aetius, Theodoric and Gaiseric, will now come to the front; we shall see what became of Africa and what became of Spain, and follow further the fortunes of Gaul, where so many peoples ruled and so many kingdoms fell; we shall see, finally, how the shadow of the Hun fell upon Teutons and Romans, invaders and invaded alike, and how they successfully united to drive away the horror of darkness and desolation which menaced them.

Africa, so far away from the Rhine and the Danube, where the Teutonic foes were pressing on the Empire, had not as yet suffered from their invasion; but the occupation of Spain by the hordes of Vandals and Suevians was now bringing them into closer proximity. But the Roman legions in the African provinces had work enough to occupy them in defending the southern frontier against another persistent enemy, the Moors,

¹ For the various opinions as to the ethnical position of the Alans, see Dahn's note, *Die Könige der Germanen*, i. 261. In favour of a German origin, Amm.

Marc. 31, 2 (combined with Procopius, *B. G.* i. 1) is appealed to. After 406 Alans seem to have dwelt on the Loire (Dahn, *ib.* 263).

who at this time seem to have been carrying on active operations. At least we find the heroic Boniface¹ shortly after, if not before, the year 422, delivering Africa from many barbarous nations.²

We have seen how Boniface supported the claims of the sister and nephew of Honorius, and refused to acknowledge the claims of John. After the restoration of the legitimate dynasty, he may have been rewarded by the title "Count of Africa," though it seems more likely that he held that title before; but it appears that he began to degenerate,³ and complaints were made that he no longer repelled the incursions of the Afric barbarians with his pristine energy. In 427 he was summoned to Ravenna to answer the charges and account for his conduct, Placidia acting here by the advice of Felix, the master of soldiers who had succeeded Castinus. By refusing to obey the order, Boniface placed himself in the position of an "enemy of the republic," and an army was sent against him under three commanders,⁴ all of whom were slain.

Thus there was civil war in Africa, but its events are merged in obscurity. Of the following facts alone can we be certain. The Goth Sigisvult was sent to Africa against Boniface, after the death of the three commanders (probably in 428)⁵; the Vandals, under Gaiseric (who succeeded Gunderic in 427), arrived in Africa in May 429, having perhaps been summoned thither by Boniface or by his opponents, or by both; there were operations at Hippo, which was besieged by the Vandals, and an army was sent from the East under Aspar against the invaders. But the relations between the recalcitrant general, the general who was sent to crush him, and the alien nation cannot be recovered; it seems most likely that the two former combined

¹ Olympiodorus, fr. 42 (p. 67, *F. II. G.*) Βονηφάτιος ἀνὴρ ἦν ἡρωϊκὸς καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν πολλὰκις βαρβάρων ἡρστειυσεν.

² πολλῶν βαρβάρων καὶ διαφόρων ἔθνων ἀπήλαξε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν (*ib.*) In this chapter I have made full use of Mr. Freeman's elaborate and convincing article on "Aetius and Boniface," in the *English Historical Review*, July 1887.

³ See Mr. Freeman, *Aetius and Boniface*, p. 434, and the reproofs of St. Augustine, who was a correspondent of

Boniface, letter 220. Boniface "had vowed chastity after the death of his wife, but he was now not only married to a rich lady named Pelagia, but he had allowed his child to receive Arian baptism, and he was further suspected of living with mistresses," cf. p. 436.

⁴ Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinox.

⁵ Prosper mentions the appointment of Sigisvult after the mention of the summoning of nations, *quæ navibus uti nesciebant*, and places both events in 427. But the Vandals came in 429.

against the common enemy.¹ However this may have been, the Vandals conquered Africa; both the rebel and the suppressor of rebellion seem to have soon retired; and in the year 432 Boniface appears in Italy restored to favour and holding the office of master of soldiers. His rival Felix had been slain in a military tumult in 430,² but now he has a new opponent in Aetius, the hero who had been lately distinguishing himself in Gaul, and was destined to win yet greater distinction when it devolved upon him to resist the Hun.

For some unknown cause Placidia decided to depose Aetius from his office as general; and Aetius, as Boniface before, refused to submit. Boniface was now called upon to play the opposite part to that which he had recently played, and, like Sigisvult, to force a self-willed general to submission. There was civil war in Italy. A battle was fought near Ariminum and Aetius was defeated, but he proved superior to his opponent in strategy, and Boniface died shortly afterwards of disease—it is said produced by chagrin—and his opponent obtained possession of his property and his wife.³ Curious legends have grown up round this battle which was fought at Ariminum; Boniface and Aetius were afterwards represented as rivals of ancient date, who decided their feud by single combat, and the story has only recently been finally exploded by our greatest living English historian.

We saw the Vandals in Africa besieging Hippo, which, however, they did not take. But they extended their dominion rapidly over Africa; they defeated the army which was sent from the East under Aspar; and soon they held all the strong cities except Cirta, Hippo, and Carthage herself. This expeditious conquest is to be explained not only by the fact that in

¹ Von Ranke (*Weltgeschichte*, iv. 1, 279) rightly doubted the story that Boniface invited the Vandals. It rests on Procopius (*B. V.* i. 3), who is not a reliable authority on history before his own time.

² *Aetius and Boniface*, p. 445.

³ See John of Antioch, *F. H. G.* iv. fr. 201 (p. 614), who in recounting the deeds of Aetius, enumerates among them that . . . τὸν δὲ Βονιφάτιον σὺν πολλῇ διαβάτῃ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης κατεστρατήγησεν ὥστε ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ φροντίδων νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς καὶ τῆς περιουσίας κύριον

γενέσθαι. This important notice, which I have no doubt rests on the history of Priscus, has been overlooked by Mr. Freeman. Observe that (1) it confirms Mr. Freeman's rejection of the legend of a single combat, and points plainly to civil war; (2) it indicates that the battle of Ariminum was not decisive, the victor in the war was not Boniface but Aetius, who outgeneralled his opponent; (3) as the victor in a war, Aetius seized the property and wife of Boniface, whence the legend that Boniface before his death counselled her to marry Aetius.

Italy Africa was forgotten for the more immediate struggle between Aetius and Boniface, but by the state of Africa itself, where a large portion of the population were heretics and prepared to welcome a change of rule. The oppression of the Donatists, and their consequent opposition to the imperial government, gave an excellent opening for an invader, and if any invitation was sent to Gaiseric, who was known not to be a Catholic—he had lapsed from Catholicism to Arianism—it probably came from these heretics. The bands of Circumcellions, who went about the country preaching and practising socialism, sworn foes of existing circumstances and closely identified with the followers of Donatus, also prepared the way for a conqueror.

In spite of his wonderfully rapid career of success, Gaiseric was glad to make a compact with the Empire in 435 (11th February, at Hippo), of a similar nature with the compacts which had been made with the Burgundians and the West Goths. The province of Africa—except the city of Carthage—the province of Byzacena, and a part of Numidia, were handed over to the Vandals, who bound themselves to pay a tribute, perhaps of corn and oil, for their lands. Thus the Vandals were in the same position as the Burgundians and Visigoths, the position of dependants allowed to live in Roman territory. Aetius, who was now the right hand of Placidia and Valentinian, had pursued the policy of Constantius, and might be called the friend of the Vandals with more justice than Boniface, who, if he had lived, might have taken steps to expel the invader.

But this compact could only be provisional, and Gaiseric did not intend to stop short of the total conquest of Africa. In less than five years Carthage was taken (October 439), and Africa had become a Vandalic kingdom. A large part of the land was reserved as a royal domain, another portion was distributed among the Vandal warriors in lots (*sortes Vandalorum*); probably the poorest territory was left to the Roman provincials.

It is to be observed that the Vandals now held a position of vantage in regard to the Empire that none of the other Teutonic nations ever occupied. In relation to the foreign peoples of northern Europe, the front of the Roman Empire was the Rhine and the Danube. And so we may say that the Vandals had come round to the back of the Empire and were able to

attack it behind. Another peculiar feature was that, in the language of a chronicler, the sea was made pervious to them; they created a naval power and attacked the Empire by sea, as no other Teutonic people had done in the Mediterranean, though the Saxons and other men of the north used ships to harry it in the northern ocean. Sicily was soon the object of their attacks; Panormus was besieged, but not taken; and Corsica and Sardinia became for a time parts of the Vandalic kingdom.

The dependent kingdom of the Burgundians in the districts of Mainz and Worms (*Gesoriacum*) was not of long endurance, for in 437 Aetius almost exterminated the nation, and the small remnant which escaped the punishment of disloyalty moved south-westward, and received from the Romans territory in *Sapaudia* (*Savoy*), about Lake Leman, which may be called the second Burgundian kingdom.

This change made way for the *Alemanni*. They had been driven from Roman ground by the arms of Julian, but at the beginning of the fifth century, amid the general confusion of migration, they came back to their old haunts and settled on the Upper Rhine. Thus before 437 there were three nations, two at least nominally under Roman supremacy, from the mouth of the Rhine to its source, the Franks, the Burgundians, and the *Alemanni*. When the Burgundian kingdom was overthrown, the *Alemanni* profited by the event, and extended their dominion northwards. Before the end of the century their extended kingdom was incorporated in *Francia* by the battle of *Tolbiacum* (496).

It was not only against the Burgundians that Aetius was active in Gaul to maintain the respect due to the Roman name, and prevent the nations from trespassing on soil which was not opened to them. He warred successfully against the Franks, who had invaded the regions between the *Somme* and the Rhine,¹ and he kept the ambition of Visigothic Theodoric, Wallia's successor, in check. For Theodoric tried to do what Gaiseric actually did in Africa, to enlarge the land which he held with Roman consent by acquiring new lands without Roman consent. Aetius prevented him from realising his aims, as Boniface,

¹ The leader of the Franks was Chlojo, 431 A.D. See *Idatius, Chron.*

if he had lived, might have prevented Gaiseric; and the Visigoths were beaten back from Arelate. We need not follow these hostilities, but it may be noticed that Aetius employed Alan and Hunnic auxiliaries against the Teutons. In 439 an event occurred which paved the way for friendly relations between the great general and the great king. When Aetius was absent in Italy the Roman captain Litorius, whom he had left in charge of the army, hoping to accomplish a success which would throw the deeds of his commander in the shade, attacked Tolosa, and was repulsed by Theodoric. The opposition between Christianity and paganism was emphasised here, and the fact that the Visigoths were believers in Christ and the Huns infidels. Litorius gratified the Hunnic soldiers by the performance of pagan rites and the consultation of auspices; and this rendered conspicuous the christian attitude of Theodoric; it showed how much nearer he was to Aetius than were Aetius' soldiers.¹

It is time for us to speak more particularly of Aetius himself, the great figure of the West. So far we see in him only the successor of Stilicho and Constantius, with the former of whom he presents many points of resemblance. It was the function of both Stilicho and Aetius to keep the Teutonic barbarians in check, and yet both, coming of barbarian stock themselves, had considerable sympathy with the barbarian. In this neither of them was like Constantius, who was a Roman of the Romans; but nevertheless, in regard of the Visigoths and Gaul, Aetius carried on the work which Constantius had begun. But he never fully won the confidence of Placidia, or even of Valentinian, as Stilicho had won the confidence of Honorius; and his disgrace in 432, a strange reward for his services in Gaul, indicates clearly this distrust. When the war with Boniface was over, Aetius, after several adventures, withdrew to Pannonia, and obtained the assistance of the Huns, whose help he had obtained nine years before to support John. They did not fail him in his need; by their means, by a menacing embassy, perhaps, or even by a hostile demonstration, the court of Ravenna received the general again into favour, and conferred on him the title of Patrician (433) and the office of *magister*.

¹ Prosper Aquit. *ad* 439.

utriusque militiae.¹ This transaction is significant of Aetius' position throughout his career; he forced Placidia and Valentinian to have him against their will. Conscious, perhaps, that he was the one man who could guide the Empire through this critical stage, and arrange the delicate relations into which it was thrown with the Teutonic nations, by both yielding and refusing to yield at the right time, he pressed himself on the court, and made it follow his leadership. A panegyric description of the man has been preserved to us, written by Renatus Frigeridus. He was "of middle height, of manly condition, well shaped, so that his body was neither too weak nor too weighty, active in mind, vigorous in limb, a most dexterous horseman, skilled in shooting the arrow, and brave in using the spear; he was an excellent warrior and famous in the arts of peace; free from avarice and greed, endowed with mental virtues, one who never deviated at the instance of evil instigators from his own purpose, most patient of wrongs, a lover of work, dauntless in perils, able to endure the hardships of hunger, thirst, and sleeplessness."²

But the successful accomplishment of the gigantic task which now awaited Aetius has made him justly famous as no panegyrics could have done.

Hitherto he has appeared to us greater indeed than Constantius, but not as great as Stilicho; we shall now see him as the man who had most to do with the happy decision of a crisis which concerned wider interests than those of the Roman Empire. The exigency of a common interest—the opposition to a common foe—was now to set a seal on the relations which had been recently established between the Empire and many of the Teutonic nations; and the germ of a new idea, the idea of Europe as the habitation of Teutons and Romans—Romans in the widest sense,—was to be sown on the Catalaunian Fields.

The rise of the Hunnic empire under Attila, and the devastation suffered by the Illyrian and Thracian provinces, have been related. At the time of the embassy of Maximin it had seemed that there was little likelihood of serious hostility against western Europe on the part of the Huns; for,

¹ Idatius *ad* 433.

² Gregory of Tours, ii. 8. A pane-

gyrical poem on Aetius by Merobaudes is extant.

though small points of difference arose, Aetius had kept up very friendly relations with Attila. The factors which operated in bringing about Attila's invasion of Gaul seem to have been three, but one of these was more important than the others.

Here we are brought to speak of the strange story of the princess Honoria, daughter of Placidia and Constantius. At the age of sixteen she had condescended to the embraces of a chamberlain named Eugenius,¹ and when the signs of pregnancy revealed the degradation of a princess, the indignation of her mother and her brother² banished her to Constantinople, where she lived for fifteen years or more in the prim and irksome society of her religious step-cousins. She was betrothed against her will to a respectable consular named Herculanius, and at length, with a wildness which she had perhaps inherited from her father's Illyrian ancestors, she took the adventurous course of offering her hand to the great enemy of the Empire; the daughter of the lady who shrank from union with christian Athaulf was willing to unite herself to heathen Attila, the husband of innumerable wives. Attila was not slow to take advantage of her impetuous act. Adopting the principle that all children, male and female, inherit equal portions from their father, he sent the ring of betrothal which he had received from Hyacinthus, the secret messenger of Honoria, to her brother Valentinian, and demanded that the share of the Empire, whereof that sovereign had unrighteously deprived his sister, should be instantly restored.³

¹ 434 A.D. Marcellinus places the cohabitation with Eugenius and the appeal to Attila in the same year; but the latter event must have taken place at least fifteen years later. Jordanes tells the story of Honoria.

² At this time Valentinian was only fifteen years old. The punishment of Honoria must have been willed by Placidia, but afterwards Valentinian seems to have nourished resentment against his sister. He had some of that quality which was weak obstinacy in his uncle Honorius and a more gentle firmness in his cousin Theodosius. Like Honorius, he had perhaps a disproportionate reverence for the conventional laws of respectability, and was as unwilling to pardon a disgrace wrought to the Theo-

dosian house by one of its members as to forgive an insult or injury offered to it by a stranger. If the subject of the princess Honoria were chosen for a historical romance, one might take a hint for its treatment from a story of George Eliot, and represent the brother and sister as a Tom and Maggy Tulliver of the fifth century. From a political point of view, it was only natural that a princess who dared to consult her caprice or her affections should be strictly dealt with. The ultimate fate of Honoria is buried in a defective fragment of John of Antioch. Valentinian gave her as a gift to his mother; Placidia blamed her daughter much; and thus Honoria . . .

³ For this part of the story we have

The act of Honoria gave Attila an excellent pretext against the Empire, but he might not have taken advantage of it so soon save for another event which arose, not from a quarrel at the court of Ravenna, but from the relations between the Teutonic courts of Carthage and Tolosa. Theodoric had two daughters, of whom one was married to the king of the Suevians in Spain, and the other to Huneric, the son of Gaiseric the Vandal. The Suevic son-in-law was on good terms with the Visigoths—we hear of his paying his father-in-law a visit at Tolosa; but for the daughter who was sent across the seas to Carthage misfortunes were reserved by fate. Gaiseric suspected her of plotting against himself, and with a cruelty which even Attila might hardly have practised, he mutilated her ears and nose, and sent her back to her father. The bitter hatred which followed upon this outrage influenced the attitude of the Huns. Theodoric was the friend and ally of Aetius; Gaiseric sought the friendship and alliance of Attila, and stirred him up to make war upon the Romans and their allies. Priscus, who is our best contemporary authority, and especially credible in all that relates to Hunnic politics, states expressly that Attila made war “to oblige Gaiseric.”¹

But the quarrel in the imperial court itself and the quarrel between the barbarians within the Roman pale were not the only factors which operated in bringing about Attila's invasion; a quarrel among barbarians outside the pale also operated. In a struggle for the succession between two Frank princes the rivals appealed to Attila, and he against whom Attila decided appealed for help to Aetius. Here was another circumstance which forced the Huns and the Romans to measure swords.

Thus when Attila invaded Gaul in 451, he came to wrest from Valentinian half of his dominion, in the name of Honoria, and he came equally to make war on the Visigoths for the sake of the Vandals. As against the Empire he could claim to be the champion of a recreant imperial princess; as against the Teutons he could claim to be the ally of a recreant Teutonic nation. But the question at stake was not a quarrel between

the unimpeachable authority of the contemporary Priscus, whose intimacy with important ministers afforded him every opportunity of knowledge of the

political transactions and court intrigues of the day.

¹ Priscus, fr. 15. The story of Theodoric's daughter is told by Jordanes.

Valentinian and Honoria, nor a feud between two German peoples, nor a disputed succession of the Franks; it was the perpetual question of history, the struggle told long ago by Herodotus, told recently by Trikoupis, the struggle between Europe and Asia, the struggle between cosmos and chaos—the struggle between Aetius and Attila. For Aetius was the man who now stood in the breach, and sounded the Roman trumpet to call the nations to do battle for the hopes of humanity, and defend the cause of reason against champions of brute force. The menace of that monstrous host, which was preparing to pass the Rhine, was to exterminate the civilisation that had grown up for centuries, to spread desolation in Gaul and Italy, to undo the work of Plataea and the Metaurus, and to paralyse the beginnings of Teutonic life. If Attila had not been repelled, western Europe might have been converted into a spiritual waste, unspeakably more lost and degraded than Turkey at the present day.

But the interests of the Teutons were more vitally concerned at this crisis than the interests of the Empire. We can imagine that if Attila had been the victor on the great day, and had hurled Valentinian from his throne, and had reigned at Rome or Ravenna, cities which were happily never to be called the seats of an Asiatic sovereign, or at Arelate, which was once to pine for a short space under the rule of the Saracen, even then the Empire might have held out in the East, and Marcian and Leo and Aspar might have beaten back the Hun. But the doom of the Visigoths and the Burgundians and the Franks would have been inevitable; their nascent civilisation would have been crushed under the yoke of that servitude which crushes and blights, and they would not have been able to learn longer at the feet of Rome the arts of peace and culture.

The work of Aetius, then, was as much for the future of the Teutonic nations as it was for the Roman Empire. Theodoric the Visigoth did not realise the danger. But Avitus, the emissary of Aetius, explained the situation, and persuaded him to join the Romans against the invader. This decision was momentous; the Roman and the Teuton were to make common cause against the Hun. Neither knew—that was the secret of history—that there was a latent affinity between them, and that in the remote past their ancestors had spoken the same

language ; they knew not that they were kindred nations fighting against a true enemy. Burgundians and Franks joined their ranks, and all the inhabitants of Brittany and Armorica. The Ostrogoths and the Gepids and the Thuringians, some Burgundians and Franks and Suevians, fought in the ranks of Attila, but these were yet wild peoples without the pale, mostly Attila's subjects and possessing no choice in the matter.

Attila, having taken Metz and other towns, laid siege to Aureliani (Orleans), but the city was relieved by the arrival of Aetius (June 451), and the great battle took place in the wide district known as the Catalaunian Fields. Neither the day of this event nor the exact place are known ; the month was perhaps July, and the *locus Mauriacus* was probably either Méry-sur-Seine or Moirey,¹ in the neighbourhood of Troyes.

The chief feature of this battle is that Attila was rendered unable to advance ; herein lay the great success of the Romans and their allies. Strictly speaking, the battle was drawn ; the Huns and the Visigoths fought long and hard without any result, except slaughter on both sides. But the Hunnic forces were innumerable, while the soldiers of Aetius and Theodoric were comparatively few, as were the Greek soldiers at Plataea or the Greek sailors at Salamis, against the overwhelming numbers of the foe. The fact, then, that the small army hewed down the ranks of the immense host, and withstood, though it did not rout, the Huns, was a tremendous victory. The king of the Visigoths, Theodoric,—whose name deserves to be handed down to fame, no less than that of his more celebrated Ostrogothic namesake, whose father and uncles fought with Attila,—was killed in the fray, and his son Thorismond was proclaimed king on the field of battle. As for the part played by the Roman general himself in the engagement, we hear that at the onslaught of Attila the “prudence of the Patrician Aetius, was such that by hastily collecting around him a band of warriors from all sides he was able to oppose the multitude of the enemy on an

¹ Arendt, the editor of the *M. G. H.* ed. of Gregory of Tours, decides for Moirey (p. 69). The question is discussed in the second volume of Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* ; he accepts Méry-sur-Seine as the most probable place (p. 163). Most writers have given up the old theory of Durocatalaunum,

Châlons-on-Marne. The discovery (in 1842) of bones, rusted arms, and gold ornaments—of which Mr. Hodgkin gives an account—near Méry-sur-Seine, does not help to decide the question. It cannot be proved that they are relics of Theodoric.

equality" (*non impar*).¹ The union of a certain clearness with a certain obscurity as to the events of this great day of deliverance lends the tale of the battle of the Catalaunian Fields a peculiar charm, preparing us for those legends which afterwards grew up that the spirits of the fallen warriors continued the battle in the air.

Thus the cause of the Romans and the Teutons, the cause of Europe, prevailed; the cause even of those Teutons who fought for the invader. The Ostrogoths were in his ranks, and the Thuringians, who out-Hunned the Huns by deeds of unutterable cruelty; but both Thuringians and Ostrogoths were as yet without the pale, as were all the other Germans who warred for Attila. We cannot forget that the only Teutons within the Roman pale, who, though they did not take part in the conflict, not only hoped for the victory of the Hun, but had even provoked him to war, were the settlers in Africa; we can not forget that when Aetius and Theodoric did battle for the common cause of cosmos and civilisation, the Vandals alone sided with chaos and barbarism; even as the Greeks could not forget that the Thebans had chosen the side of the Persian invader and refused to fight for the freedom of all the Greeks. But the Vandals had no Epaminondas, no Pindar, no Plutarch to redeem their name. It seemed that, when they entered Africa, a part of the mantle of the Phoenicians had fallen upon them, though they came by another way, from the West and not from the East, and though they were Christians; it seemed that something in their nature drove them to espouse the cause which had been before represented by the Carthaginians, and was afterwards to be represented by the Saracens on the northern coast of Africa. But their power passed away quickly, even as the power of the Huns passed away, and their name has only been commemorated in an opprobrious word expressing the barbarous spirit which defaces the exterior graces of civilisation.

¹ Gregory of Tours (ii. 7) tells how "the sound came to Rome—*Roman sonus adiit*—that Aetius was labouring in the greatest peril amid the phalanxes of the enemy, whereupon his wife, anxious and sad, constantly visited the basilicas of the holy apostles, and prayed that she might receive her husband safe from this way" (*de hac via*).

Sidonius represents this lady, whose name is not recorded, as the descendant of Gothic chieftains. See Panegyric on Majorian, 203. Her father's name was Carpilio, after whom one of her two sons was called; the other, who plays a passive part in history afterwards, was Gaudentius.

After the great check, Attila, "having lost confidence in fighting," returned to his own land, and then with renewed strength invaded Italy.¹ Aquileia, the city of the Venetian march, the city which two hundred years before had endured with bravery and constancy the terrible siege of the barbarian tyrant Maximin, now fell before the Huns, and was razed to the ground, never to rise again; in the next century hardly a trace of it could be seen. Verona and Vicentia did not share this fate, but they were exposed to the violence of the Scythian, while Ticinum and Mediolanum were compelled to buy from the invader exemption from fire and sword.

But the Hun was suddenly induced to retreat; the lands south of the Po, and Rome herself, were spared the humiliating sight of the presence of the Scythian shepherds. According to the generally received account, the thanks of Italy were on this occasion owed not to the general Aetius but to the bishop of Rome. Aetius, now unaided by his Visigoths and other German allies, is said to have dreamed of departing with Valentinian to Byzantium; but Leo I. with two noble Romans, Avienus and Trigetius, visited the camp of Attila, perhaps near the south shore of Lake Garda, and the majesty of the Church persuaded the barbarian to withdraw. The story is surrounded with a legendary halo; the apostles Peter and Paul are said to have appeared to Attila, and by their threats terrified him into leaving Italian soil.²

The fact of the embassy cannot be doubted; but that it was the sole cause which brought about the departure of the Huns cannot be admitted. It is not in itself probable that heathen Attila, the enemy of Christendom, would have cared for the thunders or the persuasions of the Church; and a trustworthy authority hands down another account, which does not conflict with the circumstance of the embassy, but gives a rational and evidently correct explanation of the true reasons which induced Attila to receive the embassy favourably. "The Huns," says Idatius, "are stricken by strokes from heaven,

¹ In 450 Italy suffered from a severe famine; see Novel xxxii. of Valentinian III (ed. Haenel), 31st January 451, *obscoenissimam famem per totam Italiam desaevisse*.

² "The safety of Rome might deserve

the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Algardi." (Gibbon.)

partly by famine and partly by disease; moreover, they are slain by auxiliary troops, which were sent by the Emperor Marcian, under the leadership of Aetius. . . . And being thus subdued, having made peace with the Romans, they all returned to their own abodes."¹

Thus the position of the Huns was untenable in northern Italy; famine and pestilence thinned their ranks, and the troops of Aetius, which had been sent from Marcian, harassed them. Thus Aetius was not skulking or preparing to flee; with a force too small to venture an open battle, he was vexing the host of the destroyers. Attila was glad to make peace, he had obtained sufficient booty to satisfy him, and he yielded graciously to the arguments or entreaties of Leo and Avienus.

Attila survived this Italian expedition only one year. He died of the bursting of an artery, and in the morning his attendants found the bride whom he had married the night before sitting beside his bed in tears. Some said that he was "stabbed by the hand and knife of a woman."²

"It is a saying," writes Gibbon, "worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trod. Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundation of a republic, which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry." But there was another benefit as well as the doubtful foundation of the city of St. Mark that Attila conferred undesignedly on Europe,—a spiritual benefit. It was the need of opposition to him that first awoke the idea of a Roman and Teutonic Europe in the West; it was under the dread of his unshapely shadow that it first dawned upon Romans and Teutons that they had a common cause. Greece alone fought at Salamis; republican Rome alone fought at Metaurus and Zama; imperial Rome alone held the Euphrates against the Persian Sassanid; but both Romans and Teutons, both Romania and Germania (not Gothia alone), fought side by side on the Mauriac Plain.

As the death of Attila followed hard upon his defeat, the death of Aetius followed hard upon his victory. His reward

¹ Do the words *pariterque in sedibus suis et caelestibus plagis et per Marciani subiguntur exercitum* imply that

the troops of Marcian invaded Hunland?

² Marcellinus; 454 A.D.

for supporting Valentinian's Empire was, that he should fall by Valentinian's hand; his fate was like that of Stilicho, and due to a similar cause, the cabal of certain persons who were jealous of his power and had influence at court.¹

Maximus, a noble and powerful man, who had been twice consul, entertained enmity against Aetius, the master of soldiers in Italy. He discovered that Heraclius, a eunuch who had very great influence with the Emperor, was also an enemy of Aetius, and wished, like himself, to oust the general from power; accordingly, he conspired with him, and they persuaded the Emperor that he would perish at the hands of Aetius, unless he hastened to slay him first.

"It was fated that Valentinian should pull down the bulwark of his own government; so he admitted the representation of Maximus, and devised death against Aetius." Even when the general was in the palace, laying his account before the Emperor and reckoning up the moneys that had been collected by taxation, Valentinian suddenly leaped from the throne and accused him of treason, perhaps of seeking the Empire for his son Gaudentius. Not allowing him time to defend himself, he drew his sword, and rushed upon the defenceless officer, who was at the same moment attacked by the chamberlain Heraclius. Thus perished the patrician and consul Aetius²—*Actium Placidus mactavit semivir amens*³; and some one afterwards aptly remarked, it is said, to the Emperor, "You have cut off your right hand with your left." Who was now to oppose the Vandals?⁴

The assassination of Aetius led directly to the assassination

¹ I follow the account of John of Antioch (fr. 201, 1, 2), because I hold that he followed Priscus. That Maximus played a part in the fall of Aetius is confirmed by Marcellinus: *Valentinianus dolo Maximi patricii cuius etiam fraude Aetius perierat*, etc. The story of Valentinian's adultery with the wife of Maximus cannot be accepted as historical. The Salmasian fragment, attributed by Müller to John of Antioch (fr. 200), in which the story is related, is not genuine, and probably comes from lost parts of the history of John Malalas. Prosper mentions that Aetius and Valentinian had agreed about the marriage of their children—that is of a

son of Aetius, probably Gaudentius, with one of the Emperor's daughters. He attributes the *fomes odiorum* to the eunuch Heraclius.

² 21st Sept. 454. Boethius, the praetorian prefect, was slain at the same time, even as Heraclius afterwards shared the fate of Valentinian (Prosper). Idatius mentions the "jugulation" of *aliqui honorati*.

³ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Pan. Avit.* 359. Placidus means Valentinian—an allusion to his mother's name.

⁴ See the spurious frag. of John of Antioch (200 ed. Müller); also Procop. *Bell. Vand.* i. 4.

of Valentinian, of which the most authentic account has been preserved by the historian John of Antioch. It will be best to narrate it in his own words.

"And after the murder of Aetius, Valentinian slew also Boethius, the prefect, who was a very dear friend of Aetius. And having exposed their bodies unburied in the forum, he immediately summoned the senate, and brought many charges against the men : this was a precaution against a revolt on account of the fate of Aetius. And Maximus, after the death of Aetius, went to Valentinian, seeking to be promoted to the consulship ; and failing it he desired to obtain the rank of patrician, but in this too was foiled by Heraclius, who countervailed the aims of Maximus and persuaded Valentinian that being well rid of the oppressive influence of Aetius he ought not to transfer his power to Maximus. Thwarted in both his wishes, Maximus was wroth, and he sent for two Scythians (Huns), brave in war, named Optila and Thraustila, who had fought campaigns with Aetius, and were intimate with Valentinian.¹ When he met them pledges were exchanged, and he accused the Emperor of the murder of Aetius and advised them to take vengeance on him, suggesting that they would win very great advantages by justly avenging the victim.

"A few days later, it seemed good to Valentinian to ride in the Campus Martius with a few guards, accompanied by Optila and Thraustila and their attendants.² And when he dismounted and proceeded to practise archery, Optila and those with him attacked him.³ Optila struck Valentinian on the temple, and when the prince turned to see who struck him, dealt him a second blow on the face and felled him. And Thraustila slew Heraclius. And the two assassins taking the imperial diadem and the horse hastened to Maximus. . . . They escaped all punishment for their deed. But a strange marvel happened to the corpse of Valentinian. A swarm of bees lit upon it, and drained and wiped away all the blood that flowed from it to the ground. Thus died Valentinian, having lived thirty-seven years."⁴

The death of Aetius and the death of Valentinian, which were causally in close connection, were grave misfortunes for the West. The strong man who might have opposed the imminent danger from the Vandals, and the weak man whose mere existence maintained the Imperium, were removed ; there was no general to succeed Aetius as there was no member of the Theodosian house to succeed Valentinian. Marcellinus speaks

¹ Prosper notices that Valentinian was imprudent enough to cultivate intimacy with the friends of Aetius—*ut interfecti Aetii amicos armigerosque ejus sibi in sociaret*. Gregory of Tours calls Optila *Occila bucellarius Aetii*, "guardsman of Aetius."

² Idatius notices that the army stood round—*exercitu circumstante*.

³ The place of the deed was called the 'Two Laurels': *μέσον δύο δαφνῶν* (*Chron. Pasch.*), *ad duas lauros* (Prosper). He had left the "Laurel Palace" (Lauretum) of Ravenna to be slain between the laurel trees in the Campus.

⁴ 16th March 455 (Prosper).

of the Patrician Aetius as "the great safety of the western republic" (*magna occidentalis reipublicae salus*), the terror of King Attila; "and with him the Hesperian realm fell, and up to the present day has not been able to raise its head." We cannot disagree with this judgment; the death of Aetius marked a distinct stage in the dismemberment of the western provinces. But we must not leave out of sight the importance of the death of his master Valentinian without male offspring. A legitimate heir of the Theodosian house might have prevented some of the troubles which befell Italy in the days of Count Ricimer and the array of Emperors whom he pulled down or set up.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

IN the fourth century the Church had to solve two problems ; one was political and the other theological. The political problem was to determine the relation of the Church to the Imperium ; the theological problem was to determine the relation of the Son to the Father. At the end of the fourth century both these questions had received general solutions ; and these very solutions gave birth to new problems which agitated the fifth century.

I. Whether Constantine the Great was personally a Christian is a point that is open to dispute. The evidence seems to show that his religion was a syncretistic monotheism, he was content to see the Deity in the Sun, or in Mithras, or in the God of the Hebrews. The important point, however, is that he did not break with the old Roman ritual ; although, as Constantine, he may possibly have been a Christian before he died, as Emperor he was a pagan. He extended special favour to the new religion, but the general line of his policy was toleration.

Constantius conceived a political idea which was a distinct advance on his father's system, the idea of a close union between the Imperium and the christian Church, but of such a kind that the Church should be entirely dependent on the Emperor. Herein he anticipated the policy of Justinian ; he wished to concentrate all things in imperial absolutism. Ammianus speaks of him as wearing on all occasions the cothurnus of imperial power (*imperatoriae auctoritatis cothurnum ubique custodiens*). In order to realise his idea it was desirable to

produce a unity in the Church itself, which was rent asunder by the schism of Arius; and Constantius' interference took the form of adopting the formula that the Son was of *like* essence (*homoiousios*) with the Father—a compromise between the *homo-ousios* (of *same* essence) of Athanasius and the *heterousios* (of *other* essence) of Arius. This intermediate formula of Sirmium could not stand; it was merely a way of avoiding the difficulty; but Constantius carried it at the time, in spite of much opposition, by his personal influence. His policy is further characterised by his persecution of Athanasius, whose stability and power in the Church stood most in the way of the designed unification.

The depression of the Church under the pagan Julian, whose reign was the last glimmer of the ancient faiths, only strengthened it. And just as Julian's championship of the dying cause furthered the victorious creed, so the patronage which the Emperor Valens bestowed on the less deep doctrine of the Godhead, the doctrine of Arius, went far to strengthen the deeper, less easily comprehensible homo-ousian belief of Athanasius, which prevailed in the West.

Gratian and Theodosius the Great completed the union of the Church with the Imperium. Their edict in 380 officially adopted Athanasianism, the creed of Damasus, bishop of Rome; and the councils of 381 (at Constantinople and Aquileia) defined one creed for the universal Church. But the union of State and Church could not be looked on as complete, as long as the official religion of the Empire, as distinguished from the personal religion of the Emperor, was not christian. Gratian had abdicated and abolished the office of Pontifex Maximus; but an act of the pagan party in Rome in 384 brought the question to a crisis. The restoration of the altar of Victory in the senate house, which Constans had removed, was requested by the senate. Symmachus, prefect of the city, addressed a petition of this purport to Valentinian II; it was rejected through the influence of Ambrosius, bishop of Milan. But the decision of the young Valentinian was not so important as the attitude of Theodosius, Emperor in the East. The revolt of Eugenius, which was directly connected with the pagan party in Rome, and aimed at restoring the religious customs of the old Imperium, rendered a declaration on the part of Theodosius necessary; he took the

side of Ambrose and Valentinian. The defeat of Eugenius combined the Church and State closer than ever, and the penance of Theodosius at Milan indicated that if the Church was not to be first, at least it was not to be second. At the same time the State entered upon a path of intolerance, and heretics were esteemed as guilty and as dangerous as pagans; it may be said that the last spark of religious freedom was contained in the law of Valentinian II in favour of Arians, passed in 386. Almost at the same time we have the earliest example of a State inquisition in the prosecution of Priscillian by Maximus (385).

Thus at the end of the fourth century the Roman Imperium was christian, and at the same epoch the Church had asserted her independence. The bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, was the head of the Church, and the weakness of the Empire in the West increased his power and confirmed his independence, while from Constantinopolitan interference he was quite free. But the geographical distance from Constantinople had also another effect; it contributed to rendering the Patriarch of Constantinople and the eastern churches independent of the bishop of Rome.¹ The oriental and occidental churches had a tendency to separate along with the political systems to which they belonged; and consistent with this tendency was the desire of the Patriarch of Constantinople, which in the fifth century became the most important city in the world, to free himself from the jurisdiction of Rome. In order to do so he naturally leaned on the power of the Emperor, whose ecclesiastical authority was further increased by the fact that his capital was the Patriarch's residence, whereas the independence of the bishop of Rome was aided by the fact that the Emperors resided at Milan or Ravenna.

The result was that in the West the ecclesiastical hierarchy was independent in spiritual matters, and afterwards attained secular power, but in the East the Church and the Imperium were closely allied, the Church being dependent on the Emperor.² This was a leading feature in the Byzantine world. The

¹ Note that at first the rivalry was between Alexandria and Rome, afterwards between New Rome and Old Rome.

² The Emperor was regarded in the East as endowed with a semi-pontifical

character. He was considered (like the bishop of Rome in the West) the successor of St. Peter. Gasquet has some good remarks on this subject in his recent work, *L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque*, pp. 23-33.

Emperor was the head of the three hierarchies, the Church, the army, and the civil service ; and his position depended on the allegiance of all three. The consent of the Church was officially recognised as a condition of elevation to the throne by the introduction of the ceremony of coronation. Leo I. was the first Emperor crowned by the Patriarch.

The career of John Chrysostom illustrates the power and the weakness of the Patriarchs,¹ and it was his defeat in a long struggle with the court that mainly determined the subsequent relations between the imperial and the patriarchal palaces. In one respect the Patriarchs obtained a new hold on the sovereigns during the fifth century, when the custom of coronation became indispensable, and Euphemius made use of this power to extort a confession of faith from Anastasius ; but Anastasius' treatment of the same hierarch some years later shows how subordinate the representative of spiritual was to the holder of temporal power. The opposition of Chrysostom to Eudoxia naturally suggests the opposition which Ambrose of Milan presented to the Empress Justina. In both cases the populace sided with the bishop ; but Ambrose defied the Empress with impunity and carried the day, while the Patriarch of Constantinople was not strong enough even to avoid punishment.

II. The great controversy between Arius² and Athanasius concerned the relation of Christ to the Father. Arius adopted the rationalistic and easier doctrine that their essence was not the same ; the Son had a beginning. Athanasius held that their essence was the same ; the Logos was God, co-eternal with God the Father.

The question might be raised whether this controversy was really of importance for the future of mankind, whether its interest is more than merely ecclesiastical, or is only of historical note in so far as it affected the immediate politics of the fourth century ; whether in fine, if Arianism had survived, the spirit of the world would have been much altered. I conceive that its importance is world-historical, and that the victory of Athanasianism, representing the triumph of a distinct

¹ A special cause which in the fifth and sixth centuries tended to weaken the position of the Patriarchs, but in the later Empire no longer existed, was the opposition and jealousy of the

powerful sees of Alexandria and Antioch.

² The subject of Arianism has been treated in an admirable and elaborate work by Mr. H. M. Gwatkin.

idea, is of just as great consequence to the general historian as to the ecclesiastical specialist. The very essence of Christianity was at stake. For the special power of Christianity depended on the idea of Christ, and the doctrine of Arius tended to depress Christ, as less than God, a tendency which, if it had prevailed, would have ultimately banished Christ prematurely from the world. For the whole significance of Christ, or the Logos, was contained in his Divinity.

Soon after the final decision of the Church (381) that the Son was co-essential with the Father, the political divergence of the East and West began. The western and eastern Churches henceforward underwent each a different development, and the controversies which distracted them were of a different kind. The western Church held fast by the Athanasian doctrine, and was not concerned to probe it further; its divines turned from the rare air of the sphere of the Absolute to anthropological questions concerning original sin, faith, and works. The tendency of eastern theologians was always metaphysical. They could not rest content with the general symbolum that the Son was "of one substance with the Father"; they must determine the exact mode of this coincident identity and difference.

And thus in the fifth century the eastern Church embarked in a series of christological controversies¹ as bitter as the Arian.

How were the two natures, the human and the divine, combined in Christ—this was the problem of Christology. We can see from the mere statement of the question that two opposite views would necessarily arise according as the human or the divine nature were emphasised.

Early authorities had contented themselves with vague phrases to express the union of the natures, such as *mixture*, *inweaving*, *envelope*. But such phrases were unsatisfactory, because they were vague. The problem was to find a category which could express the union and avoid the confusion of the two natures—"an unconfounded nature-union," ἀσύγχυτος φύσικὴ ἐνωσις, as Athanasius said.

The two opposite schools of the fifth century which swerved

¹ It may be noticed that simultaneously with these controversies there were virulent disputes over the writ-

ings of the great Origen, but the Origenistic question is of purely ecclesiastical interest.

from the rigid mean line of orthodoxy on either side were the schools of Nestorius and Eutyches. But the spiritual fathers of Nestorianism and Eutychianism were Theodoros of Mopsuestia and Apollinaris of Laodicea, men who did not, like the eponymous propagators of the heresies, take an active part in party contention.

Apollinaris explained the nature of Christ on this wise. The nature of a human individual, he said, consists of body, soul, and spirit (*πνεῦμα*); the nature of the Divine man consists of body, soul, and logos,—logos, not spirit, for spirit implies free will, and thereby the possibility of change.

In opposition to this theory, which did not ascribe complete humanity to Christ, Theodore of Mopsuestia founded a new christological theory, which ascribed to Christ the fulness of humanity, including a free will, but a will higher than mere choice. To explain the union of the two natures he adopted the category of *inhabitation*, *ἐνvolκησις*; the category of *becoming* ("the Word became flesh") he judged rightly to be inadequate for philosophical purposes. But the main point is that he assumed two persons, whom in their union he esteemed one person, illustrating this junction by man and woman being one flesh; whereas Apollinaris blended two natures—the human clipt of certain elements, namely the pneumatic—in one person.

The theory of Theodore was taken up by Nestorius,¹ bishop of Constantinople, and the controversy turned especially upon what was really an incidental corollary of the main doctrine, namely, whether Mary should be called Mother of God, or, as Nestorius held, only Mother of Christ; and thus the word Theotokos (Mother of God) became the catchword of the controversy. The Nestorian heresy was crushed at the council of Ephesus in 431, chiefly through the energy of Cyril of Alexandria, the most influential opponent of Nestorius.²

¹ Sisinnius succeeded the mild and courtly Atticus, whose soul cared for other things than controversy, in 426, and was succeeded by Nestorius in 427. Nestorius, like Chrysostom, was a presbyter of Antioch. He was a man of surprising energy; we may call it fanaticism. He was only five days Patriarch when he burned down the church in which the Arians used to hold

clandestine services; and he promised to present Theodosius with the kingdom of heaven on condition that he purified the Church of heretics.

² Both Cyril and Nestorius appealed to Celestine the bishop of Rome; but while Cyril adroitly deferred to his superior knowledge and dignity, Nestorius assumed the attitude of an equal. It was Celestine's duty and pleasure to

One of the most vehement anti-Nestorians was Eutyches; his zeal against the heresy of the two persons made him rebound into the opposite extreme and promulgate the doctrine that there was only one nature in Christ, the doctrine of monophysitism. He did not clearly see that the tenet of two natures does not imply the tenet of two persons; he did not understand the category of hypostasis; being, as Pope Leo I. wrote in his celebrated Dogmatic Epistle to Flavian, "very imprudent and exceedingly unskilled."

This Dogmatic Epistle was the basis of the symbolum of orthodox doctrine, the *unio hypostatica*, or unity of person in both natures, laid down at the ecumenical council of Chalcedon (451). That council, at which the Emperor Marcian presided, condemned monophysitism, of which the real originator was Apollinaris. The value of this doctrine turns evidently on the category of *hypostasis*, which seems to have received a new shade of meaning since it was used by Athanasius. Athanasius rejected hypostatic union, for he understood thereby merely *substantial* union, which seemed to confound the substances. The hypostasis of Chalcedon is not substance; it is a category higher than substance, but is not yet the subject of modern philosophy; we may perhaps render it approximately by *personal substrate*.

We must make a remark on the attitude of Theodosius II. Both he and his father were religious men, and took a great interest in ecclesiastical affairs. But it cannot be said that Theodosius was consistent either in orthodoxy or heterodoxy. Before the synod of 431 he was a partisan of Nestorius, and wrote rather sharply in answer to the appeals of Cyril; afterwards he completely deserted to the opposite side.¹ In the

side with the deferential and orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria; and Nestorius was condemned by a synod of Italian bishops held in Rome (430). At Ephesus more than 200 bishops deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople, with whom Johannes the Patriarch of Antioch sided, and whom the Emperor Theodosius was long disposed to favour. After many intrigues and indecent scenes, Theodosius recognised the acts of the synod and the condemnation of Nestorius; and in 433 Johannes was reconciled with Cyril. Pulcheria was throughout opposed to Nestorianism,

but Eudocia seems to have been inclined to it. Cyril left no stone unturned to win the favour of the court, sending presents to Pulcheria, to influential ministers, and to court ladies.

¹ From a letter of Theodosius to Cyril it is clear that there was rivalry and disunion at the court between Eudocia and Pulcheria, and that the ecclesiastical parties endeavoured to take advantage of this: *ἡ τίνα εἶχε λόγον ἕτερα μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν εὐσεβεστάτην Αὐγούστην Εὐδοκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν σύμβιον ἐπιστέλλειν, ἕτερα δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν εὐσ. Αὐγ. Πουλ-*

Eutychian strife, which was not decided until the reign of his successor Marcian, he was a partisan of Eutyches, who held diametrically opposite views to the Nestorians. In this he was probably influenced by the favourite eunuch Chrysaphius, who patronised Eutyches, as Eutropius had patronised Chrysostom.¹

Dyophysitism became, by the council of 451, the recognised doctrine of the whole christian Church, but the heresies lingered on, Nestorianism especially in the far east, Eutychianism in Alexandria, Palestine, and Armenia. In the reigns of Leo and Zeno the scandalous acts of violence committed by both the orthodox and the monophysites in Alexandria under Timothy the Weasel (monophysite), who was deposed by Leo, and Timothy *Salophakialos*, who succeeded him, and in Antioch, under Peter the Fuller, became so serious that a new attempt at union was demanded. In the struggle of Basiliscus and Zeno the religious question played an important part, and the restoration of Zeno was a triumph for orthodoxy. Zeno and the Patriarch Acacius, in order to effect the desired union, manufactured the Henotikon, a symbolum which was intended to reconcile both parties by veiling the point at issue. It was expressly stated that Christ was both God and man, in accordance with the doctrine of Chalcedon; but the word "nature" was diligently avoided, and an indirectly slighting allusion to the council of Chalcedon was inserted to win the monophysites. This half measure (which reminds us in its spirit of the homoiousian doctrine of the preceding century) not only failed to satisfy either party, but was a live coal blown

χεραν εἰ μὴ διχονοεῖν ἡμᾶς ψήθης ἢ διχονοῦσεν ἡπίστας ἐκ τῶν τῆς σῆς θεοσεβείας γραμμάτων; (Harduin, *Concilia*, i. 1341). Compare Gildonpenning, *Das oströmische Reich*, p. 294 sq.

¹ I must refer the reader to an ecclesiastical history for an account of the events of 449—the Robber-Synod of Ephesus, at which Flavian (Patriarch of Constantinople) was condemned, the violence of Dioscorus, who out-Cyriled Cyril, the edifying spectacle of bishops compelled to write their names on a paper which was to be filled in afterwards. The Eutychianism of Theodosius caused an unpleasant difference of opinion between himself and his son-in-law Valentinian III, whose opinions were guided by Leo, the bishop of

Rome. Those who are interested in the monophysitic struggles may consult the Memoirs of the Patriarch Dioscorus, written in Coptic and translated by E. Révillout (*Revue Égyptol.* 1880, 1882, 1883), the Ethiopian Chronicle of Johannes of Nikiou, written about 700 A.D., and published by Zotenberg in *Journal Asiatique*, seventh series, vol. x. xii., and the *Ecl. History* (in Syriac) of Zacharias of Mitylene (died before 553), published by Land in twelve books (of which Three to Seven are genuine), as well as the *Breviarium* of Liberatus. See the monograph of G. Krüger, *Monophysitische Streitschriften in Zusammenhang mit der Reichspolitik* (Jena, 1884).

between the eastern and western Churches, unquenched for thirty years. In this schism the rivalry of the see of Rome and the see of Constantinople comes to a climax, and represents the opposition of the East and West. During the first half of the fifth century the western Church had, as it were, come of age; it was no longer dependent on the Greeks for its theology. Jerome's translation of the Scriptures and Augustine's new theological system had set occidental Christendom on an independent path of development—had, we may say, founded Latin Christianity.

Simplicius was Pope when the Henotikon of Zeno was published (482). A special circumstance tended to widen the breach which was caused by the opposition of Simplicius to Acacius. In the same year Timothy *Salophakialos*,¹ Patriarch of Alexandria, died, and two rivals for the vacancy appeared, John Talaias, who was actually consecrated bishop, and Peter the Stammerer, who was favoured by Zeno. The rejected Talaias repaired to Rome and laid his case before Simplicius, who took his part. Soon after this Simplicius died, and Felix II, his successor, prosecuted the opposition to Constantinople with vehement energy. The legates whom he sent thither were induced, by imprisonment and threats, to recognise the appointment of Peter, whereupon Felix, informed of the circumstance by the "sleepless" monks, who were strong pillars of orthodox Chalcedonism in Byzantium, held a council at Rome (484), at which he deposed the apostate legates from their bishoprics, and excommunicated Acacius. It would have been dangerous for any one to deliver the sentence of excommunication openly to the Patriarch, and a secret stratagem was adopted. It was pinned to the back of Acacius as he was officiating in St. Sophia, and a few moments afterwards he retorted the sentence on Felix, thus placing his power on a par with that of the bishop of Rome.

The schism² continued after the deaths of Felix and Acacius, during the reign of Anastasius, who, though not unquestionably

¹ According to Ducange, this word means "with a white bandage or turban (*φακίαιος*=*fasciola*, and *σαλος*, a fictitious word for *white*). This does not seem likely. I propose to read *Salakophialos*, and to translate "comb-sleek" (*φιαλος*, from *φιαρός*, *p*

becoming *λ* on account of the preceding *λ*).

² The most recent work on this schism is G. Schnürer's essay (in Grauert's *Historisches Jahrbuch*, ix. 251 sqq. 1888), *Die politische Stellung des Papsttums zur Zeit Theoderichs des Grossen*.

orthodox like Zeno, adopted Zeno's Henotikon. At this time the Ostrogoths ruled in Italy, and the Popes were thus independent of the Emperor, and able to resist his authority. Felix was succeeded by Gelasius, who emphatically insisted on the precedence of the Roman see as the highest spiritual authority on earth; we may refer especially to his letter to the bishops of Dardania. His successor, Pope Anastasius, was a milder man, like his namesake the Emperor, and more conciliatory, but the bitterness broke out again in the episcopate of Hormisdas, and was not finally allayed until 519, the year after Anastasius' death, when the new Emperor Justin inaugurated an orthodox reaction. This pacification was a victory for Rome; the names of Acacius and Peter the Stammerer were erased from the diptychs of Constantinople.

DONATISM AND PELAGIANISM.—It has already been noticed that the foundations of Latin Christianity, or western Catholicism, as well as the foundations of the German kingdoms, were laid in the first half of the fifth century. It is not our business here to go into the work of Augustine and Jerome, whose varied activity chiefly contributed to the creation of an independent western Church with a Latin theology. But we must briefly notice the suppression of the schisms of Donatus and Pelagius, against both of which the bishop of Hippo was a leading combatant.

Britain was said to have been fertile in tyrants; Africa may be said to have been fertile in schisms; at least there was no part of the Empire which was more rent and riven by the divisions and the furies of religious sects. In the fourth century the followers of Donatus had been men of strict and pure morals, and presented an edifying contrast to the demoralisation that infected the orthodox Church¹; but pride in their own sanctity led to a holy contempt for all who were not of themselves, and ultimately to a fanatical hatred which doomed Catholics and other sects to the flames of hell. They were highly objectionable to the civil power, nor was the saying of Donatus forgotten, "What has the Emperor to do with the Church?" But in Africa they had force on their side. The

¹ Donatism, as Ziegler says (*Gesch. der Christlichen Ethik*, ii. 189), was "ein Protest gegen die Verweltlichung

der Kirche." Donatus was not a heretic; he disagreed with the Church only on questions of discipline.

rich proprietors lived in constant fear of bands of men, who were called *circumcellions* and threatened their possessions and their lives. These men were socialists, infected with religious fanaticism. Having suffered from the stress of the times, they desired to introduce into society an equality, by which they could profit, and regarded themselves as the instruments of divine vengeance. They posed as the protectors of slaves, and used clubs in their deeds of violence, because Christ had said to Peter, "Put up thy sword." In 348, when the Donatists were threatened by the military power, they enlisted the circumcellions to fight in their cause. Julian favoured the Donatists, perhaps because Constantius had oppressed them; but Gratian deprived them of the right of holding services (377). In 405 severe laws were passed against them, and in 411 the great public controversy took place, in which the dialectic of Augustine won the victory—according to the judgment of the tribune Marcellinus, who was appointed to arbitrate—over the Donatist Petilian.¹ After this judgment, which Honorius confirmed, severe penalties were enforced; the Donatists were persecuted, but they continued to exist as an unquiet factor, and probably assisted in the conquest of Africa by the Vandals.

But in the last twenty years of St. Augustine's life (410-430) the great question of the day was the problem of predestination and free will. Pelagius, born of a Roman family in Britain, propounded, and his friend Celestius supported, the doctrine that man's will is free; that God has given us the capacity for good, but that the will and the performance are our own. The doctrine was opposed by Orosius and Augustine; it was condemned by synods in Africa; it was condemned by Innocent, bishop of Rome; it was condemned by his successor Zosimus, who had at first exonerated Pelagius and his views from blame. In 418 an imperial rescript ordained that all Pelagians should be banished, and their theory was afterwards rejected at the general council of Ephesus. Thus the wisdom of the Church condemned the deadly doctrine of free

¹ Augustine wrote controversial works against Donatism, and also an alphabetical psalm (*Abecedarius*) giving a history of the schism (see Ebert, *Allg. Gesch. der Literatur des Mittel-*

alters im Abendlande, i. p. 242); but perhaps the most important work on the subject is the *de Schismate Donatistarum* of Optatus, bishop of Milevis (about 370 A.D.)

will, and the most learned and earnest theologians did not shrink from the possible consequence of the denial of moral responsibility.

On consideration it can hardly be denied that the view of Pelagius was fraught with peril to Christianity. If man is born as sinless as Adam was before the fall, and if his will is free, there is no inconsistency in assuming that many may pass their lives utterly devoid of sin; and thus there may be righteous men in the world who need no redemption, men who can dispense with the work of Christ and the consolation of Christianity. Such a position was extremely dangerous, and Augustine naturally adopted the more consistent and simple doctrine of christian fatalism, which in later ages assumed the form of Calvinism.

But in this controversy the question was argued on the platform of the understanding; and the view of Augustine won, not because his metaphysical armoury was better, but because he and those who embraced his view had more authority.¹ As each party embraced one horn of the antinomy and rejected the other, the question itself could not be rationally decided, any more than a controversy between men who regard space as finite and men who regard it as infinite. Reason knows that both the doctrine of free will and the doctrine of necessity are defective and therefore false; and that true freedom does not conflict with necessity, but that necessity is only a moment in it. But in the fifth century the

¹ As I have not studied the controversial writings of St. Augustine, I cannot decide whether he had any rational glimpse of the higher freedom. It is always hard for a layman to feel quite certain that he has comprehended the technicalities of theological phraseology or penetrated the inmost mazes of theological mystery, but as far as I can gather from the disquisitions of Hefele, Milman, and Robertson, Augustine and the Church—however much they may have been inwardly filled with a religious consciousness of it—had no philosophical idea of true freedom. W. Gass, in his *Geschichte der christlichen Ethik* (1881), i. has a good account of the controversy. Of Augustine's own theory he says (p. 159): "Genauer angesehen versetzt die Lehre

Augustin's die ganze Schwere des Unheils in den ersten Act des Ungehorsams, diesen steigert sie sammt seinen unermesslichen Folgen zu einem *Mysterium des Abfalls* (infallibilis apostasia), um dann zweitens die Erbsünde als eine mit der Fortpflanzung gegebene Verdorbenheit in die Natur selber zu verlegen. Dieser plötzliche Sturz aus der Thätlichkeit in die Erblichkeit und Verdammlichkeit ist der dunkle und noch niemals aufgehellte Punkt seines Systems, von welchem alles Weitere abhängt." See also Ziegler, *Gesch. der christl. Ethik* (1886), ii. p. 212 sqq., and Jodl, *Gesch. der Ethik in der neueren Philosophie*, p. 57 sqq. Jodl remarks that Augustine gave up the Pauline dualism of the sensual and spiritual nature of man.

opponents did not rise to the point of view of reason; and when Cassian of Massilia¹ tried to compromise between the two views by mixing a little of one with a little of the other—semi-pelagianism—it was really as if one tried to solve the antinomy of Zeno by blending an element of the finite nature of space with an element of its infinity, though the former mixture might not have been on the face of it so absurd.

¹ On Cassian, see Ziegler, *op. cit.* ii. 208. In his twelve books, *de coenobiorum institutis*, and in his twenty-four books, entitled *Collationes*, he attempts to systematise the monastic morality of his time.

CHAPTER X

LIFE AND MANNERS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

THE life of the higher classes at Constantinople was distinguished by its oriental richness and luxury.¹ To some small extent this oriental colouring may have been due to direct eastern influences affecting Byzantium during the fourth century, but in the main it was merely the splendour of Old Rome translated to the palaces of New Rome. To begin with the Emperor, a rich purple dress enveloped his whole body, wrought dragons shone on his silken robes, and a golden diadem set with precious gems adorned his head. His golden chariot was drawn by white mules, whose harness glittered with the same metal, and when he drove out men gazed in wonder at the sheen of the purple and the gold, the whiteness of the mules, and the revolving plates of gold which gleamed in the sun as the car to which they were attached moved along. The caparisons of his horse were of gold, and as he rode, seated on a saddle white as snow, through the city or the neighbouring country, he was accompanied by imperial guards who carried spears with golden tips and shields with golden centres encircled by golden eyes. And it was not only the Emperor whose appointments were enriched with the most precious of the metals; his courtiers and attendants and all men of opulence used it in ornamenting their saddles and bridles, their belts and their boots; their garments were of gold-threaded

¹ See the evidences on this subject collected from the works of Chrysostom by his editor Montfaucon (vol. xix.) To be precise, I should have added the words, "in the eastern provinces of the

Empire" to the title of the present chapter, which makes no pretension to be exhaustive, and may be supplemented by the details to be found in Bk. i. cap. 2, and in Bk. ii. caps. 2 and 3.

silk, their carriages were covered with gold or silver, their servants were tricked out with golden ornaments. Many rich nobles possessed ten or twenty mansions and as many private baths; a thousand, if not wellnigh two thousand, slaves called them lord, and their halls were thronged with eunuchs, parasites, and retainers. In their gorgeous houses the doors were of ivory, the ceilings lined with gold, the floors inlaid with mosaics or strewn with rich carpets; the walls of the halls and bedrooms were of marble, and wherever commoner stone was used the surface was beautified with gold plate. Spacious verandahs and baths adjoined the houses. The beds were made of ivory or solid silver, or, if on a less expensive scale, of wood plated with silver or gold. Chairs and stools were usually of ivory, and the most homely vessels were often of the most costly metal; the semicircular tables or sigmas, made of gold or silver, were so heavy that two youths could hardly lift one. Oriental cooks were employed; and at banquets the atmosphere was heavy with all the perfumes of the East, while the harps and pipes of musicians delighted the ears of the feasters.

These are some of the details which may be gleaned from the writings of Chrysostom respecting the luxurious life of the great and opulent men of his time, which was so revolting to him that it drove him in the direction of social communism. In the preceding chapters many things have been related in the course of the narrative which illustrate the manners and morals of the age, and they need not be repeated here. It is hardly necessary to say that Christianity had not been able to do very much towards refining the character of theatrical representations¹ or improving the morality of green-rooms. Chrysostom complained of the lewdness prevalent in theatres and the obscenity of the songs that delighted the audiences; he was specially scandalised by the exhibition of women swimming. We must, however, remember that Chrysostom was unusually austere. It surprises us somewhat to learn that the habit was kept up in

¹ M. Sathas considers that in the days of Theodosius II the first foundations were laid for the conciliation of the Church and the theatre. Malalas mentions that Theodosius erected theatres; Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, left money for theatres. See

Sathas, *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν* (Venice, 1878), p. 289. The heretic Arius conceived the idea of creating a theatre in his church, writing the dramas himself; hence ὁ θυμελικός was used in the sense of heretic, *ib.* p. 7.

christian society of permitting courtesans to exhilarate or contaminate weddings with their presence. As to the amusements of the Emperor and the nobles, we know that they used to hunt in the neighbourhood of Byzantium. Theodosius II was passionately fond of riding, and it was probably in his reign that the game of *tzukan* or polo was introduced at Constantinople, if we may trust the evidence of a very late writer,¹ who states that he laid out a *tzukanisterion*, or polo-ground, in the precincts of the palace. The game was perhaps derived from the Huns, who were accomplished riders.

The oriental court life which was developed at Byzantium with an elaboration which, perhaps more than anything else, gave that city its peculiar flavour, was stigmatised by the Neoplatonic bishop Synesius, in the speech he delivered before the Emperor Arcadius, as one of the evils that endangered the weal and safety of the Empire. The concern of the Emperors for their dignity, he said, and their fear lest they should become ordinary mortals if their subjects beheld them often, lead to the result that they see and hear as little as they well can of those things by which the wisdom of life is acquired; they live in a sort of sensual retirement, and their soul is a mist. He compares this life to the life of oysters, or of lizards which peep out occasionally on a hot day; and likens the small and stupid men by whom the monarch is surrounded to peacocks flaunting their colours. The motive of this retirement, he insists, is the wish to appear more than man.

As nothing, perhaps, is more effective in conveying an idea of the ways and manners of an age than the actual words of a contemporary narrator describing the unimportant details of a journey or an enterprise, I have thought it well to give a tolerably literal translation of the narrative of Marcus the deacon, recounting what befell Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza, when he and

¹ Codinus, p. 81. Basil, the Macedonian, improved and enlarged the ground. σφαιρίζω as well as τζυκανίζω was used of playing *tzukan*, thus we read of Romanus (Theoph. Contin. 472) καὶ τῇ δειλῇ ἐν τζυκανιστηρίῳ σφαιρίσας μετὰ τῶν δοκίμων καὶ ἐμπείρων καὶ πολλᾶκις τοὺς νικήσας. If Hammer is

right in his conjecture that *tzukan* (= *tschewkan*) is a Persian word, the conjecture that the Romans borrowed the game directly from the Huns falls to the ground, but the Persians themselves may have borrowed it from Tartaric races.

others visited Constantinople, including an account of the baptism of Theodosius II.¹

The bishops set sail from Caesarea and reached Rhodes in ten days, where they visited a holy hermit named Procopius, who was gifted with second sight, and told them all that would befall them when they should arrive at Byzantium. The voyage to Byzantium occupied likewise ten days. Having secured lodgings, they visited the Patriarch John Chrysostom on the morrow of their arrival. "And he received us with great honour and courtesy, and asked us why we undertook the fatigue of the journey, and we told him; and when he learned the reason he recollected that on a former occasion we made this petition by letter, and recognising me [Marcus] greeted me kindly. And he bade us not to despond but to have hope in the mercies of God, and said, 'I cannot speak to the Emperor, for the Empress excited his indignation against me because I charged her with a thing which she coveted and robbed. And I am not concerned about his anger, for it is themselves they hurt and not me, and even if they hurt my body they do the more good to my soul. . . . To-morrow I shall send for the eunuch Amantius, the *castrensis* (chamberlain) of the Empress, who has great influence with her and is really a servant of God, and I shall commit the matter to him, and if God consents all will go well (*πάνν ἔχει σπουδάσαι*).' Having received these injunctions and a recommendation to God, we proceeded to our inn. And on the next day we went to the bishop and found in his house the chamberlain Amantius, for the bishop had attended to our affair and had sent for him and explained it to him. And when we came in, and Amantius was told that we were the persons of whom he had heard, he stood up and did obeisance to the most holy bishops, inclining his face to the ground, and they, when they were told who he was, embraced him and kissed him. And the most holy archbishop John bade them explain orally their affair to the chamberlain. And the most holy Porphyrius explained to him all the concernment of the idolaters, how licentiously they perform the unlawful rites and oppress the

¹ This narrative, which is but little known, is contained in Marcus' *Life of Porphyrius*, which was printed by

Haupt in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy for 1879.

Christians. And Amantius, when he heard this, wept and was filled with zeal for God, and said to them, 'Be not despondent, fathers, for Christ can shield His religion. Do ye therefore pray, and I will speak to the Augusta. And I trust in the God of the Universe that He will show His mercy according to his wont.' With these injunctions he departed, and we having conversed on many spiritual topics with the archbishop John, and having received his blessing, withdrew.

"The next day the chamberlain Amantius sent two deacons to bid us come to the Palace, and we arose and proceeded with all expedition. And we found him awaiting us, and he took the two bishops and introduced them to the Empress Eudoxia. And when she saw them she saluted them first and said, 'Give me your blessing, fathers,' and they did obeisance to her. Now she was sitting on a golden sofa. And she says to them, 'Excuse me, priests of Christ, on account of my situation, for I was anxious to meet your sanctity in the antechamber. But pray God on my behalf that I may be delivered happily of the child which is in my womb.' And the bishops, wondering at her condescension, said, 'May He who blessed the wombs of Sarah and Rebecca and Elizabeth, bless and quicken the child in thine.' After further edifying conversation, she said to them, 'I know why ye came (*ἐσκύλητε*), as the castrensis Amantius explained it to me. But if you are fain to instruct me, fathers, I am at your service' (*κελεύσατε*). Thus bidden, they told her all about the idolaters, and the impious rites which they fearlessly practised, and their oppression¹ of the Christians, whom they did not allow to perform a public duty (*μετελθεῖν ὀφφίκιον πολιτικόν*) nor to till their lands 'from whose produce they pay the dues to your imperial sovereignty.' And the Empress said, 'Do not despond; for I trust in the Lord Christ, the Son of God, that I shall persuade the king to do those things that are due to your saintly faith and to dismiss you hence well treated. Depart, then, to your privacy, for you are fatigued, and pray God to co-operate with my request.' She then commanded money to be brought, and gave three darics apiece to the most holy bishops, saying, 'In the meantime take this for your expenses.' And the bishops took the money and blessed her abundantly and departed. And

¹ καταδυναστεύουσιν.

when they went out they gave the greater part of the money to the deacons who were standing at the door, reserving little for themselves.

“And when the Emperor came into the apartment of the Empress, she told him all touching the bishops, and requested him that the heathen temples of Gaza should be thrown down. But the Emperor was put out when he heard it, and said, ‘I know that city is devoted to idols, but it is loyally disposed in the matter of taxation and pays a large sum to the revenue. If then we overwhelm them with terror of a sudden, they will betake themselves to flight and we shall lose so much of the revenue. But if it must be, let us afflict them partially, depriving idolaters of their dignities and other public offices, and bid their temples be shut up and be used no longer. For when they are afflicted and straitened on all sides they will recognise the truth; but an extreme measure coming suddenly is hard on subjects.’ The Empress was very much vexed at this reply, for she was ardent in matters of faith, but she merely said, ‘The Lord can assist his servants the Christians, whether we consent or decline.’

“We learned these details from the chamberlain Amantius. On the morrow the Augusta sent for us, and having first saluted the holy bishops according to her custom, she bade them sit down. And after a long spiritual talk, she said, ‘I spoke to the Emperor, and he was rather put out. But do not despond, for, God willing, I cannot cease until ye be satisfied and depart, having succeeded in your holy purpose.’ And the bishops made obeisance. Then the sainted Porphyrius, pricked by the spirit,¹ and recollecting the word of the thrice blessed anchoret Procopius, said to the Empress: ‘Exert yourself for the sake of Christ, and in recompense for your exertions He can bestow on you a son whose life and reign you will see and enjoy for many years.’ At these words the Empress was filled with joy, and her face flushed, and new beauty beyond that which she already had passed into her face; for the appearance shows what passes within. And she said, ‘Pray, fathers, that according to your word, with the will of God, I may bear a male child, and if it so befall, I promise you to do all that ye ask. And another thing, for which ye

¹ καταρτυεῖς.

ask not, I intend to do with the consent of Christ; I will found a church at Gaza in the centre of the city. Depart then in peace, and rest quiet, praying constantly for my happy delivery; for the time of my confinement is near.' The bishops commended her to God and left the Palace. And prayer was made that she should bear a male child; for we believed in the words of Saint Procopius the anchorite.

"And every day we used to proceed to the most holy Johannes, the archbishop, and had the fruition of his holy words,¹ sweeter than honey and the honey comb. And Amantius the chamberlain used to come to us, sometimes bearing messages from the Empress, at other times merely to pay a visit. And after a few days the Empress brought forth a male child, and he was called Theodosius after his grandfather Theodosius, the Spaniard, who reigned along with Gratian. And the child Theodosius was born in the purple (*ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ*), wherefore he was proclaimed Emperor at his birth. And there was great joy in the city, and men were sent to the cities of the Empire, bearing the good news, with gifts and bounties (*χαρίσματα*).

"But the Empress, who had only just been delivered and arisen from her chair of confinement, sent Amantius to us with this message: 'I thank Christ that God bestowed on me a son, on account of your holy prayers. Pray, then, fathers, for his life and for my lowly self, in order that I may fulfil those things which I promised you, Christ himself again consenting, through your holy prayers.' And when the seven days of her confinement were fulfilled, she sent for us and met us at the door of the chamber, carrying in her arms the infant in the purple robe. And she inclined her head and said, 'Draw nigh, fathers, unto me and the child which the Lord granted to me through your holy prayers.' And she gave them the child that they might seal it (with God's signet). And the holy bishops sealed both her and the child with the seal of the cross, and, offering a prayer, sat down. And when they had spoken many words full of heart-pricking (*κατάνυξις*), the lady says to them, 'Do ye know, fathers, what I resolved to do in regard to your affair?' [Here Porphyrius related a dream which he had dreamed the night before; then Eudoxia resumed:] 'If Christ permit, the

¹ *λογίων.*

child will be privileged to receive the holy baptism in a few days. Do ye then depart and compose a petition and insert in it all the requests ye wish to make. And when the child comes forth from the holy baptismal rite, give the petition to him who holds the child in his arms; but I shall instruct him what to do, and I trust in the Son of God that He can arrange the whole matter according to the will of His loving kindness.' Having received these directions we blessed her and the infant and went out. Then we composed the petition, inserting many things in the document, not only as to the overthrow of the idols but also that privileges and revenue should be granted to the holy Church and the Christians; for the holy Church was poor.

"The days ran by, and the day on which the young Emperor Theodosius was to be illuminated (*φωτίζεσθαι*, i.e. baptized)¹ arrived. And all the city was crowned with garlands and decked out in garments entirely made of silk (*όλοσηρικῶν*) and gold jewels and all kind of ornaments, so that no one could describe the adornment of the city. One might behold the inhabitants, multitudinous as the waves, arrayed in all manner of various dresses (*παντοίας ιδέας ἱματίων ἐναλλάττοντα*). But it is beyond my power to describe the brilliance of that pomp; it is a task for those who are practised writers, and I shall proceed to my present true history. When the young Theodosius was baptized and came forth from the church to the Palace, you might behold the excellence of the multitude of the magnates (*προηγουμένων*) and their dazzling raiment, for all were dressed in white,² and you would have thought the multitude was covered with snow. The patricians headed the procession (*προηγούμενοι*), with the *illustres* and all the other ranks, and the military contingents, all carrying wax candles, so that the stars seemed to shine on earth. And close to the infant, which was carried in arms, was the Emperor Arcadius himself, his face cheerful and more radiant than the purple robe he was wearing, and one of the magnates carried the infant in brilliant apparel (*ἐν λαμπρᾷ ἐσθήτι*). And we marvelled, beholding such glory.

¹ Used especially of the inner spiritual grace of baptism. *φωτιστήριον* meant a baptistery.

² The martyrs, represented in mosaics

on the south wall of the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna as walking in procession from the palace, are all arrayed in white.

“ Then the holy Porphyrius says to us : ‘ If the things which soon vanish possess such glory, how much more glorious are the things celestial, prepared for the elect, which neither eye hath beheld nor ear heard, nor hath it come into the heart of man to consider.’

“ And we stood at the portal of the church, with the document of our petition, and when he came forth from the baptism we called aloud, saying, ‘ We petition your Piety,’ and held out the paper. And he who carried the child seeing this, and knowing our concernment, for the Empress had instructed him, bade the paper be showed to him, and when he received it halted. And he commanded silence, and having unrolled a part he read it, and folding it up, placed his hand under the head of the child and cried out, ‘ His majesty has ordered the requests contained in the petition to be ratified.’ And all having seen marvelled and did obeisance to the Emperor, congratulating him that he had the privilege of seeing his son an emperor in his lifetime ; and he rejoiced thereat. And that which had happened for the sake of her son was announced to the Empress, and she rejoiced and thanked God on her knees. And when the child entered the Palace, she met it and received it and kissed it, and holding it in her arms greeted the Emperor, saying, ‘ You are blessed, my lord, for the things which your eyes have beheld in your lifetime.’ And the king rejoiced thereat. And the Empress, seeing him in good humour, said, ‘ Please let us learn what the petition contains that its contents may be fulfilled.’ And the Emperor ordered the paper to be read, and when it was read, said, ‘ The request is hard, but to refuse is harder, since it is the first mandate of our son.’ ”

The petition was granted, and Eudoxia arranged a meeting between the quaestor, one of whose offices was to draft the imperial rescripts, and the bishops, that all the wishes of the latter might be incorporated in the edict. The execution of it, which was invidious and required a strong hand and will, was intrusted to Cynegius, and the bishops returned to Palestine, having received considerable sums of money from the Empress and Emperor, as well as the funds which the Empress had promised for the erection of a church at Gaza.

This narrative is extremely interesting. It gives us a con-

crete idea of the manner in which things were done, and of the kind of little dramas that probably lay behind the greater number of the formal decrees and rescripts contained in the Codices of Theodosius and Justinian. The wonder of the provincial bishops at the splendid apparel of the great of the earth, their edifying spiritual conversations with the Empress, with the eunuch, and with the archbishop, the ruse of Eudoxia to compass the success of the petition, all such details help us in attempting to realise the life of the time; while the hesitation of the pious Arcadius to root out the heathen "abominations" because the heathen were respectable taxpayers shows that even he, when the ghostly and worldly policies of the Empire clashed, was more inclined to be the Emperor than the churchman.

As a favourable example of an educated Byzantine of noble position we may take Anthemius, who became Emperor in the West as the colleague of Leo I., and who was the grandson of that prefect Anthemius who guided the State through the critical period following the death of Arcadius. He knew Latin as well as Greek, and a knowledge of Latin was very necessary for a politician, as it was still the official language throughout all the Empire. Yet acquaintance with the imperial language was beginning already to decline in the eastern provinces, and the fact that Pulcheria knew it was considered deserving of especial remark. Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Plautus, and Virgil were among the books that Anthemius studied, so that he was quite at home in the society of the cultivated senators of Old Rome, when he resided there as Emperor. But if he had studied the Latin language and delighted in the Roman literature, he had not put away from himself the Greek love of speculation and mysticism. He dabbled in theosophy and magic, and this propensity gave him a bad name in Rome. He loved to surround himself with sorcerers, and with men who held strange opinions; pagans and heretics were more welcome guests than orthodox Christians. One of his best friends was Severus, a pagan magician who had lived at Alexandria and made his house the resort of spiritualists, brahmins, and theosophists; and it was said that Severus was wont to ride on a fiery horse which emitted sparks as it galloped. Another of his friends, Philotheus, was an adherent

of the sublime or impious doctrine of Macedonius, which held that the Holy Ghost was not a person but a thing spread generally through nature—somewhat like the Earth-spirit in Goethe's *Faust*. The bishop of Rome felt himself obliged to interfere with the meetings which Philotheus held in that city to propagate his doctrine.

Let us now turn to the city of the Ptolemies, Alexandria-on-Nile, where life was as busy, as various, and as interesting as ever. Here Ptolemy Soter had established his "brilliant palace and court, with festivals which were the wonder of the world." "The city," writes Mr. Mahaffy, "was adequate by the largeness and splendour of its external experience. We have it described in later times as astonishing the beholder not only with its vastness—to wander through its streets, says Achilles Tatius, is an *ἐνδημος ἐπιδημία*, taking a tour without leaving home—but with the splendour of the colonnades which lined the streets for miles and kept the ways cool for passengers; with the din and bustle of the thoroughfares, of which the principal were horse and carriage ways, contrary to the usual Greek practice; with the number and richness of its public buildings; and with the holiday and happy air of its vast population, who rested not day and night, but had their streets so well lighted that the author just named says 'the sun did not set, but was distributed in small change—*ἥλιος κατακερματίζων*—to illumine the gay night.' The palaces and other royal buildings and parks were walled off, like the palace at Pekin [and that at Constantinople], and had their own port and seashore; but all the rest of the town had water near it and ship traffic in all directions. Every costume and language must have been met in its streets and quays. It had its fashionable suburbs, too, and its bathing resorts to the east—Canopus, Eleusis, and Nicopolis; to the west its Necropolis. But of all this splendour no eyewitness has left us in detail, what we are reduced to infer by conjecture."¹

The Romans found no city in the Empire so difficult to govern as that of the quick-witted and quick-tempered Alexandrians; the streets were continually the scene of tumults between citizens and soldiers, and revolts against the augustal

¹ *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 197.

prefects. "While in Antioch, as a rule, the matter did not go beyond sarcasm, the Alexandrian rabble took on the slightest pretext to stones and cudgels. In street uproar, says an authority, himself Alexandrian, the Egyptians are before all others; the smallest spark suffices here to kindle a tumult. On account of neglected visits, on account of the confiscation of spoiled provisions, on account of exclusion from a bathing establishment, on account of a dispute between the slave of an Alexandrian of rank and the Roman footsoldier as to the value or non-value of their respective slippers, the legions were under the necessity of charging among the citizens of Alexandria."¹

✓ Instead of healing the discords and calming the intractable temper of this turbulent metropolis by diffusing a spirit of amity and long-suffering, the introduction of Christianity only gave the citizens new things to quarrel about, new causes for tumult, new formulae and catchwords which they could use as pretexts for violence and rioting. It was only in Alexandria that such acts as the destruction of the Serapeum or the cruel death of Hypatia could take place.

An account of the latter event falls within the limits of our period, and I have reserved it for this chapter, as it illustrates the nature of the Alexandrian atmosphere.

Hypatia was the daughter of Theon, the great mathematician,² who was a professor at the Museum or university of Alexandria. Trained in mathematics by her father, she left that pure air for the deeper and more agitating study of metaphysics, and probably became acquainted with the older Neoplatonism of Plotinus³ which, in the Alexandrian Museum, had been transmitted untainted by the later developments of Porphyrius and Iamblichus. When she had completed her education she was appointed to the chair of philosophy, and her

¹ Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. v. *Provinces under the Empire* (ii. p. 264, English translation).

² His *scholia* on Euclid are extant. He used to lecture on the writings of Hermes Trismegistus and Orpheus, and was probably a mystic as well as a mathematician.

³ Plotinus and his master Ammonius Sakas belonged to the university, while the later Neoplatonists were not connected with it. This point—Hypatia's

affiliation to Plotinus—is due to W. A. Meyer, whose careful little tract, "Hypatia von Alexandria" (1886), has thrown much light on the subject, though Hypatia has been the subject of many tracts. I have followed his conclusions, which seem based on a just view of the fragmentary evidence that remains. Hoche (*Philologus*, xv. 1860) showed that the supposed journey of Hypatia to Athens is based on a mistranslation of Suidas. The date of her birth was about 370.

extraordinary talents, combined with her beauty, made her a centre of interest in the cultured and aristocratic circles at Alexandria, and drew to her lecture-room crowds of admirers. Her free and unembarrassed intercourse with educated men and the publicity of her life must have given rise to many scandals and backbitings, and her own sex doubtless looked upon her with suspicion, and called her masculine and immodest. She used to walk in the streets in her academical gown (*τρίβων*, the philosopher's cloak) and explain to any person who wished to learn, difficulties in Plato or Aristotle.¹ Of the influence of her personality on her pupils we have still a record in the letters of Synesius of Cyrene, who, although his studies under her auspices did not hinder him from going over to Christianity, always remained at heart a semi-pagan, and was devotedly attached to his instructress. That some of her pupils fell in love with her is not surprising,² but Hypatia never married, though a later tradition made her the wife of a heathen philosopher, Isidorus.

The real cause of her tragic fate, which befell her in March 415, is veiled in obscurity. We know that she was an intimate friend of the pagan Orestes, the prefect augustalis of Egypt; and we could be sure, even if we had not the testimony of Suidas, that she was an object of hatred to Cyrillus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, both because she was an enthusiastic preacher of pagan doctrines and because she was Orestes' friend. Moreover, she was murdered just after the great conflict between Orestes and Cyril, in which the Jews played an important part.

The Alexandrian bishop was already very powerful, and Cyril, who succeeded to the chair in 412, aimed at attaining the supreme power in the city and reducing the authority of the imperial prefect to a minimum. The opposition of the

¹ I follow Meyer's translation of a passage in Suidas.

² One of her pupils is said to have declared his passion for her, and the tale went that she exorcised his desire by disarranging her dress and displaying τὸ σύμβολον τῆς καθάρτου γεννήσεως: "This, young man," she said, "is what you are in love with, and nothing beautiful." This story, recorded by Suidas, was without doubt a contemporary

scandal, and indicates what exaggerated stories were circulated about the independence and perhaps the freespokenness of Hypatia. One cannot help acknowledging, however, that the anecdote is *ben trovato*, for such cynicism or cynism would be the logical consequence of an extremely consistent Neoplatonism, with its contempt for matter and the human body.

Jews¹ to the bishop brought matters to a crisis, for when, on one occasion, they saw a notorious creature of Cyril present in an assembly, they cried out that the spy should be arrested, and Orestes gratified them by inflicting public chastisement on him. The menaces which Cyril, enraged by this act, fulminated against the Jews led to a bloody vengeance on the christian population. A report was spread at night that the great church was on fire, and when the Christians flocked to the spot the Jews surrounded and massacred them. Cyril replied to this horror by banishing all Hebrews from the city, and allowing the Christians to plunder their property, a proceeding which was quite beyond the Patriarch's rights, and was a direct and insulting interference with the authority of Orestes, who immediately wrote a complaint to Constantinople. At this juncture 500 monks of Nitria, sniffing the savour of blood and bigotry from afar, hastened to the scene. These fanatics insulted Orestes publicly, one of them hitting him with a stone; in fact the governor ran a serious risk of his life. The culprit who hurled the missile was executed, and Cyril treated his body as the remains of a martyr.

It was then that Hypatia seems to have fallen a victim in the midst of these infuriated passions. As she was returning home one day she was seized by a band of men, led by a certain Peter, who dragged her to a church and, tearing off her garments, hewed her in pieces and burned the fragments of her body. The reason alleged in public for this act of barbarity was that she hindered a reconciliation between Orestes and Cyrillus; but this, of course, was only a pretext, and the real reason, as Socrates tells us, was envy. Whether the motive of Cyrillus in instigating this murder—for that he was the instigator may be considered almost certain—was a grudge against Hypatia herself, or whether, as has been suggested,² he intended by her assassination to wound another person (Orestes or Synesius) we cannot determine.

In my opinion we shall do most wisely to consider that the conflict of Orestes with Cyril was exacerbated by the fact that Orestes was really, though not openly, a heathen, and that

¹ Gùldenpenning (*Gesch. des oströmischen Reichs*, p. 225) reckons the number of Jews at Alexandria at this period about 200,000.

² By W. A. Meyer, *op. cit.* For the death of Hypatia, see Socrates, vii. 14.

Cyril wished it to appear that the struggle was not merely the collision of rival authorities or conditioned by his own ambition, but rather a strife of the christian Church with the "Hellenic" society of Alexandria. Hence Hypatia, as a prominent pagan teacher and as the intimate friend of Orestes, was sacrificed in order to lend this aspect to the conflict; and the sacrifice was all the more grateful to the bishop as it was a personal blow to his enemy.

Such was Alexandria at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, when Christianity was in conflict with paganism; in the latter half of the fifth century it was as turbulent as ever, but the conflict was then among Christians themselves—various sects of monophysites and orthodox Chalcedonians.

Let us now glance for a moment at Antioch-on-Orontes, the famous capital of another great successor of Alexander, and in christian times a city of note as the seat of one of the great Patriarchs of Christendom. "In no city of antiquity," says Mommsen, "was the enjoyment of life so much the main thing and its duties so incidental as in 'Antioch-upon-Daphne,' as the city was significantly called, somewhat as if we should say 'Vienna-upon-Prater.' For Daphne was a pleasure-garden about five miles from the city, ten miles in circumference, famous for its laurel trees, after which it was named, for its old cypresses, which even the christian Emperors ordered to be spared, for its flowing and gushing waters, for its shining temple of Apollo, and its magnificent much-frequented festival of the 10th August." Its chief street, nearly four and a half miles long, stretched straight along the river, and a covered colonnade afforded shade from sun or rain. Its streets were brilliantly lighted at night, and the supply of water, it has been remarked, was so good that there was no fighting at the public baths. Mommsen, comparing it with Alexandria, observes that "for enjoyment of life, dramatic spectacles, dining, pleasures of love, Antioch had more to offer than the city in which 'no one went idle.'" It was a gay and corrupt place. Julian had abhorred it for its corruption and Christianity, and it had abhorred Julian for his paganism and austerity.¹ Syria was the home of actors, singers, ballet-dancers, and

¹ See Julian's *Misopogon*.

circus clowns, as well as of eloquent theologians; and the heart of Chrysostom was distressed in vain for the depravity of the Antiochian amusements.¹ When riots occurred the causes were generally connected with the circus; and though the men of Antioch, like the men of Alexandria, had sharp tongues, they were generally content with using them, and did not proceed to anything more violent. In Antioch, as well as in Alexandria, it may be observed the Jews formed an important element of the population, which, not counting slaves and children, numbered about 200,000.

The situation of Antioch, however, was not so fortunate as that of its rival. It was fourteen miles from the coast, and thus had not the advantage of being a seaport; and it was liable to be shaken by frequent and violent earthquakes, which ultimately proved its ruin.

Antioch does not seem to have been a resort of pagans.² In the fourth century, indeed, Libanius may be mentioned as a pagan of Antioch, but in the fifth century probably very few non-Christians of a serious type were to be found there. If a writer of Antioch were named, we might guess with considerable certainty that he was a Christian, just as we might guess that a writer of Athens was a pagan. An Alexandrian author, except he were a theologian, would more probably be a pagan than a Christian; a Byzantine author would more probably be a Christian than a pagan. As for a native of Asia Minor, the chances in regard to his faith would be about equal.

As a contrast to the highly civilised life of the Roman Empire, it will be well to take a glimpse at the primitive manners of the Huns, as they impressed a contemporary Roman, whose account of an embassy to Attila in the year 448 has been preserved. As the narrative, which I have translated freely, with some omissions, is of considerable length, a separate chapter may be devoted to it.

¹ A good deal can be gleaned from Chrysostom's homilies about the manners of Antioch. Pickpockets ("cut-purses") used to frequent the churches. Superstition was rife, and the place was full of jugglers and sorcerers, who practised incantations and studied

genethliology. In his *Studien aus dem classischen Alterthum* (1881), A. Hug has an interesting essay on Antioch, in special reference to the revolt of 387 A.D.

² In the sixth century it was deemed worthy of being re-christened Theopolis, "the city of God."

CHAPTER XI

A GLIMPSE OF HUN LIFE

THE historian Priscus accompanied his friend Maximin on an embassy to Scythia or Hunland in the year 448, and wrote a full account of what befell them. Of this account, which has been fortunately preserved, the following is a free translation¹:—

“We set out with the barbarians, and arrived at Sardica, which is thirteen days for a fast traveller from Constantinople. Halting there we considered it advisable to invite Edecon and the barbarians with him to dinner. The inhabitants of the place sold us sheep and oxen, which we butchered, and prepared a meal. In the course of the feast, as the barbarians lauded Attila and we lauded the Emperor, Bigilas remarked that it was not fair to compare a man and a god, meaning Attila by the man and Theodosius by the god. The Huns grew excited and hot at this remark. But we turned the conversation in another direction, and soothed their wounded feelings; and after dinner, when we separated, Maximin presented Edecon and Orestes with silk garments and Indian gems. . . .

“When we arrived at Naissus we found the city deserted, as though it had been sacked; only a few sick persons lay in the churches. We halted at a short distance from the river, in an open space, for all the ground adjacent to the bank was full of the bones of men slain in war. On the morrow we came to the station of Agintheus, the commander-in-chief of the Illyrian armies (*magister militum per Illyricum*), who was posted not far from Naissus, to announce to him the imperial commands, and to receive five of those seventeen deserters, about whom Attila had written to the Emperor.² We had an interview with him, and having

¹ I have used the text of Priscus in Müller's *Frag. Hist. Græc.* vol. iv. It may be well to warn readers that the Latin translation appended cannot be implicitly trusted.

² *περί ὧν Ἀττίλα ἐγγράπητο* (p. 78).

In Müller's Latin translation under the text these words are mistranslated *de quibus ad Attilam scripserat*. τὰ παρὰ Ἀττίλα γράμματα (fr. 7, p. 76) is referred to.

treated the deserters with kindness, he committed them to us. The next day we proceeded from the district of Naissus¹ towards the Danube, we entered a covered valley with many bends and windings and circuitous paths. We thought we were travelling due west, but when the day dawned the sun rose in front; and some of us unacquainted with the topography cried out that the sun was going the wrong way, and portending unusual events. The fact was that that part of the road faced the east, owing to the irregularity of the ground. Having passed these rough places we arrived at a plain which was also well wooded. At the river we were received by barbarian ferrymen, who rowed us across the river in boats made by themselves out of single trees hewn and hollowed. These preparations had not been made for our sake, but to convey across a company of Huns; for Attila pretended that he wished to hunt in Roman territory, but his intent was really hostile, because all the deserters had not been given up to him. Having crossed the Danube, and proceeded with the barbarians about seventy stadia, we were compelled to wait in a certain plain, that Edecon and his party might go on in front and inform Attila of our arrival. As we were dining in the evening we heard the sound of horses approaching, and two Scythians arrived with directions that we were to set out to Attila. We asked them first to partake of our meal, and they dismounted and made good cheer. On the next day, under their guidance, we arrived at the tents of Attila, which were numerous, about three o'clock, and when we wished to pitch our tent on a hill the barbarians who met us prevented us, because the tent of Attila was on low ground, so we halted where the Scythians desired. . . . (Then a message is received from Attila, who was aware of the nature of their embassy, saying that if they had nothing further to communicate to him he would not receive them, so they reluctantly prepared to return.) When the baggage had been packed on the beasts of burden, and we were perforce preparing to start in the night time, messengers came from Attila bidding us wait on account of the late hour. Then men arrived with an ox and river fish, sent to us by Attila, and when we had dined we retired to sleep. When it was day we expected a gentle and courteous message from the barbarian, but he again bade us depart if we had no further mandates beyond what he already knew. We made no reply, and prepared to set out, though Bigilas insisted that we should feign to have some other communication to make. When I saw that Maximin was very dejected, I went to Scottas (one of the Hun nobles, brother of Onegesius), taking with me Rusticius, who understood the Hun language. He had come with us to Scythia, not as a member of the embassy, but on business with Constantius, an Italian whom Aetius had sent to Attila to be that monarch's private secretary. I informed Scottas, Rusticius acting as interpreter, that Maximin will give him many presents if he would procure him an interview with Attila; and, moreover, that the embassy will not only conduce to the public interests of the two powers, but to the private interest of

¹ Here is another mistranslation in Müller's Latin version, ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων Ναϊσσοῦ, *a montibus Naissi* (!). I

mention these instances to show that the translation must be used with caution.

Onegesius, for the Emperor desired that he should be sent as an ambassador to Byzantium, to arrange the disputes of the Huns and Romans, and that there he would receive splendid gifts. As Onegesius was not present it was for Scottas, I said, to help us, or rather help his brother, and at the same time prove that the report was true which ascribed to him an influence with Attila equal to that possessed by his brother. Scottas mounted his horse and rode to Attila's tent, while I returned to Maximin, and found him in a state of perplexity and anxiety, lying on the grass with Bigilas. I described my interview with Scottas, and bade him make preparations for an audience of Attila. They both jumped up, approving of what I had done, and recalled the men who had started with the beasts of burden. As we were considering what to say to Attila, and how to present the Emperor's gifts, Scottas came to fetch us, and we entered Attila's tent, which was surrounded by a multitude of barbarians. We found Attila sitting on a wooden chair. We stood at a little distance and Maximin advanced and saluted the barbarian, to whom he gave the Emperor's letter, saying that the Emperor prayed for the safety of him and his. The king replied, 'It shall be unto the Romans as they wish it to be unto me,' and immediately addressed Bigilas, calling him a shameless beast, and asking him why he ventured to come when all the deserters had not been given up.¹ . . .

"After the departure of Bigilas, who returned to the Empire (nominally to find the deserters whose restoration Attila demanded, but really to get the money for his fellow-conspirator Edecon), we remained one day in that place, and then set out with Attila for the northern parts of the country. We accompanied the barbarian for a time, but when we reached a certain point took another route by the command of the Scythians who conducted us, as Attila was proceeding to a village where he intended to marry the daughter of Eskam, though he had many other wives, for the Scythians practised polygamy. We proceeded along a level road in a plain and met with navigable rivers—of which the greatest, next to the Danube, are the Drecon, Tigas, and Tiphesas—which we crossed in the monoxyles, boats made of one piece, used by the dwellers on the banks: the smaller rivers we traversed on rafts which the barbarians carry about with them on carts, for the purpose of crossing morasses. In the villages we were supplied with food—millet instead of corn, and mead (*μέδος*), as the natives call it, instead of wine. The attendants who followed us received millet, and a drink made of barley, which the barbarians call *kam*. Late in the evening, having travelled a long distance, we pitched our tents on the banks of a fresh-water lake, used for water by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village. But a wind and storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning and heavy rain, arose, and almost threw down our tents; all our utensils were rolled into the waters of the lake. Terrified by the mishap and the atmospherical disturbance, we left the place and lost one another in the dark and the rain, each following the road that seemed most easy. But we all reached the village by different ways, and raised an

¹ Edecon had betrayed to Attila the design which he and Bigilas had formed against Attila's life. This was

the real reason of Attila's roughness towards the latter.

alarm to obtain what we lacked. The Scythians of the village sprang out of their huts at the noise, and, lighting the reeds which they use for kindling fires, asked what we wanted. Our conductors replied that the storm had alarmed us; so they invited us to their huts and provided warmth for us by lighting large fires of reeds. The lady who governed the village—she had been one of Bleda's wives—sent us provisions and good-looking girls to console us (this is a Scythian compliment). We treated the young women to a share in the entables, but declined to take any further advantage of their presence. We remained in the huts till day dawned and then went to look for our lost utensils, which we found partly in the place where we had pitched the tent, partly on the bank of the lake, and partly in the water. We spent that day in the village drying our things; for the storm had ceased and the sun was bright. Having looked after our horses and cattle, we directed our steps to the princess, to whom we paid our respects and presented gifts in return for her courtesy. The gifts consisted of things which are esteemed by the barbarians as not produced in the country—three silver *phialai*, red skins, Indian pepper, palm fruit, and other delicacies.

"Having advanced a distance of ten days further, we halted at a village; for as the rest of the route was the same for us and Attila, it behoved us to wait, so that he might go in front. Here we met with some of the 'western Romans,'¹ who had also come on an embassy to Attila—the Count Romulus, Promotus governor of Noricum, and Romanus a military captain. With them was Constantius whom Aetius had sent to Attila to be his secretary, and Tatulus, the father of Orestes; these two were not connected with the embassy, but were friends of the ambassadors. Constantius had known them of old in the Italies,² and Tatulus' son Orestes had married the daughter of Romulus.³

"The object of the embassy was to soften the soul of Attila, who demanded the surrender of one Silvanus, a silversmith (or banker) in Rome, because he had received golden vessels from a certain Constantius. This Constantius, a native of Gaul,⁴ had preceded his namesake in the office of secretary to Attila. When Sirmium in Pannonia was besieged by the

¹ It is worth observing how the Greek-speaking Romans spoke of their Latin-speaking fellow-subjects. Valentinian is described as *ὁ βασιλεύων τῶν ἑσπερίων Ῥωμαίων*. This, it need scarcely be remarked, does not imply that there was any idea afloat at the time of a western Roman Empire. Priscus calls the Latin language *τὴν Αὔσονων* "the tongue of the Ausonians" (p. 86), as opposed to "the tongue of the Hellenes." To speak Greek is *ἐλληνίζειν*.

² *ἐν ταῖς Ἰταλίαις*—that is, Italy with its appendages Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica; just as "the Gauls" meant Gaul and Spain. This use of the plural is parallel to the dual *Mitrau* in the Rig-Veda, which does not mean "the two Mitras," but "Mitra and Varuna," because these

gods generally went together (like Castor and Pollux). It is possible also that in a passage in the *Iliad* *Ἀλάρτε* does not mean the two Ajaxes, but Ajax Telamonius and his brother Teucer, as a writer in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* suggested.

³ Romulus and his daughter were of Patavio in Noricum. Orestes' son was called after his grandfather Romulus, and was the same as the famous and insignificant Emperor Romulus Augustulus who resigned in favour of Zeno in 476.

⁴ The way in which a Greek Roman spoke of Gaul deserves to be remarked: Gaul for him was "western Galatia": *ἐκ Γαλατῶν μὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσπερᾷ* (Priscus, p. 84).

Scythians, the bishop of the place consigned the vessels to his (Constantius') care, that if the city were taken and he survived they might be used to ransom him ; and in case he were slain, to ransom the citizens who were led into captivity. But when the city was enslaved, Constantius violated his engagement, and, as he happened to be at Rome on business, pawned the vessels to Silvanus for a sum of money, on condition that if he gave back the money within a prescribed period the dishes should be returned, but otherwise should become Silvanus' property. Constantius, suspected of treachery, was crucified by Attila and Bleda ; and afterwards, when the affair of the vessels became known to Attila, he demanded the surrender of Silvanus on the ground that he had stolen his property. Accordingly Aetius and the Emperor of the Western Romans sent to explain that Silvanus was Constantius' creditor, the vessels having been pawned and not stolen, and that he had sold them to priests and others for sacred purposes. If, however, Attila refused to desist from his demand, he, the Emperor, would send him the value of the vessels, but would not surrender the innocent Silvanus.

" Having waited for some time until Attila advanced in front of us, we proceeded, and having crossed some rivers we arrived at a large village, where Attila's house was said to be more splendid than his residences in other places. It was made of polished boards, and surrounded with a wooden enclosure, designed, not for protection, but for appearance. The house of Onegesius was second to the king's¹ in splendour, and was also encircled with a wooden enclosure, but it was not adorned with towers like that of the king. Not far from the enclosure was a large bath which Onegesius—who was the second in power among the Scythians—built, having transported the stones from Pannonia ; for the barbarians in this district had no stones or trees, but used imported material. The builder of the bath was a captive from Sirmium, who expected to win his freedom as payment for making the bath. But he was disappointed, and greater trouble befell him than mere captivity among the Scythians, for Onegesius appointed him bathman, and he used to minister to him and his family when they bathed.

" When Attila entered the village he was met by girls advancing in rows, under thin white canopies of linen, which were held up by the outside women who stood under them, and were so large that seven or more girls walked beneath each. There were many lines of damsels thus canopied, and they sang Scythian songs. When he came near the house of Onegesius, which lay on his way, the wife of Onegesius issued from the door, with a number of servants, bearing meat and wine, and saluted him and begged him to partake of her hospitality. This is the highest honour that can be shown among the Scythians. To gratify the wife of his friend, he ate, just as he sat on his horse, his attendants raising the tray to his saddlebow ; and having tasted the wine, he went on to the palace,

¹ Occasionally Priscus speaks of Attila as *ὁ βασιλεὺς*, a word which in the ordinary spoken language of the time was reserved for the Emperor, while the Latin *rex* might be used for a king.

Priscus, however, writes in a conventional prose, which avoids the expressions of the spoken tongue. *βασιλεὺς*, however, was still legitimately used of the Persian monarch.

which was higher than the other houses and built on an elevated site. But we remained in the house of Onegesius, at his invitation, for he had returned from his expedition with Attila's son. His wife and kinsfolk entertained us to dinner, for he had no leisure himself, as he had to relate to Attila the result of his expedition, and explain the accident which had happened to the young prince, who had slipped and broken his right hand. After dinner we left the house of Onegesius, and took up our quarters nearer the palace, so that Maximin might be at a convenient distance for visiting Attila or holding intercourse with his court. The next morning, at dawn of day, Maximin sent me to Onegesius, with presents offered by himself as well as those which the Emperor had sent, and I was to find out whether he would have an interview with Maximin and at what time. When I arrived at the house, along with the attendants who carried the gifts, I found the doors closed, and had to wait until some one should come out and announce our arrival. As I waited and walked up and down in front of the enclosure which surrounded the house, a man, whom from his Scythian dress I took for a barbarian, came up and addressed me in Greek, with the word Χαῖρε, 'Hail!' I was surprised at a Scythian speaking Greek. For the subjects of the Huns, swept together from various lands, speak, beside their own barbarous tongue, either Hunnic or Gothic,¹ or—as many as have commercial dealings with the western Romans—Latin; but none of them easily speak Greek, except captives from the Thracian or Illyrian sea-coast; and these last are easily known to any stranger by their torn garments and the squalor of their head, as men who have met with a reverse. This man, on the contrary, resembled a well-to-do Scythian, being well dressed, and having his hair cut in a circle after Scythian fashion. Having returned his salutation, I asked him who he was and whence he had come into a foreign land and adopted Scythian life. When he asked me why I wanted to know, I told him that his Hellenic speech had prompted my curiosity. Then he smiled and said that he was born a Greek² and had gone as a merchant to Viminacium, on the Danube, where he had stayed a long time, and married a very rich wife. But the city fell a prey to the barbarians, and he was stripped of his prosperity, and on account of his riches was allotted to Onegesius in the division of the spoil, as it was the custom among the Scythians for the chiefs to reserve for themselves the rich prisoners. Having fought bravely against the Romans and the Acatiri, he had paid the spoils he won to his master, and so obtained freedom. He then married a barbarian wife and had children, and had the privilege of partaking at the table of Onegesius.

"He considered his new life among the Scythians better than his old life among the Romans, and the reasons he urged were as follows: 'After war the Scythians live in inactivity, enjoying what they have got, and not at all, or very little, harassed. The Romans, on the other hand, are

¹ That is, Hunnic or Gothic were the recognised languages of the Hun empire, in which of course many barbarous Tartaric tongues were spoken.

² *ἔφη Γραικὸς μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος* (p. 86),

Γραικός, not *Ἕλλην*, a Greek, not a *Hellene*, which would mean a pagan. *Ἑλληνικός* and *ἐλληνίζειν* were still used in their old sense; and we even meet *τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν*.

in the first place very liable to perish in war, as they have to rest their hopes of safety on others, and are not allowed, on account of their *tyrants*, to use arms. And those who use them are injured by the cowardice of their generals, who cannot support the conduct of war. But the condition of the subjects in time of peace is far more grievous than the evils of war, for the exaction of the taxes is very severe, and unprincipled men inflict injuries on others, because the laws are practically not valid against all classes. A transgressor who belongs to the wealthy classes is not punished for his injustice, while a poor man, who does not understand business, undergoes the legal penalty, that is if he does not depart this life before the trial, so long is the course of lawsuits protracted, and so much money is expended on them. The climax of the misery is to have to pay in order to obtain justice. For no one will give a court to the injured man except he pay a sum of money to the judge and the judge's clerks.'

"In reply to this attack on the Empire, I asked him to be good enough to listen with patience to the other side of the question. 'The creators of the Roman republic,' I said, 'who were wise and good men, in order to prevent things from being done at haphazard, made one class of men guardians of the laws, and appointed another class to the profession of arms, who were to have no other object than to be always ready for battle, and to go forth to war without dread, as though to their ordinary exercise, having by practice exhausted all their fear beforehand. Others again were assigned to attend to the cultivation of the ground, to support both themselves and those who fight in their defence, by contributing the military corn-supply. . . . To those who protect the interests of the litigants a sum of money is paid by the latter, just as a payment is made by the farmers to the soldiers. Is it not fair to support him who assists and requite him for his kindness? The support of the horse benefits the horseman. . . . Those who spend money on a suit and lose it in the end cannot fairly put it down to anything but the injustice of their case. And as to the long time spent on lawsuits, that is due to concern for justice, that judges may not fail in passing accurate judgments, by having to give sentence offhand; it is better that they should reflect, and conclude the case more tardily, than that by judging in a hurry they should both injure man and transgress against the Deity, the institutor of justice. . . . The Romans treat their servants better than the king of the Scythians treats his subjects. They deal with them as fathers or teachers, admonishing them to abstain from evil and follow the lines of conduct which they have esteemed honourable; they reprove them for their errors like their own children. They are not allowed, like the Scythians, to inflict death on them. They have numerous ways of conferring freedom; they can manumit not only during life, but also by their wills, and the testamentary wishes of a Roman in regard to his property are law.'¹

"My interlocutor shed tears, and confessed that the laws and constitution of the Romans were fair, but deplored that the governors, not possessing the spirit of former generations, were ruining the State.

¹ This passage is interesting as an illustration of the attitude of the higher classes in the Empire to slavery in the fifth century.

"As we were engaged in this discussion a servant came out and opened the door of the enclosure. I hurried up, and inquired how Onegesius was engaged, for I desired to give him a message from the Roman ambassador. He replied that I should meet him if I waited a little, as he was about to go forth. And after a short time I saw him coming out, and addressed him, saying, 'The Roman ambassador salutes you, and I have come with gifts from him, and with the gold which the Emperor sent you. The ambassador is anxious to meet you, and begs you to appoint a time and place.' Onegesius bade his servants receive the gold and the gifts, and told me to announce to Maximin that he would go to him immediately. I delivered the message, and Onegesius appeared in the tent without delay. He expressed his thanks to Maximin and the Emperor for the presents, and asked why he sent for him. Maximin said that the time had come for Onegesius to have greater renown among men, if he would go to the Emperor, and by his wisdom arrange the objects of dispute between the Romans and Huns, and establish concord between them; and thereby he will also procure many advantages for his own family, as he and his children will be always friends of the Emperor and the imperial race.¹ Then Onegesius inquired what measures would gratify the Emperor, and how he could arrange the disputes. Maximin replied: 'If you cross into the lands of the Roman Empire you will lay the Emperor under an obligation, and you will arrange the matters at issue by investigating their causes and deciding them on the basis of the peace. Onegesius said he would inform the Emperor and his ministers of Attila's wishes, but the Romans need not think they could ever prevail with him to betray his master or neglect his Scythian training and his wives and children, or to prefer wealth among the Romans to bondage with Attila. He added that he would be of more service to the Romans by remaining in his own land and softening the anger of his master, if he were indignant for aught with the Romans, than by visiting them and subjecting himself to blame if he made arrangements that Attila did not approve of. He then retired, having consented that I should act as intermediate in conveying messages from Maximin to himself, for it would not have been consistent with Maximin's dignity as ambassador to visit him constantly.

"The next day I entered the enclosure of Attila's palace, bearing gifts to his wife, whose name was Kreka. She had three sons, of whom the eldest governed the Acatiri and the other nations who dwell in Pontic Scythia. Within the enclosure were numerous buildings, some of carved boards beautifully fitted together, others of straight planed beams, without carving, fastened on round wooden blocks which rose to a moderate height from the ground. Attila's wife lived here, and, having been admitted by the barbarians at the door, I found her reclining on a soft couch. The floor of the room was covered with woollen mats for walking on. A number

¹ It is worth while noticing this expression τῷ ἐκείνου γένει, which unintentionally expresses the general idea that the Roman Empire was hereditary. Theoretically it was not

hereditary (see p. 227), but it would have been treasonable to hint that any one but a relative (a son, if there were sons) of the reigning Emperor might succeed him.

of servants stood round her, and maids sitting on the floor in front of her embroidered with colours linen cloths intended to be placed over the Scythian dress for ornament. Having approached, saluted her, and presented the gifts, I went out, and walked to the other houses, where Attila was, and waited for Onegesius, who, as I knew, was with Attila. I stood in the middle of a great crowd—the guards of Attila and his attendants knew me, and so no one hindered me. I saw a number of people advancing, and a great commotion and noise, Attila's egress being expected. And he came forth from the house with a dignified strut, looking round on this side and on that. He was accompanied by Onegesius, and stood in front of the house; and many persons who had lawsuits with one another came up and received his judgment. Then he returned into the house, and received ambassadors of barbarous peoples.

"As I was waiting for Onegesius, I was accosted by Romulus and Promotus and Romanus, the ambassadors who had come from Italy about the golden vessels; they were accompanied by Rusticius and by Constantiolus, a man from the Pannonian territory, which was subjected to Attila. They asked me whether we had been dismissed or are constrained to remain, and I replied that it was just to learn this from Onegesius that I was waiting outside the palace. When I inquired in my turn whether Attila had vouchsafed them a kind reply, they told me that his decision could not be moved, and that he threatened war unless either Silvanus or the drinking vessels should be given up. . . .

"As we were talking about the state of the world, Onegesius came out; we went up to him and asked him about our concerns. Having first spoken with some barbarians, he bade me inquire of Maximin what consular the Romans are sending as an ambassador to Attila. When I came to our tent I delivered the message to Maximin, and deliberated with him what answer we should make to the question of the barbarian. Returning to Onegesius, I said that the Romans desired him to come to them and adjust the matters of dispute, otherwise the Emperor will send whatever ambassador he chooses. He then bade me fetch Maximin, whom he conducted to the presence of Attila. Soon after Maximin came out, and told me that the barbarian wished Nomos or Anatolius or Senator to be the ambassador, and that he would not receive any other than one of these three; when he (Maximin) replied that it was not meet to mention men by name and so render them suspected in the eyes of the Emperor, Attila said that if they do not choose to comply with his wishes the differences will be adjusted by arms.

"When we returned to our tent the father of Orestes came with an invitation from Attila for both of us to a banquet at three o'clock. When the hour arrived we went to the palace, along with the embassy from the western Romans, and stood on the threshold of the hall in the presence of Attila. The cup-bearers gave us a cup, according to the national custom, that we might pray before we sat down. Having tasted the cup, we proceeded to take our seats; all the chairs were ranged along the walls of the room on either side. Attila sat in the middle on a couch; a second couch was set behind him, and from it steps led up to his bed, which was covered with linen sheets and wrought coverlets for ornament, such as

Greeks¹ and Romans use to deck bridal beds. The places on the right of Attila were held chief in honour, those on the left, where we sat, were only second. Berichus, a noble among the Scythians, sat on our side, but had the precedence of us. Onegesius sat on a chair on the right of Attila's couch, and over against Onegesius on a chair sat two of Attila's sons; his eldest son sat on his couch, not near him, but at the extreme end, with his eyes fixed on the ground, in shy respect for his father. When all were arranged, a cupbearer came and handed Attila a wooden cup of wine. He took it, and saluted the first in precedence, who, honoured by the salutation, stood up, and might not sit down until the king, having tasted or drained the wine, returned the cup to the attendant. All the guests then honoured Attila in the same way, saluting him, and then tasting the cups; but he did not stand up. Each of us had a special cupbearer, who would come forward in order to present the wine, when the cupbearer of Attila retired. When the second in precedence and those next to him had been honoured in like manner, Attila toasted us in the same way according to the order of the seats. When this ceremony was over the cupbearers retired, and tables, large enough for three or four, or even more, to sit at, were placed next the table of Attila, so that each could take of the food on the dishes without leaving his seat. The attendant of Attila first entered with a dish full of meat, and behind him came the other attendants with bread and viands, which they laid on the tables. A luxurious meal, served on silver plate, had been made ready for us and the barbarian guests, but Attila ate nothing but meat on a wooden trencher. In everything else, too, he showed himself temperate; his cup was of wood, while to the guests were given goblets of gold and silver. His dress, too, was quite simple, affecting only to be clean. The sword he carried at his side, the latchets of his Scythian shoes, the bridle of his horse were not adorned, like those of the other Scythians, with gold or gems or anything costly. When the viands of the first course had been consumed we all stood up, and did not resume our seats until each one, in the order before observed, drank to the health of Attila in the goblet of wine presented to him. We then sat down, and a second dish was placed on each table with eatables of another kind. After this course the same ceremony was observed as after the first. When evening fell torches were lit, and two barbarians coming forward in front of Attila sang songs they had composed, celebrating his victories and deeds of valour in war. And of the guests, as they looked at the singers, some were pleased with the verses, others reminded of wars were excited in their souls, while yet others, whose bodies were feeble with age and their spirits compelled to rest, shed tears. After the songs a Scythian, whose mind was deranged, appeared, and by uttering outlandish and senseless words forced the company to laugh. After him Zerkon, the Moorish dwarf, entered. He had been sent by Attila as a gift to Aetius, and Edecon had persuaded him to come to Attila in order to recover his wife, whom he had left behind him in Scythia; the lady was a Scythian whom he had obtained in marriage

¹ Ἕλληνες τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι. In using this expression Priscus had ancient times in his mind—times when the

Greeks were not Romans, but Ἕλληνες, and when Ἕλληνας was not opposed to Χριστιανός.

through the influence of his patron Bleda. He did not succeed in recovering her, for Attila was angry with him for returning. On the occasion of the banquet he made his appearance, and threw all except Attila into fits of unquenchable laughter by his appearance, his dress, his voice, and his words, which were a confused jumble of Latin, Hunnic, and Gothic. Attila, however, remained immovable and of unchanging countenance, nor by word or act did he betray anything approaching to a smile of merriment except at the entry of Ernas, his youngest son, whom he pulled by the cheek, and gazed on with a calm look of satisfaction. I was surprised that he made so much of this son, and neglected his other children ; but a barbarian who sat beside me and knew Latin, bidding me not reveal what he told, gave me to understand that prophets had forewarned Attila that his race would fall, but would be restored by this boy. When the night had advanced we retired from the banquet, not wishing to assist further at the potations."

It will be noticed that in the foregoing narrative the word Scythian and the word Hun seem at first sight to be used indifferently. A certain distinction between them can, however, be perceived, and therefore, though they are most often practically synonymous, I have reproduced both words in the translation just as they occur in the original. Scythian is not merely an ancient term applied to a new people, in the same way as the Goths and the Slaves were often called Getae by pedantic historians ; Scythian was a generic term for all nomadic nations, and as a great many different nomadic nations were united under the sovereignty of Attila, it was a very convenient and natural name to apply to his subjects. The Huns, Attila's own nation, were Scythians, but all Scythians were not Huns. And thus, to use a more modern distinction, we might say that Attila was king of the Huns and emperor of the Scythians.

BOOK III
THE HOUSE OF LEO THE GREAT

VOL. I

Q

CHAPTER I

LEO I

THE Roman Empire never recognised explicitly the principle of hereditary succession; the title of Imperator or Augustus was always conferred by the army, with which the office had been originally so closely connected. At the same time a natural instinct led Emperors to wish that their sons or members of their own house should succeed them; and by adopting the plan of nominating a successor in their lifetime, and securing his recognition by the army as a Caesar or Augustus, Emperors could found a dynasty without violating the theory that the elevation to the throne was elective. Accordingly the Empire tended to become practically hereditary while it was theoretically elective; and the constant examples of claims to the crown founded on relationship prove that there was a feeling that heredity involved a right.¹

It was always a critical moment when a dynasty ended without a designated successor, or a member of the family who cared to claim the crown. Theodosius I. had created his son Arcadius Augustus; Arcadius had given that title to his infant son Theodosius II; Theodosius had designated Marcian as his successor before his death, Marcian's title being sealed by his marriage with the Empress Pulcheria. On Marcian's death the Theodosian dynasty had come to an end, and the choice of a new Emperor rested with the army, whose consent was

¹ Diocletian saw the danger of this tendency, and his system of two Augusti and two Caesars was designed to guard against it; but Constantine undid his work in this respect. The

great danger was the devolution of the Empire on princes who were weak or afflicted, like Commodus, with *Kaiserwahn Sinn*.

in every case necessary. The man of most authority in the army was the general Aspar (*magister militum per orientem*), an Alan by descent, who with his father Ardaburius had distinguished himself thirty-five years before in suppressing the usurper John and helping Valentinian III to his legitimate succession. Aspar's position in the East resembled that of Ricimer in the West. He and his three sons, being Arians and foreigners, could not hope to sit on the imperial throne; and thus the only course open to Aspar was to secure the elevation of one on whose pliancy he might count. He chose Leo, a native of Dacia and an orthodox Christian, who was steward of his own household. Thus Aspar, like Ricimer, was a king-maker. But when Leo assumed the purple (7th February)—on which occasion the ceremony of coronation by the Patriarch of Constantinople (then Anatolius), was first introduced—he did not prove as amenable to influence as Aspar had hoped; on the contrary, he took measures to reduce the resources of Aspar's family, which by its close relations with the army had considerable power, and was the centre of a large faction of Arians and barbarians. In fact Aspar, though an Alan and not a German, was the representative of German influence in the Empire, and the danger which had threatened the Empire in the reign of Arcadius through the power of Gainas was now repeated. Leo however firmly resisted the aggressiveness of this influence, and in order to neutralise the great fact which worked in Aspar's favour, namely that the bulk and flower of the army consisted of Germans, he formed the plan of recruiting the line from native subjects. For this purpose he chose the hardy race of Isaurian mountaineers, who lived almost like an independent people, little touched by the influence of Hellenism, in the wild regions of Mount Taurus. This is Leo's great original work, for which he deserves the title "Great," more than for his orthodoxy,¹ for which he probably received it. He conceived an idea, whose execution, begun by himself and carried out by his successor, counteracted that danger of German preponderance which threatened the State throughout the fifth century.

¹ Leo was popular with the Church. He received high eulogies from his namesake, the bishop of Rome, and

from the bishops of the East. See the citations of Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* vi. p. 364.

Aspar appears to have possessed all the characteristics of an untutored barbarian. Brave and active in war, he was idle and frivolous in peace. During the reign of Marcian, and doubtless also in the reign of Leo, while the Empire enjoyed rest, "he betook himself to relaxation and womanly ease. His pleasures consisted in actors and jugglers and all stage amusements, and spending his time on these ill-famed occupations he lost all count of the things that make for glory."¹ But if he was no longer active as a warrior, he won repute in the humbler part of an energetic citizen or a competent policeman, for in the great fire which laid waste a large part of Constantinople in 465 it is recorded that Aspar exerted himself unsparingly for the public interest.

Leo had made a promise, apparently at the time of his elevation, to raise one of Aspar's sons to the rank of Caesar, and thereby designate him as his successor, in spite of the fact that he was a barbarian. When he delayed to perform this promise, Aspar is said to have seized him by his purple robe and said, "Emperor, it is not meet that he who wears this robe should speak falsely;" to which Leo replied, "Nor yet is it meet that he should be constrained and driven like a slave." This story, which may be true, shows the relations which existed between the king and the kingmaker—the firmness of Leo, the persistence of Aspar. On this occasion, however, Leo yielded, and created one of Aspar's sons Caesar; but the concession was displeasing to the senate and to the orthodox population of Byzantium, as it was a direct encouragement to the Arian party. It appears that a deputation of orthodox clergy and laymen waited on the Emperor, imploring him to appoint a Caesar who did not hold heretical views, and that there were riots and seditions in the city, a protest against the new Caesar.² We may say that the chief political feature of the reign was a sort of duel between the Emperor and the general for power and popularity. When Leo undertook the great naval expedition, which but for the incapacity of the commander would have exterminated the kingdom of the Vandals and made his reign really glorious, Aspar was jealous of the fame that Leo might probably gain, and seems to have wished to thwart its success by obtaining the nomination of

¹ Priscus, p. 20.

² Zonaras, vol. iii. p. 251 (ed. Dindorf).

Basiliscus, an incompetent commander, who was perhaps disloyal and certainly avaricious.

The struggle came to a critical point in some matter connected with two unknown persons (Tatian and Vivian),¹ and it was then that Leo decided to have recourse to the Isaurians. In this project he was supported by the Isaurian Zeno, who became his son-in-law.² Thereupon Ardaburius, the son of Aspar, attempted to gain over the Isaurians to his father's faction, but these intrigues were betrayed to Zeno. Leo then resorted to the abrupt measure of putting to death Aspar and his son Ardaburius (471 A.D.)³ In consequence of this act, which was probably unwise, the Emperor received the name of "Butcher" (*makelles*). An attempt was also made to kill Patricius, the son of Aspar who had been created Caesar, but he recovered from his wounds; while a third son, Ermenaric, escaped, happening to be absent. It has been said that Leo's motive in removing Aspar and his sons was to secure the succession of his own infant grandson Leo; he may have feared that he would be unable to hold his own against the powerful barbarian family. But the whole drama has a deeper significance as a repetition of that struggle between Roman and barbarian elements in the Empire, which in the days of Arcadius was decided in favour of the former.

The most striking event of Leo's reign was the enormous "Armada," already referred to, which he organised against the kingdom of Gaiseric the Vandal, who had become a formidable foe of the Empire in the Mediterranean waters, but of this it will be more convenient to speak in the following chapter.

Leo was a man of no education, but of natural good sense. He pursued, as we already remarked, the policy of Anthemius and Marcian, and placed a limit on fiscal oppression. Malchus, the historian, who detested Leo and condemned his civil policy as ruinously rapacious, says that he was a sewer of all wicked-

¹ Candidus, p. 135 (*F. H. G.* iv.)

² Zeno married Ariadne in 458 or 459; Theoph. 5951 A.M. Five years later he became *mag. mil. per or.* At the end of 469 or early in 470 (*ib.* 5962) an attempt was made on his life in Thrace by the wiles of Aspar; but he escaped to Sardica. "Hence Aspar becomes suspected by the Emperor

Leo," according to the chronicler. It should be noted that Zeno is said to have aided the escape of Aspar's son Ermenaric (*ib.* 5964).

³ After the death of Aspar there was an unimportant Gothic rising led by Ostrys, Aspar's squire, whence the Byzantine proverb, "No one is a friend of the dead except Ostrys."

ness, but admits that his subjects, as well as foreigners, considered him "most fortunate," and we may conclude that his reign was on the whole prosperous, though his military operations were unsuccessful.¹ In regard to Malchus' accusations we must remember, on the one hand, that he hated Leo for his religious bigotry, and, on the other hand, that in spite of all alleviations the mode of collecting taxes, combined with the fatal growth of centralisation, gradually wore away the resources of the provinces and affected disastrously their social and moral life. We must judge of an Emperor's civil policy relatively, not absolutely.

Like Marcian, Leo was solicitous to relieve provincial towns that had suffered disasters,² and his clemency was celebrated by his admirers. He is reported to have said that a king should distribute pity to those on whom he looks, as the sun distributes heat to those on whom it shines.

A curious detail has survived regarding the manner in which petitioners addressed themselves to him.³ His unmarried sister resided in a house in the south-west corner of the Augusteum, close to the hippodrome. The Emperor used to pay her a visit with affectionate regularity every week, "because she was modest and a virgin." She erected a statue to him beside her house, and there seems to have been some contrivance in the pillar like a modern letter-box, in which petitioners used to place their memorials (*πιττάκια*), and every week one of the imperial staff used to collect them.

Towards the end of his reign the commerce of the Empire met with a serious blow by the loss of Jotaba, an important depôt on the Red Sea. This leads us to give an account of the Persian (Nocalian) adventurer Amorkesos, who "whether he thought that he was not treated with due consideration in Persia, or for some other reason preferred Roman territory, migrated thence to the adjacent province of Arabia." There he supported himself as a brigand, making raids, not on the Romans, but on the Scenite Saracens. His power gradually increased, and he seized the island of Jotaba, which belonged to the Romans, and, driving out the Greek custom-

¹ In the acts of the councils there are dark allusions to a great victory obtained by Leo's arms in Pontus. Tillemont, *op. cit.* vi. 367.

² Antioch was laid in ruins by an earthquake in 458. The public edifices were rebuilt by the Emperor (Evagr. ii. 12).

³ Codinus, p. 36.

officers, he instituted himself master of it, and soon became wealthy by receiving the dues from traders. He made himself ruler of some other communes in the neighbourhood, and conceived the desire of becoming a phylarch or satrap of the Saracens of Arabia Petraea, who were nominally dependent on the Roman Emperor. He sent an ecclesiastic to Leo to negotiate the matter, and Leo graciously signified his wish to have a personal interview with Amorkesos. When the latter arrived, he shared the imperial table, was admitted to the meetings of the senate, and even honoured with precedence over the patricians. The Byzantines, it appears, were much scandalised at these privileges accorded to a Persian fire-worshipper, and Leo seems to have been obliged to pretend that his guest intended to become a Christian. On his departure Leo gave him a valuable picture in mosaic,¹ and compelled the members of the senate to present him with other gifts; and, what was more important, he transferred to him the permanent possession of Jotaba, and added more villages to those which he already governed, granting him also the coveted title of phylarch. Malchus finds fault with Leo severely for the invitation of Amorkesos to his court, on the principle that what is distant is most dazzling; and says that it was impolitic to allow the foreigner to see the towns, through which he had to travel, unarmed and defenceless.

One of the great conflagrations which so often destroyed the buildings of Constantinople broke out in 465. The fire ran both from east to west and from north to south, laying waste a wide area, and lasting for four days. The splendid senate house, which had been erected after the destruction of Julian's senate house by fire in the reign of Arcadius, was burnt down, and also the Nymphaeum, directly opposite to it, a building in which those who had not houses of their own used to celebrate their weddings. Countless magnificent residences of private persons were destroyed. It is said that Aspar ran about the streets with a pail of water on his shoulders, urging the people to follow his example, and offering each a silver nummus (*nomisma*) as pay for his activity. There is no hint of the existence of a fire brigade at Constantinople.

¹ *εἰκόνα τινά χρυσῇ καὶ κατάλιθον*—mosaic work on a gold ground. See Malchus, fr. 1.

There were still many pagans in the days of Leo, and we must not omit to notice the case of Isocasius, a native of Aegae in Cilicia and a citizen of Antioch, who was accused and tried on the charge of paganism. His case was to be judged by the governor of Bithynia, but Jacobus,¹ the court physician, a remarkable man of that time, who was so much beloved by the higher classes that the senate erected a statue to him in the baths of Zeuxippus, and who, as well as a physician, was an excellent rhetor and philosopher, interfered in his behalf, and obtained Leo's consent that he should be tried in Byzantium by the praetorian prefect Pusaeus. "Do you see in what position you stand," asked the prefect. "I see, and am not surprised," was the reply, "for I am human, and human misfortunes have befallen me. But do you judge me with impartial justice, as you used to judge along with me."² Then Isocasius was led away to the church of St. Sophia and baptized.

Leo died on the 3d of February 474, having previously nominated as his successor his grandson Leo, a young child. His wife, Verina, was an ambitious woman who played a considerable part in the Byzantine world after his death. He had two daughters, Ariadne, who married Zeno the Isaurian, and Leontia, the wife of Marcian, son of Anthemius.

¹ Jacobus, although a pagan, was employed by Leo. Cf. Marcellinus, *Chron. ad ann. 462*. The notices in Photius and Suidas are presumably derived from the lost histories of Priscus and Malchus.

² Pusaeus and Isocasius had once been colleagues (Theophanes, 5960 A.M.)

CHAPTER II

RICIMER THE PATRICIAN

It was a critical moment in Italy after the death of Valentinian III (455), as there was no male heir of the house of Theodosius. There had been similar situations before, as in 68, when the Julian-Claudian house came to an end; as in 190, when Commodus had died without issue; as in 363, after the death of Julian. Military riots were inevitable, a civil war was possible; and we read in a trustworthy historian¹: "After this Rome was in a state of disturbance and confusion, and the military forces were divided into two factions, one wishing to elevate Maximus, the other supporting Maximian, a certain Egyptian merchant, who had been successful in Italy and become the steward of Aetius." A third possible candidate was Majorian, the brother-at-arms of Aetius, with whom he had fought against the Franks, and he had the good wishes of Eudoxia, the widowed Empress. Maximus' command of money² decided the event in his favour, even as Pertinax had won the Imperium in 190 by bribing the praetorian guards.

He endeavoured to secure himself on the throne by forcing Eudoxia to marry him, and if she had consented, it is just possible that his subjects might have rallied round him and that he might have reigned not brilliantly but securely like Honorius or Valentinian. But Petronius Maximus, though he was a member of the noble Anician house, was not like Marcian; he was not one whom an Augusta would condescend

¹ John of Antioch, fr. 201, 206. His account deserves credit because he drew his information from the contemporary Priscus; it is, moreover, internally probable.

² In a letter to Serranus, a friend of Maximus, Sidonius Apollinaris notes the wealth of Maximus (*Ep.* ii. 13).

to marry, even for cogent political reasons. If he was really related to British Maximus, who had been subdued by Theodosius, the great-granddaughter of Theodosius had perhaps not forgotten it; but the widow of Valentinian must have known or suspected the instigator of her lord's murder. In any case, the new Augustus was a paltry person, and Eudoxia hated or despised him so much that she is said to have taken the bold and fatal step of summoning Gaiseric the Vandal to overthrow the tyrant,—an act almost worthy of her sister-in-law Honoria. But in this crude shape we can hardly accept the story; John of Antioch mentions it in language which implies that he did not consider it well attested; it was "told by some."¹ The true account seems to be that Gaiseric came of his own accord, seeing that it was a good opportunity for attacking Italy, and considering that the death of Aetius and Valentinian released him from the treaty of 435, which he regarded as a contract made with them personally, not with the Roman republic. The story of the invitation of Eudoxia will then reduce itself to the probability that, vexed by the importunities and threats of Petronius Maximus, she welcomed Gaiseric on his arrival in Italy as a deliverer from an abhorred oppressor.

On the approach of Gaiseric, Maximus, deserted by his supporters, determined to flee from Rome. His departure was attended with riots, and the tyrant was killed by a stone which a soldier cast at him as he was riding from the gates.²

Three days later—it was in the first week of June 455—Gaiseric and his Vandals entered Rome. For fourteen days they abode in the city and plundered, but the intervention of Pope Leo and the Church, although it did not protect the city against pillage, violence, and vandalism,³ seems at least to have preserved it from the evils of massacre and conflagration.

The monarch of the Vandals ravaged Campania, and loaded his ships with the precious things of Rome. He carried with him the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, Eudocia and Placidia. Gaiseric had conceived the idea of an alliance with

¹ οὐ δὲ φασι (John of Antioch, fr. 201, 206).

² *Ib.* Jordanes (*Get.* 45) notices that Maximus was afraid of the foederati.

³ Compare Prosper of Aquitaine, *nec ab ecclesiarum despoliatione abstinens quas et sacris vasibus exinanitis et sacer-*

dotum administratione privatas non jam divini cultus loca sed suorum jussit esse habitacula in universum captivi populi ordinem sacrus sed praecepit nobilitati et religioni infensus ut non discernetur hominibus magis an Deo bellum intulisset.

the Theodosian house. It was no new idea; Athaulf the Visigoth had married Placidia, and Attila had perhaps wished to marry Honoria. It was not strange that a marriage should be determined on between Huneric and Eudocia.

The question was, who was to be Emperor? At Rome things had come to a deadlock, but on this occasion Gaul intervened. Marcus Maecilius Avitus, the man who had fought by the side of Aetius, and had, in the great crisis of Europe, decided by his persuasions the king of Tolosa to march with the Romans against the Scythians, was proclaimed Emperor, first at Tolosa and then at Arelate (9th July 455). It is important to observe that it was by the united voices of the Visigoths and the Gallo-Romans¹ that he was called to fill the vacant throne as the successor of Maximus, from whom he had received the appointment of master of soldiers. Of his short reign we hear little, though his son-in-law, Sidonius Apollinaris the poet, has recorded many personal details about the man himself. We know, however, that it was marked by successes against German enemies, and here again it is important to notice that the Visigoths identified themselves with the Empire.

The Suevian general, Count Ricimer, who now makes his entry on the stage, was sent by Avitus to Sicily to operate against the fleet of the Vandals. Marcian, who did not hesitate to recognise Avitus, had already sent an embassy to Gaiseric to remonstrate with him on his Italian expedition and on the captivity of the imperial ladies. The arms or skill of Count Ricimer now administered a blow to the Vandalic navy, according to one account in Sicilian waters, according to another statement in the neighbourhood of Corsica (456).²

While Suevian Ricimer protected one part of the Empire against the Vandals, Theodoric II, king of the Visigoths, was protecting another part of the Empire against the Suevians. In conjunction with the Burgundians, and at the instance of Avitus, he invaded Spain³; he defeated the dwellers in Gallaccia, who harried Roman territory, in the great battle of Urbicus (near

¹ His friends told Avitus that on his elevation depended the safety of the world — *tibi pareat orbis nunc percat*

(Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* vii. 517).

² See the *Chronicle* of Idatius.

³ Jordanes, *Get.* 44; Idatius, *Chron.*

Astorga)¹; he took the town of Bracara, where the Roman Count Asterius had in former days slaughtered the Vandals of Gunderic; and he put to death the Suevian king Rechiar. This was a mortal blow to Suevic power, and paved the way for Visigothic Hispania.

Avitus meanwhile had crossed the Alps. It seems to have been hardly a prudent step; it seems to have been hardly necessary. At all events it made his position untenable. We may well ask why he did not decide to add Arelate to the number of imperial capitals—the city where he had many friends, the city which had received him first, and which was not too far from friendly Tolosa. But Arelate, the capital of the illegitimate Constantine, did not seem a suitable residence to legitimate Avitus. He abandoned the city of the Rhone to take up his abode in the city of the Tiber. But there he was not welcome; he was looked upon as a sort of interloper, of insufficiently defined position. He was acceptable neither to the army nor to the senate, and his behaviour does not appear to have tended to make him popular. The circumstances of his fall are thus related by a historian, who, we are justified in supposing, derived his facts from the contemporary writer Priscus²:—

“When Avitus reigned at Rome there was famine in the city, and the people blaming Avitus compelled him to remove from the city of the Romans the allies from Gaul who had entered it along with him (that so there might be fewer mouths to feed). He also dismissed the Goths whom he had brought for the protection of Rome, having distributed among them money which he obtained by selling to merchants bronze stripped from public works, for there was no gold in the imperial treasury. This excited the Romans to revolt when they saw their city stripped of its adornments.

“But Majorian and Ricimer, no longer held in fear of the Goths, openly rebelled, so that Avitus was constrained—terrified on the one hand by the prospect of internal troubles, on the other hand by the hostilities of the Vandals—to withdraw from Rome and set out for Gaul. But Majorian and Ricimer attacked him on the road and forced him to flee into a sanctuary, where he abdicated the throne and put off his imperial apparel. But Majorian's soldiers did not cease to blockade him, until he died of starvation, after a reign of eight months; others say that he was strangled.”

¹ 5th October 456 (Idatius). The successes of the expedition were almost synchronous with the fall of their initiator Avitus.

² John of Antioch, fr. 202. This

notice is our sole authority for the vandalism of Avitus, which, I have no doubt, was the direct cause of Majorian's law for the preservation of public buildings.

According to another account Avitus reached Gaul safely, and there collected an army with which he crossed the Alps once more to assert his contemned authority, but Count Ricimer routed him at Placentia; he was deposed from the throne and made bishop of the city which witnessed his discomfiture (October 456).

The deposition of Avitus caused a new crisis. It is quite conceivable that at this juncture, or at the death of Valentinian in the year before, the western line of Emperors might have ceased to exist, as it ceased to exist twenty years later. In 476 the presence of the barbarian Odovacar was an essential element in the situation, but in 455 or in 456 the only barbarian whom we can conceive as acting the part of Odovacar was the Vandal Gaiseric. A temporary cessation of a separate imperial rule in the West did, however, take place on several occasions before the deposition of Romulus Augustulus. One of these temporary cessations followed on the overthrow of Avitus. These intervals are often called *interregnums*; it is natural to say that from October 456 to April 457 there was an *interregnum* in the West. And the expression really represents the actual situation; but we must not forget that, from a theoretical point of view, the expression is not correct. Legally, Marcian was the sole head of the Empire from the fall of Avitus to his own death at the end of January 457, and Leo was the sole head of the Empire from the death of Marcian to the elevation of Majorian.

It has often been remarked that at the beginning of 457 the situation in Italy was similar to the situation in Constantinople.¹ In both cases the solution of the difficulty depended on the action of a military leader of barbarian birth; Aspar held a similar position to that of Ricimer. Both were the makers of Emperors; neither aspired to be an Emperor himself.

The elevation of Julius Valerius Majorian, the man who had fought with Aetius, the man who had been the chosen

¹ Von Ranke has expressed this very well in the following sentence: "Vergewärtigt man sich die Situation die damit eintrat, so besteht ihr Wesen vornehmlich darin, dass nun in den beiden Reichstheilen der Gegensatz der effectiven Macht zu der bisherigen

Ordnung der Dinge in volle Evidenz gelangte." The supports of Theodosius and Valentinian had been hidden, as it were, by a curtain; the curtain was removed (456-457) and the German supporters stood revealed.

candidate of Eudoxia after the death of Valentinian, and who had combined with Ricimer to suppress Avitus, took place on the 1st April.¹ This elevation rested on a very different combination from that which had crowned Avitus; it was initiated by the proposal of the Emperor Leo, and obtained the consent of Ricimer. It was also acceptable to the Roman senate, for Majorian was a thorough Roman. The laws which he passed during his reign for the preservation of the buildings of Rome were a direct reflection on his predecessor Avitus.²

There were two tasks to be accomplished by the new Augustus, both necessary for the security of his seat on the throne. He must, in the first place, quell the Gallo-Roman and Visigothic opposition, and subdue or conciliate the provincials who had been roused to wrath by the death of Avitus. It was the reverse problem, the conciliation of Roman and Italian goodwill, that the Gallic Avitus had been called upon to solve, and it was because he failed therein that he had fallen. It is evident that at this period the enmity between the Romans and the Gallic provincials had an important influence on public affairs. Majorian entered Gaul with an army, and found the Burgundians—the friends of Avitus—in league with the citizens of Lugdunensis Prima against himself.³ A conciliation, however, was effected with the help of Avitus' son-in-law Sidonius, and Majorian advanced to the relief of Arelate, which the Visigoths were besieging. As Aetius had driven Theodoric back thirty years before, so Aegidius, Majorian's general, drove back a new Theodoric from the walls; and most firm compacts of peace were made between the Augustus Majorian and the King Theodoric.⁴

Majorian had accomplished the first task, but the other was harder. It was absolutely indispensable that an Emperor, whose reign was to be permanent, should win universal confidence

¹ In February he had been made *magister militum*.

² The address of Majorian to the senate (*Novella i. de ortu imperii divi Majoriani*) is a manifesto which announces the inauguration of a new era (see above, p. 30). Ricimer is thus mentioned: *Evil apud nos cum parente patricioque nostro Ricimere rei militaris pervigil cura*. His diligence in relieving the oppression of the curial system has

been noticed elsewhere. His first Novel, *de aedificiis publicis* (dated Ravenna, 11th July 458), provides for the preservation of the public buildings, and checks the "discolouring of the face of the venerable city." He also endeavoured to check the political evil of celibacy (*Nov. vii.*)

³ *Prosp. Contin.* 457 A.D.

⁴ *Idatius, Chronicle* (spring 459).

by proving himself equal to the great emergency of the time ; he must " preserve the state of the Roman world." ¹ And just at this moment the great emergency was the hostility of the Vandals, who in their ships harried the Roman provinces and infested the Mediterranean waters. It might have seemed that Avitus, under whose auspices Count Ricimer worsted the fleet of the foe at Corsica or at Sicily, had in some sense met the difficulty. But the blow was not decisive ; it did not paralyse the hostilities of the Vandals. The words of an historian indicate that Avitus felt the necessity of facing this problem, and also his inability to grapple with it : " he was afraid of the wars with the Vandals." ²

Majorian prepared an expedition against Africa on a grand scale ; his fleet numbered 300 ships, and was collected in a Spanish port, probably New Carthage. The hopes of the West were awakened, and their eyes were fixed on the preparations of Majorian. But a curious fatality attended all expeditions undertaken against the Vandals, whether they proceeded from Old Rome or from New Rome, or from both together. The expedition of Castinus had collapsed in 422, that of Aspar had failed in 430, the armament of Ardaburius had not even reached its destination in 441, and now the preparations of Majorian fell through in 460. Gaiseric ravaged the coasts of Spain, and incapacitated the Roman ships before they left the port.³ Yet another expedition, and one on a far larger scale, was to meet with discomfiture ; and more than seventy years were to elapse until the rise of the great Justinian, when the numerous failures were to be blotted out by the success of Belisarius.

This misfortune led to the fall of Majorian ; he had forfeited confidence ; it appeared that he was not able to " preserve the state of the Roman world." He returned from Spain to Gaul, and after a sojourn in Arles ⁴ passed into Italy, without an army. At Tortona the officers of Count Ricimer, who had judged him unworthy of empire, seized him, stripped him of

¹ Nov. i. Maj. *Romani orbis statum . . . propitia divinitate servemus.*

² See Priscus, fr. 27, who is almost verbally followed by John of Antioch, fr. 203.

³ Majorian made a " disgraceful

treaty " with Gaiseric (John of Antioch, *ib.*)

⁴ He celebrated games at Arles, at which Sidonius Apollinaris was present (*Ep.* i. 11).

the imperial purple, and beheaded him (7th August 461). It is natural enough that only two alternatives could be entertained by the Suevian count, who had the army at his back; he could tolerate a strong Emperor, capable of defending the Empire, or he could tolerate a puppet-Emperor, who depended absolutely on his own will. But an Emperor who was just strong enough to assume an independent position, and was not strong enough to contend with the enemies of the State—such an one was naturally not acceptable to the count. Ricimer himself seemed determined not to leave Italy, probably judging that its security against the Vandals depended on the constant presence of an able general with a strong army; and he did actually defend it in the north against the Ostrogoths of Pannonia and against the Alemanni of the Upper Rhine. He was determined to hold Italy at all costs; he associated himself with the foreign foederati, being himself a Sueve; and he cherished a bitter hatred against the Vandals;—these were the chief elements in his position. His hatred against the Vandals was due to a family feud. He was the nephew of Wallia, and Wallia had fought against the Vandals in Spain; wherefore Gaiseric hated him, and he reciprocated the hatred.

The death of Majorian was followed in less than four months by the election of Libius Severus, a Lucanian. He was elected by the senate with the consent of Ricimer and proclaimed at Ravenna (19th November 461); and though he reigned four years—four months less than Majorian—he did nothing; he was only a figure-head; Ricimer was the true sovereign. Stilicho had guided the councils of Honorius, Aetius had guided the councils of Valentinian; but the personalities of Honorius and Valentinian, weak though they both were, influenced affairs to a certain extent; it would be going too far to say that either Aetius or even Stilicho was a virtual Emperor. Ricimer was the first German who had become a virtual king of Italy¹; he is the link between Stilicho and Odovacar.

It might seem that at this juncture Italy might have

¹ His monogram appears on the reverse of the coins of Severus. Severus died 18 Kal. Sept. (15th August) at Rome (*Anon. Cuspiniani*), 465. According to the Chronicle of Cassiodorus, *ut dicitur*

Ricimeris fraude Severus Romae in Palatio veneno peremptus est. If this is true, Ricimer had a hand in the death of no less than four Emperors.

received another Augustus from Gaul, and that Aegidius, the general and friend of Majorian, might have crossed the Alps to avenge Majorian's death. But Aegidius was occupied with the task of defending southern Gaul against the Visigoths, who, shaking themselves loose after the death of Avitus from the bond which attached them to the Empire, were attempting to extend their power in the province of Narbonensis. We find him in 463 winning a great battle at Orleans,¹ and in the following year he died.

Another opponent of Ricimer in another quarter was the Count Marcellinus. We see him in Sicily in the year 461 in command of an army chiefly consisting of Hunnic auxiliaries (Scythians); he had been probably posted there by Majorian to protect the island against the Vandals. But Ricimer operated upon the cupidity of the Huns by bribes to induce them to leave the service of Marcellinus and enter his own.² Then Marcellinus, fearing danger and conscious that he could not vie with Ricimer in riches, abandoned Sicily and returned to Dalmatia, where a few years later we find him ruling as if he were the king thereof, even as Ricimer ruled in Italy and as Aegidius and Syagrius ruled in Gaul. At this time Gaul, Italy, and Dalmatia were practically independent kingdoms. On the departure of Marcellinus, who seems to have defended the island ably, Gaiseric sent his Vandals and auxiliary Moors to ravage the island. A pacific embassy from Ricimer did not avail, but another embassy sent at the same time by the Emperor Leo induced Gaiseric to come to terms at last in regard to the ladies of the Theodosian house, whom he still retained at Carthage. He carried out his determination of uniting Eudocia in marriage with his son Huneric, but he sent her mother Eudoxia and her sister Placidia to Constantinople; in return he received a certain share of the property of Valentinian III as the dowry of Eudocia.

But now Gaiseric posed as the protector and champion of the Theodosian house against the upstart Emperors in Italy. Olybrius, a member of the noble Anician gens, had married Placidia, and Gaiseric demanded that he should be acknowledged as Emperor. The situation in 463 is described by Priscus³ as

¹ Cf. Idatius, xlv. *Aegidius comes utriusque militiae in Armoricana provincia* defeated Frederic the brother of Theodoric.

² See Priscus, fr. 29.

³ Fr. 30.

follows: "The western Romans were afraid concerning Marcellinus, lest, his power increasing, he should wage war against them; for they were involved in diverse difficulties on other sides; they were threatened by the Vandals, and they were threatened by Aegidius, a man of the western Galatians [we are reminded of Celtic reminiscences in the East], who had fought campaigns with Majorian and had a very large power around him, and was indignant on account of the slaying of the Emperor (Majorian). Hitherto dissensions with the Goths in Gaul withheld him from war against the Italiots. For he fought valiantly against them, contending for border-territory, and performed in that war the greatest deeds of prowess."

We see from this account that the cause of western Rome, the cause of Italy, and the cause of Ricimer were all closely bound together, and that the Italiots looked on Ricimer as their protector. "On these accounts the western Romans sent ambassadors to the eastern Romans, asking them to bring about a reconciliation with Marcellinus and with the Vandals. To Marcellinus was sent Phylarchus, who prevailed on him not to wage war against the Romans; but then having crossed over to the Vandals, he retired ineffectual." Gaiseric claimed all the inheritance left by Valentinian in Italy and also the inheritance of Aetius, whose son Gaudentius he retained in captivity. He led a great expedition against Italy and Sicily, ravaged the unprotected parts of the country, and took undefended towns. There was no efficient navy in Italy to operate against him; and as he was at peace with New Rome, Leo could send no ships to the assistance of Italy. It will be remembered how in the days of Valentinian III Attila was at peace with Ravenna and at war with Constantinople; now in regard to Gaiseric the position was reversed. Priscus makes the remark that the division of the Empire greatly injured "the affairs of the Romans in the West"; it was apparent that their great chance of safety lay in the support of the East.

Accordingly Ricimer, the foe of Gaiseric, begins to enter into closer relations with the Emperor Leo. For a year and six months after the death of Severus, in November 465, no successor was appointed, but at length Leo deigned to select Anthemius as his colleague, and Ricimer's acceptance of an Emperor nominated by Leo indicated a close alliance of in-

terests. The common interest was war against the Vandals; not only Italy and Sicily were threatened, but the entire commerce of the Mediterranean; Africa was now what Illyria had been in the third century B.C., or what Cilicia had been in the first.

Anthemius had married the daughter of Marcian; and thus he might be considered in some sort connected with the house of Theodosius, and his pretensions might be set against those of Gaiseric's candidate, the husband of Placidia. He was the grandson of that Anthemius who guided the Empire during the childhood of Pulcheria and Theodosius. The alliance between Ricimer and the new Emperor was sealed by a marriage of the Patrician with Anthemius' daughter. The elder Placidia had married Athaulf, her granddaughter Eudocia had married Huneric, both indeed under a certain compulsion; yet Anthemius afterwards professed to regard it as a great condescension to have surrendered his daughter to the barbarian count.

The expedition, which was organised to overthrow the monarchy of the Vandals, was on a grand and impressive scale, but it ended in a miserable failure. Its success was paralysed by lukewarmness and even treachery both in the East and in the West.

The number of vessels that set sail from Constantinople is said to have been 1113, and the total number of men who embarked was calculated as exceeding 100,000. But unfortunately Leo, under the influence of his wife Verina and his friend Aspar, appointed as general a man who was both incompetent and untrustworthy, his wife's brother Basiliscus. Aspar, it appears, was not over-anxious that Leo's position should be strengthened by such an exploit as the subversion of the Vandal kingdom; he schemed therefore to procure the election of a general whose success was extremely improbable.¹

The western armament of Anthemius obeyed a more efficient commander. The pagan Marcellinus, who, in defiance of Emperors, ruled in Dalmatia as an independent prince,² was

¹ Compare Idatius, xlv. *Asparem degradatum ad privatam vitam filiumque ejus occisum, adversus Romanum*

imperium, sicut de ceteris sunt, Wandalis consulentes.

² Marcellinus, *Chron.* *Marcellinus occidentis Patricius idcirco paganus.*

reconciled with Leo, and he left the palace of Diocletian and the city of the tepid Jader¹ to take the command of the Italian fleet. A Roman was now going forth from Illyria to subdue the pirates of Africa; seven hundred years before, the Romans, before their great conflict with the African power, had gone forth to subdue the pirates of Illyria. But here too lay a disturbing element. The participation of Marcellinus in the project alienated Ricimer, who was his enemy; and just as Aspar regarded the project with disfavour, Ricimer, who, as has been already remarked, held in the West a somewhat similar position to that of Aspar in the East, also stood aloof.

The plan of operations was that the eastern forces should be divided into two parts, and that thus the Vandals should be attacked at three points at the same time. Basiliscus himself was to sail directly against Carthage. Heraclius, another general, having taken up the forces of Egypt on his way, was to disembark at Tripolis, and having occupied that town was to march to Carthage by land. Marcellinus, with the Italian forces, was to surprise the Vandals in Sardinia, and sail thence to join the eastern armies at Carthage.

If the commander-in-chief had not been Basiliscus, and if the opponent had not been Gaiseric, the expedition would have easily succeeded. But Gaiseric, though physically the least, was mentally the greatest of the barbarians of his time. He was small in stature, ugly in countenance, but in cunning he was without an equal. He veiled the machinations of his thoughts under a silence that was rarely broken, and he despised luxury, although he was avaricious as well as ambitious. Even as it was, though Basiliscus had such a foe to cope with, success was within the grasp of his hand. The invaders were welcome to the Catholics of Africa, who were sorely persecuted by their Arian lords.² Marcellinus accomplished his work in Sardinia without difficulty; Heraclius met no obstacle in executing his part of the project; and the galleys of Basiliscus scattered the fleet of the Vandals in the neighbourhood of Sicily. On hearing of this disaster, Gaiseric gave up all for

¹ *Tepidum* is the adjective which Lucan applies to the Jader, the river which "runs out" near "long Salonaë."

² An account of the persecutions of

Africa will be found in the five books of Victor Vitensis, *Historia persecutionis provinciarum Africanarum*, written about 486. See Ebert, *op. cit.* i. 433 sqq. There is a new edition by Petschenig.

lost; the Roman general had only to strike a decisive blow and Carthage would not have resisted. But he let the opportunity slip, and, taking up his station in a haven at some distance from Carthage, he granted to the humble prayers of his wily opponent a respite of five days, of which Gaiseric made good use. He prepared a new fleet and a number of fireships. The winds favoured his designs, and he suddenly bore down on the Roman armament, which, under the combined stress of surprise, adverse wind, and the destructive ships of fire, was routed and at least half destroyed. Basiliscus fled with the remnant to Sicily, to join Marcellinus, whose energy and resources might have possibly retrieved the disaster; but the hand of an assassin, inspired perhaps by Ricimer, rendered this hope futile.¹ Heraclius, who had not reached Carthage when he heard of the defeat of the fleet, retraced his steps, and Basiliscus returned to Constantinople, where amid popular odium² he led a life of retirement at Heraclea on the Propontis, until he appeared on the scene of public life again after Leo's death.

The failure of this expedition, organised on such a grand scale that it might have seemed invincible, must have produced a very great moral effect, somewhat like the moral effect produced in Europe by the collapse of the Spanish Armada. The Roman Empire had put forth all its strength and had signally failed, not against the combined powers of the barbarians, but against one barbaric nation. This must have not only raised the pretensions and arrogance of the Vandals themselves, but increased the contempt of other German nations for the Roman power; it was felt to be a humiliating disaster by the government at Constantinople, while the government in Italy was too habituated to defeat to be gravely affected. Immense sums of money had been laid out on equipping the armament, and its failure produced a state of bankruptcy in the imperial treasury, which lasted for about thirty years.

The idea was abroad that the arrival in Italy of Anthemius, the political son of Leo, if I may venture to use the

¹ Anon. Cusp. gives August 467 as the date of Marcellinus' death, but the Chronicle of Cassiodorus and that of Count Marcellinus give 468 (second consulate of Anthemius). The words of the latter chronicle are: "dum Rom-

anis contra Wandalos apud Carthaginem pugnantis opem auxiliumque fert ab iisdem dolo confoditur pro quibus palam venerat pugnaturus."

² He was obliged to seek refuge in the sanctuary of St. Sophia.

expression, was the inauguration of a return to unity; and this formed the theme of the panegyric of Sidonius Apollinaris on the Emperor Anthemius. He hails Constantinople thus—

salve sceptrorum columnen, regina orientis,
orbis Roma tui,

and describes the education of Anthemius in terms of the highest eulogy. Anthemius was suspiciously inclined to paganism, and the pagan character of the poem written by the future bishop of Clermont did not offend him; his predecessor Severus is described as having increased the number of the gods. Ricimer is introduced as

invictus Ricimer quem publica fata
respiciunt.

The poet was made prefect of Rome.

But in Italy the Greek Anthemius was not popular. He was too fond of philosophy or thaumaturgy; he loved strange doctrines; he was inclined to be "Hellenic," in the bad sense of the word. And in spite of his high standard of justice and honest attempts to administer the laws—in one of his own laws he states a fair ideal of equity—he does not seem to have been looked on with favour by the Italians. Soon his relations to Ricimer changed from friendliness or mutual tolerance to distrust and hostility; the father-in-law regretted that he had married his daughter Alypia to a *barbarian*; the son-in-law retorted with the contemptuous epithets Galatian and Greekling (*Graeculus*). And in this contest, in spite of the unpopularity of Anthemius, the senate and the people espoused his cause against the Suevian.

Thus it came to pass that in the year 472 Italy was practically divided into two kingdoms, the Emperor reigning at Rome, the Patrician ruling at Milan. Epiphanius, the bishop of Pavia, was employed to bring about a reconciliation—a characteristic instance of the position of the Church at this period—but the army of Ricimer soon besieged Rome. Leo had overcome the power of Aspar in the East; was his "son" Anthemius to overcome the power of Ricimer in the West? For the two problems were similar; and there is a dark notice

in a chronicle which suggests that the opposition of Aspar and his sons to Leo may have had hidden links of connection with the opposition of Ricimer to Anthemius.¹

The hostilities at Rome lasted for five months, the senate and people siding with the Emperor,² while Ricimer headed the multitude of his own barbarians. Along with the besieger was the Scyrian Odovacar, the son of Edecon, destined soon to become famous. Ricimer guarded the Tiber and cut off the supplies; the Romans were soon pressed by hunger and resolved to fight. An army under Billimer had come from Gaul to assist them. The engagement resulted in heavy losses on the imperial side, and the victor subdued the rest by treachery.³

Gaiseric, it will be remembered, had wished to have a voice in the election of an Emperor and to elevate Olybrius, the husband of the younger Placidia. At this time Olybrius was at Constantinople, and his Vandal connections made him a suspicious person in the eyes of Leo, who planned a curious stratagem. Hearing of the dangers of his colleague Anthemius at Rome, he employed Olybrius on a mission thither to compass the reconciliation of the two opponents. At the same time he sent a private messenger to Anthemius with a letter instructing him to put Olybrius to death. The artifice was frustrated, as Ricimer intercepted the letter.⁴

This circumstance led to the consummation which Leo least wished. After the success gained in the battle, Ricimer invested Olybrius with the purple; and the new Emperor might claim with some fairness to be a member of the Theodosian house. As for Anthemius, when his adherents had surrendered to "the barbarians" and left him "naked," he disguised himself and mingled with the mendicants who begged in the church of St. Chrysogonus. There he was beheaded by Gundobad, Ricimer's nephew (4th July 472).⁵

¹ *Cassiodori Chronicon*, under the year 469 (consulate of Marcian and Zeno). *Ardaburius imperium tentans jussu Anthemii exilio deportatur*. Is it necessary to consider that *Ardaburius* is a mistake for *Arvandus*, prefect of Gaul? May not the son of Aspar have aspired to become an Augustus in the West, supported perhaps by Ricimer?

The conspiracy of Romanus against Anthemius is mentioned by John of Antioch, fr. 207.

² *Ib.* fr. 209: 'Ανθεμίου μὲν συνεμάχουν οἱ τε ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ This curious transaction is related by John Malalas, and is quite credible, though historians seem never to have observed it. Compare my note on "The Emperor Olybrius," *English Historical Review*, July 1886.

⁵ John of Antioch, fr. 209, says, "Gundobad, Ricimer's brother," and afterwards speaks of Gundibalos as his

The position of affairs was now the reverse of what it had been in the days of Honorius and Stilicho, or in the days of Valentinian and Aetius. When dissensions arose in 408 between the father-in-law and the son-in-law, the son-in-law had the upper hand; and when there was war in 472 between the father-in-law and the son-in-law, the son-in-law also had the upper hand. But in the earlier case the son-in-law was the Emperor, in the later case the son-in-law was the foreign general.

Ricimer did not survive his victim long; he died in less than six weeks¹; and the new Emperor whom he had created survived him by only two months.²

The death of Ricimer, notwithstanding his anomalous position, was a blow to Italy of the same kind as the deaths of Stilicho and Aetius. While Stilicho lived, there was an able general to protect the peninsula against Alaric; when he died, Alaric entered and laid waste. While Aetius lived, there was a general formidable to Gaiseric; when he died, Gaiseric sailed over and plundered. While Ricimer lived, the barbarians did not venture to enter Italy; but four years after his death, they not only entered but they occupied. If Olybrius had lived longer and been a stronger man—he has no personality in history—his Theodosian connection might have aided him to stay the approach of the day when Italy would be ruled by a German king.

nephew. The fact is, that a sister of Ricimer married Gundiok, king of the Burgundians, and their son was Gundobad. From 470 to 490 Gundobad was "tetrarch" of the Burgundians, from 490 to 501 "ex besse dominus," from 501 to 516 sole king. See F. Bluhme's

preface to the *Leges Burgundionum*, M. G. H. *Leges*, vol. iii.

¹ 18th August 472. He died, like Attila, from vomiting blood (John of Antioch, fr. 292, 2).

² 23d October 472. He died of dropsy (*ib.*)

CHAPTER III

ZENO

ZENO¹ the Isaurian had succeeded to the power and influence of Aspar and Ardaburius at Leo's court, and he was marked out by his marriage with Ariadne, the Emperor's daughter, as a probable successor. He was hardly less rude than Aspar, for the Isaurians were semi-barbarous freebooters, but he had the advantage of not being a German. When Leo I. died in 474 his grandson Leo, the infant son of Zeno and Ariadne, was proclaimed Emperor, in accordance with his grandfather's wishes. The child conferred the imperial dignity on his father and died in the same year, leaving to Zeno nominally as well as actually the sole power.

Zeno was unpopular, and there was a strong spirit of public hatred against the Isaurians, who formed a portion of the army, and by their violence often irritated the inhabitants of Constantinople. Moreover, the elevation of Zeno was not pleasing to the Empress-mother Verina, a woman of great energy and capacity for intrigue. Her brother Basiliscus, who

¹ Zeno's original name is variously stated as (1) Tarasikodissa (by Candidus, who, being an Isaurian, should have known); (2) Arikmesos (by Eustathius of Epiphania); (3) Trasalikaïos (by Theophanes). He adopted the name Zeno from a distinguished Isaurian. His mother's name was Lallis, his father's Rusumbladeotus, his brother's Longinus—apparently a common name in Isauria. He was married to Arcadia before he married Ariadne, and by her had a son, Zeno, of whom something more will be said. Zeno was a very fast

runner, according to the Anonymus Valesii, who seems to have known something about him, and had a marked liking for him. His speed of foot was attributed to a physical peculiarity—*perhibent de eo quod patellas in genacula non habuisset sed mobiles fuissent ut etiam cursu velocissimo ultra modum hominum haberetur* (Anon. Val. 9, 40.) Fast running was an Isaurian characteristic; compare the marvellous speed of Indacus, who took part in the revolt of Illus (Suidas, sub Ἰνδάκος, John Ant. p. 617).

had lived in retirement since his conduct of the Vandalic expedition, aspired to the throne, and he was supported in his designs by the general Illus, a man of considerable influence and ability. The result was that Zeno's position was so insecure that, in the face of a formidable conspiracy, he was obliged to flee to Isauria, with his wife Ariadne and his mother Lallis, at the end of the year 475 (November). Verina was scheming to place her paramour Patricius on the throne, but her endeavours turned to the profit of her brother Basiliscus, whom the ministers and senators elected to the purple after Zeno's flight. This change of power was an opportunity for the Byzantines to settle accounts of old standing with the obnoxious countrymen of Zeno, and a colossal massacre (*ἀμύθητος σφαγή*) of Isaurians took place in the capital. War was carried on in Isauria against Zeno by Illus and his brother Trocundus, but they soon deserted the cause of Basiliscus, who had already made himself odious by his extortions, and went over to his rival. His nephew Harmatius, a young fop of whom I shall give some account hereafter, was then created *magister militum per Thracias*, and sent with an army against the forces of Zeno and Illus, which were advancing against Constantinople. Illus induced him also to desert the usurper, and this desertion decided the fall of Basiliscus and the restoration of Zeno (July 477). Theodoric, the son of Theodimir, and his Ostrogoths, who had been settled in Lower Moesia, had embraced the cause of Zeno.¹

In his reign of twenty months Basiliscus had made himself very unpopular. He favoured the heresy of monophysitism, he exacted money from bishops, and was only prevented by a crowd of monks from doing violence to Acacius the Patriarch of Constantinople. His fiscal rapacity was so great that he did not spare from severe taxation even the humblest mechanic, and it was said that the world was full of tears at his exactions. Yet we also hear that he contributed 50 lbs. of gold to restore Gabala in Syria, which suffered from an earthquake

¹ See *Anon. Val.* 9, 42: *Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam deinde misit ad civitatem Novam (Novi), ubi erat Theodericus dux Gothorum, filius Walameris* [Walimir was really his uncle, but the Anonymus Val. shared

the mistake of the Greek historians], *et cum invitavit in solacium* [= assistance] *sibi adversus Basiliscum, objectans militem, post biennium veniens, obsidens civitatem Constantinopolim.*

in his reign. He and his family were banished by Zeno to a fortress in Cappadocia, where they were mured up and allowed to perish of hunger.¹

A public misfortune of a most deplorable nature, which has probably had manifold indirect results of a negative character, occurred in the reign of Basiliscus, and helped, as accidents in superstitious ages always help, to render his government unpopular. This was an immense conflagration, which, beginning in the bazaar of the bronzesmiths, spread far and wide, reducing to ashes the colonnades of the public square, with the adjoining houses. But more serious than this was the destruction of the Basilike, the library founded by Julian, which contained no fewer than 120,000 books. Among these rolls, the intestine of a serpent, 120 feet long, on which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written in golden characters, is specially mentioned. A still greater disaster was the destruction of the palace of Lausus, which contained among its splendours some of the most beautiful works of Greek plastic art, the Cnidian Aphrodite, the Lindian Athene, and the Samian Here. But for this fire these precious works might possibly have been still in existence, and it reminds us that the chief cause of the loss of works of art was not christian vandalism, but rather the love of art, which collected monuments from their original scattered homes and exposed them in a mass to increased dangers of destruction in a large town. How far the loss of the library influenced the condition of culture in the succeeding centuries, it would be hard to determine.

Zeno has never been a favourite with historians, and Finlay perhaps was the first who was ready to say a good word for him. "The great work of his reign," writes Finlay, "was the formation of an army of native troops to serve as a counterpoise to the barbarian mercenaries"; and he goes on to remark that the man who successfully resisted the schemes and forces

¹ Basiliscus had created his son Marcus Emperor. The fate of him and his family is thus described by *Anon. Val.* (9, 43): "Basiliscus fleeing to the church, enters the baptistery with his wife and sons. Zeno gives him the security of an oath that his blood will not be shed (*securum esse de sanguine*); so, leaving the

church, he was shut up with his wife and sons in a dry cistern, where they perished of cold." See also the *Paschal Chronicle*. The ghost of Basiliscus appears in a Cretan tragedy (published by M. Sathas in his *Κρητικόν Θέατρον*) entitled *Ζήνων*. Longinus, Anastasius, Sebastian, Harmatius, and other leading men are introduced.

of the great Theodoric cannot have been contemptible.¹ Yet even from the pages of Malchus we can see that he was not so bad as he was painted, Malchus himself confessing that he was in some respects superior to Leo, especially less greedy. He was not popular, for his religious policy of conciliation did not find general favour; he was not personally brave; and he was an Isaurian. But he was inclined to be mild; he desired to abstain from employing capital punishment. In fiscal administration he was perhaps less successful than his predecessors and his successor Anastasius. Malchus states that Zeno wasted all that Leo left in the treasury by donatives to his friends² and inaccuracy in checking his accounts. In 477 the funds were very low, hardly sufficient to supply pay for the army. But the blame of this may rather rest with Basiliscus, who, reigning precariously for twenty months, must have been obliged to incur large expenses, to supply which he was driven to extortion, and in the following years the Ostrogoths were an incubus on the exchequer; while we must further remember that since the enormous outlay incurred by Leo's naval expedition the treasury had been in financial difficulties, which only a ruler of strict economy and business habits, like the succeeding Emperor Anastasius, could have remedied. Zeno was not a man of business, he was indolent and in many respects weak. But in defending him we need not go further than the admission of Malchus (who throughout seems to censure in Zeno weakness rather than evil inclination), that his reign would have been a good one but for the influence of one Sebastian, who was like Eutropius or Chrysaphius, and introduced a system of venality. From an adverse witness this is an important admission. Of Sebastian³ we hear very little, and we may suppose that his influence was not permanent.

¹ *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 180.

² The Anonymus Valesii, whom some have wished to identify with Maximian, the bishop of Ravenna who stands beside Justinian in the mosaics of St. Vitalis, has a great liking for Zeno, and represents him as very popular: *Zeno recordatus est amore senatus et populi, munificus omnibus se ostendit, ita ut omnes ei gratias agerent. Senatu Romano et populo tuitus est ut etiam ei imagines per diversa loca in urbe Roma levarentur. Cujus tempora pacifica*

fuere (9, 44). One would think that the writer was an Isaurian. Compare also 9, 40: *In republica omnino providentissimus, favens gentis suae.*

³ It is said that Sebastian used to buy for a small amount an office which Zeno bestowed on a friend, and then sell it to some one else for a much higher price, Zeno receiving the profit. He was prefect in December 477 (*Cod. Just.* viii. 7, 9), and if the date of a certain constitution (*ib.* v. 27, 5), x. Kal. Mart. 477, be correct, he acted as

Malchus further states that Zeno had nothing of Leo's coarse nature, and that his wrath was not wont to be relentless. His attempt to unify the Church by his famous Henotikon, which raised up against him deadly ecclesiastical odium, has been spoken of in a former chapter, and we must remember this when we read the charges, preferred against him by ecclesiastical writers, of undisguised and almost obtrusive immorality. The favour shown by him to his countrymen the Isaurians, whom the Byzantines regarded as brutish clowns, was an additional cause of unpopularity; while the court intrigues and jealousies, which led to constant conspiracies and frequent bloodshed, throw another shadow over his rather obscure reign. The presence of the Ostrogothic pillagers in the Balkan provinces might be used by the Emperor's enemies to complete the gloomy picture.

I must give an account of some of the personages who played a part at the court of Zeno and were objects of interest in the streets of Byzantium. Harmatius, the nephew of Basiliscus, who has already been mentioned, was a young man of fashion, to whose name doubtless many scandals were attached. The most celebrated was his intrigue with Zenonis, his uncle's wife; their love is described by a historian in a passage worthy of a romance.¹

"Basiliscus permitted Harmatius, inasmuch as he was a kinsman, to associate freely with the Empress Zenonis. Their intercourse became intimate, and as they were both persons of no ordinary beauty they became extravagantly enamoured of each other. They used to exchange glances of the eyes, they used constantly to turn their faces and smile at each other; and the passion which they were obliged to conceal was the cause of dule and teen. They confided their trouble to Daniel a eunuch and to Maria a midwife, who hardly healed their malady by the remedy of bringing them together. Then Zenonis coaxed Basiliscus to grant her lover the highest office in the city."

The preferment which he received from his uncle elated him beyond measure. He was naturally effeminate and cruel. Theodoric, the son of Triarius, despised him as a dandy who

prefect to Zeno before his restoration, but I suspect the date. Erythrius had been praetorian prefect before Sebastian, and was very popular (Malchus, fr. 6). The decline of the scholarian guards is attributed by Agathias (v. 15) to Zeno,

who bestowed appointments on Isaurian relations of no valour.

¹ The passage is in Suidas, but probably comes from Malchus. The name is spelt both Harmatus and Harmatius.

only cared for his toilet and the care of his body ; and it was said that in the days of Leo he had punished a number of Thracian rebels by cutting off their hands. When he was exalted by his mistress's husband, he conceived the idea that he was a man of valour, and he manifested this idea by dressing himself as Achilles, in which guise he used to ride about and astonish or amuse the people in the hippodrome. The populace nicknamed him Pyrrhus, on account of his pink cheeks, but he took it as a compliment to his valour, and became still more inflated with vanity. "He did not," says the historian, "slay heroes like Pyrrhus, but he was a chamberer and a wanton like Paris."

Harmatius did not long survive the return of Zeno, and his death may be considered an instance of double ingratitude. Zeno, who owed his recovery of the crown to Harmatius, kept the promise he had made to appoint him *magister militum in praesenti*, and to proclaim his son Basiliscus Caesar. But Zeno did not trust the fidelity of the new *magister*, and he engaged a man, who had risen to high rank by the patronage of Harmatius,¹ to assassinate his patron.

Illus the Isaurian was the most important minister in the Empire after Zeno's return, but his position was surrounded by pitfalls on all sides. Not only was he the object of Verina's enmity and machinations, but Zeno seems to have viewed him with fear and suspicion, and wished to rid himself of him. Only a month or two after his reinstallation on the throne, he was suspected of having suborned a servant to assassinate Illus. In 478 Illus was made consul, and the rebuilding of an imperial *stoa* devolved upon him. One day, while he was attending to matters connected with this work, an Alan, one of the *scholarii* under the master of offices, was found with a sword, which he plainly intended to use against Illus. He confessed under torture that the prefect Epinicus² had suborned him. Zeno immediately deposed the prefect, confiscated his goods, and handed his person over to Illus, who despatched him to a place of safety in Isauria. Soon afterwards, Illus invented

¹ This man was Onoulf, brother of Odovacar, his rank was *στρατηγὸς Ἰλλυριῶν*, *mag. mil. per Illyr.*

² Epinicus was a Phrygian who passed from the service of the *præpos. sac. cub.*,

Urbicius, to fill successively the offices of count of the privy purse and count of the sacred largesses, and finally prefect of the city (476).

a pretext to leave the capital himself,¹ and visiting the prison of Epinicus, induced him to confess that he had acted in concert with Verina, the Empress-mother. Zeno and the court met him on his return in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, and Illus induced the Emperor to consign to him that dangerous woman, while Epinicus might be allowed to return to Byzantium. Verina was then placed in confinement in an Isaurian castle, named Dalisandon, having previously taken the vows of a nun at Tarsus. At this period Isauria and Cappadocia were the recognised places for the banishment of political prisoners, and Illus, being a native of Isauria, had considerable influence there. Another captive, whom he kept immured in an Isaurian stronghold, was Longinus the Emperor's brother,—for what reason we know not. But it is evident that the influence and power of Illus in those regions made him formidable to Zeno.

It appears that in 483, Illus, whose life had been recently attempted, this time by the Empress Ariadne,² withdrew to Asia Minor, on a plea of wishing for change of air, perhaps really feeling that his life was not safe in Constantinople. In the meantime a certain Leontius had raised the flag of revolt in Syria, with the

¹ According to John of Antioch, his brother Aspalius was dead; according to Theophanes, he put forward the plea of requiring change of air.

² I have not attempted to reconstruct the details of the revolt from our fragmentary evidence. But it appears to me that the procedure of Zeno against Illus, mentioned by John of Antioch (p. 620), took place after Illus had left the city, though before he had actually revolted, and not *immediately* after his departure. For Zeno appointed him general of the East—in which post he was succeeded by John the Goth, who conducted the siege of the Papirian castle—apparently to operate against Leontius, who, I think, we may assume revolted first on his own account, as Liberatus testifies and as Tillemont considered probable. The conduct that roused Zeno's suspicions or anger against Illus, and induced the latter to join Leontius, seems to have been connected with the Emperor's brother Longinus, whose supposed imprisonment of ten years (stated by Marcellinus) is extremely obscure. See John of Antioch, p. 620. Mr. Hodg-

kin, who gives an account of the revolt (iii. 63, *seq.*), speaks as if Illus had left Constantinople in consequence of Zeno's measures against him. This is certainly not correct. Moreover, he passes over the fact that Illus, when he had resigned the post of master of offices, was made general of the East, and speaks as if John the Goth succeeded Illus in this post ("military command," referring to the scholars?). I would suggest that Illus left Constantinople in 482, after the affair of Ariadne, and lived in Asia Minor (Nicaea?); that while he was there, Leontius revolted, and Zeno gave him supreme military command to operate against Leontius; that Illus then quarrelled with Longinus, who was also in command against the tyrant, and took the summary measure of imprisoning him in a castle; that this was the cause of Zeno's anger. In this case the "ten years" of Marcellinus must be a mistake, as Tillemont already conjectured. There is evidence that Longinus commanded against Leontius.

intention, it was said, of reviving the forlorn cause of paganism. It seems that Illus was then appointed commander-in-chief of the eastern armies, and was sent against Leontius. But for some unknown reason he incurred Zeno's suspicions, and attached himself to the cause of the rebel. Zeno had delivered an oration against him as a public enemy, sold his property, and made a present of the proceeds to the cities of the Isaurians. The object of the last measure was, we may suspect, to bid for their adherence against Illus.

Illus and Leontius made use of the Empress Verina, who was living as a prisoner in the Isaurian castle, to give a semblance of legitimacy to their cause. She crowned Leontius at Tarsus, and issued in his interests a letter which was sent to various cities. Illus, moreover, put himself in communication with Odovacar, the king of Italy, who, however, was unable to give active help, as well as with the Persians and the Armenians. Leontius entered Antioch on 27th June 484 and established there an imperial court. Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who afterwards conquered Italy, was sent to put down the revolt, and it was practically crushed very soon,¹ although the two leaders held out for four years in the Isaurian castle of Papirus, where Verina died during the siege. The fortress was taken by the treachery of Illus' sister-in-law, the wife of Trocundus, and Illus and Leontius were slain.

The most noteworthy circumstance about the revolt of Illus is that he was an Isaurian rebelling against an Isaurian Emperor. It is impossible to unravel the skein of events and see the motives of the two chief actors, Illus and Zeno, as our sources are mere fragments, but it is hardly justifiable to apprehend its chief significance as an attempt to revive paganism. It is possible that this conception may have guided Leontius, though he seems to have been an insignificant and incapable person, and was finally a mere figure-head, but it was the intimacy of Illus with a very remarkable philosopher named Pamprepus that gave the movement a pagan character. It need hardly be observed that such an idea as the revival of pagan religion had as little real danger for Christianity in the reign of Zeno, as the scheme of Pomponius Laetus for a similar revival in the fifteenth century.

¹ See above, p. 256 note 2.

Illus was a man with a taste for letters, as well as a good military captain, and he spent the long hours of the siege in the Isauric fort in study. At Constantinople he perhaps affected to be a patron of letters, but at all events he discovered Pamprepius of Panopolis in Upper Egypt, who became his friend, confidant, and spiritual adviser. The career of Pamprepius is worthy of record, as it illustrates life in the fifth century. He went in his youth from Egypt to the university of Athens, where he studied under the Neoplatonist Proclus, and was appointed professor of grammar (*i.e.* of philology); but he was not only a grammarian and a philosopher, he was also a poet, doubtless of the school of Nonnus, who was born in the same city. Obligated to leave Athens, in consequence of a quarrel with a magistrate, he sought his fortune in the capital, and won the patronage of Illus by a poem which he recited. The influential statesman procured him a professorship, and increased his stipend by a grant of his own. As a man of the highest intellectual ability, as the intimate friend of Illus, and as a pagan who gave bold and undisguised utterance to his unacceptable opinions in a city so religious as Byzantium, he was one of the observed and the dangerous, feared and disliked. In the eyes of the ordinary Christian a "Greek" or heathen was a nefarious individual who was probably a magician; and the mysticism of a Neoplatonist would naturally present many opportunities for charges of sorcery. During the absence of Illus (478) he was banished, but Illus brought his favourite back in triumph and procured him a seat in the senate and the quaestorship, a post which was especially appropriate to a learned man who could write in a good style.¹ The philosopher accompanied Illus in his revolt, and perished with him.

The revolt of Illus was not the only trouble that tended to make Zeno feel insecure. Another rising took place at an earlier period in his reign which was very nearly successful, although Illus supported the throne. Anthemius, the Emperor of the West, had two sons, Marcian and Procopius. Marcian married Leontia, the second daughter of Leo, who could boast of the fact that she was born in the purple as a ground of superiority to her sister the Empress Ariadne.

¹ So Cassiodorus was appointed quaestor by Theodoric on account of his Panegyric.

They conspired at the end of 479 to dethrone Zeno on account of the banishment of Verina, and they enlisted a number of citizens as well as barbarians in their cause. One of the brothers surprised the imperial guard in the palace, while everything was quiet in the mid-day heat, and the Emperor was only saved by escaping from the building. But time was wasted, and at night Illus conveyed Isaurian soldiers from Chalcedon in market boats, as Marcian had seized the ferries. On the following day the rebels were overpowered; Marcian was compelled to take orders and banished to Cappadocia; while Procopius found a refuge in the camp of the Ostrogoth Theodoric, the son of Triarius, who had approached the city with hostile intent.

Zeno had one son,¹ of the same name, whose brief and strangely disreputable career must have been one of the chief scandals at the court. His father desired that he should be carefully trained in manly exercises, but unscrupulous young courtiers, who wished to profit by the abundant supplies of money which the boy could command, instructed him in all the vulgar excesses of luxury and voluptuousness. They introduced him to boys of his own age, who did not refuse to satisfy his desires, while their adulation flattered his vanity to such a degree that he treated all who came in contact with him as if they were servants. His excesses brought on an internal disease, and he died, still a boy, after lying for many days in a senseless condition.

In the declining years of Zeno his brother Longinus began to gain influence; he filled high official posts, and looked forward to succeeding his brother. Zeno, however, consulted a certain Maurianos, skilled in occult learning, who informed him that a *silentarius*² would be the next Emperor. This prophecy was unfortunate for a distinguished patrician of high fame named Pelagius, who had once belonged to the *silentarii*, for Zeno, seized with alarm and suspicion, put him to death.³ The Emperor in his last days seems to have been a prey to

¹ By Arcadia, his first wife (Suidas).

² The *silentarii* were palace guards whose duty was to secure that the rest of the Emperor should not be interrupted.

³ Arcadius, praetorian prefect, expressed such indignation at this that Zeno sought to slay him, but Arcadius fled in time.

suspensions, as was indeed not unnatural, seeing that so many rebellions had vexed his reign; and his unhappiness was increased by his bad health. An attack of epilepsy carried him off in April 491.

One act of Zeno's latter years deserves special notice, the suppression of the school of Edessa in 489. Edessa was a literary centre in western Mesopotamia, and exercised a vast influence in diffusing Hellenism in those regions. The teachers of Edessa, however, were Nestorians, and it is to this fact that we must ascribe Zeno's narrow-minded act, which was clearly designed to please the monophysites and Chalcedonians.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OSTROGOTHS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

WE saw how in the reign of Arcadius the Visigoths of Alaric abode in the Illyrian peninsula, and almost formed a kingdom there, before they invaded Italy and established themselves in the West; we shall now see how in the reign of Zeno the same phenomenon was repeated in the case of the Ostrogoths of Theodoric, how they almost formed a kingdom in the land of Mount Haemus, before they went westward and founded a realm in Italy.¹

After the death of Attila in 453, the subject nations immediately threw off the yoke of the Huns, and asserted their independence on the field of Netad (454).² Of these nations the chief was the Ostrogoths, over whom three brothers ruled jointly, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widemir. These brothers made an arrangement with the Emperor Valentinian, by which, probably as *foederati*, they were allowed to occupy Pannonia.³ After some years, during which they repulsed

¹ The chief sources for the events related in this chapter are the fragments of Malchus and the Gothic history of Jordanes.

² The foundation of the Gepid kingdom on the Theiss was another consequence of the field of Netad. The original seat of the Gepids was near the mouth of the Vistula. Their king, Ardaric, fought for Attila at the *locus Mauriacus*, but threw off the yoke at Netad, a battle which Dahn considers equal in importance to "Châlons," Poitiers, or Waterloo (*Kön. der Germ.* ii. 15-27): "Die grosse Bedeutung des Königthums Ardarich's zeigt sich in der Rücksicht

welche noch das Burgundenrecht auf seine Münzen nimmt, woraus sich eine ziemlich geordnet Herrschgewalt des Königs und ein ansehnlicher Flor seines Reiches folgern lässt."

³ Their Pannonian territory extended from Sirmium to Vindobona — the "false Vienna." Jordanes attempts to tell us how it was apportioned among the three brothers. The Ostrogoths made war on the peoples around them, *cupientes ostentare virtutem* (Jord. *Get.* 52). Gasquet (*L'empire byz.* p. 57) points out very well that "what the barbarians hated most cordially were [not Romans but] other barbarians."

an attack of the remnant of the Huns, they came into collision with the Emperor Leo, on account of an unpaid allowance of gold (*strenae*), and ravished the Roman provinces; but peace was made in 461, in consequence of which Theodoric, the son of Theodemir, was sent as a hostage to Constantinople, where he remained for ten years, and had the advantage of a Roman training.¹ This training, however, did not perhaps include letters, for it is said that he was never able to write.² During these ten years his nation was engaged in wars with the Suevi and King Hunimund,³ in which Walamir, his uncle, whom contemporary Greek historians wrongly called the father of Theodoric, was killed. In 471 (or 472) Theodoric returned to his people. He distinguished himself by a campaign against the Sarmatians,⁴ and a year or two later joined his father in an invasion of Illyricum, while Widemir attacked the Romans of Italy. The father and son marched, capturing cities as they went,⁵ as far as Thessalonica, and there the old treaty between the Romans and Goths was renewed, and certain towns (Pella, Methone, Pydna, Beroea) in the neighbourhood of the Thermaic Gulf were assigned to the Goths. But for some unrecorded reason they were soon transferred to Lower Moesia and Scythia, where we find them stationed during the usurpation of Basiliscus.⁶

About the same time Theodoric (Strabo, "Squinter"), the son of Triarius, the chief of another tribe of Ostrogoths that was supported by the bounty of the Empire, comes into prominence. He could not boast the noble descent of his namesake Theodoric, the son of Theodemir the Amal, from whom

¹ Theodoric was probably born in 454, for he was eight years old when he was sent to Byzantium. His mother, whose name was Erelieva, seems to have been a concubine treated with the honours of a wife. She accompanied her son on his Thracian and Illyrian marches. Her name in *Anon. Val.* (12, 58, ed. Gardthausen) is Erelilva; and we learn that she was a Catholic and her christian name was Eusebia.

² I am disposed to believe this statement of *Anon. Val.*, which Mr. Hodgkin discredits, suspecting that the story was transferred from Justin to Theodoric. The author of the *Anecdota* relates it of Justin, and I am

inclined to reverse Mr. Hodgkin's suspicion, and believe that it was transferred from Theodoric to Justin.

³ The Suevi, or Suavi, lived with the Alemanni to the east of the Burgundians and to the west of the Bavarians. Suavia must not be confounded with the Roman provinces of Savia. See Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, iii. 21-22.

⁴ The Sarmatians had attacked the Empire and taken Singidunum.

⁵ Naissus, Stobi, Heraclea. This indicates the line of their march—up the valley of the Margus (Morava) and down the valley of the Axios (Vardar).

⁶ *Anon. Val.* 9, 42.

he must be carefully distinguished.¹ War broke out between the Ostrogoths and Scyrians in 467, and both peoples applied to Leo for assistance. The general Aspar counselled the Emperor to remain neutral, but Leo determined to listen to the prayers of the Scyri. Aspar was on friendly terms with the Goths, and it was because he knew that there was no chance of Leo's aiding them that he advised him to reject both requests. In 468 Leo rejected overtures of the sons of Attila, and in the following year the remnant of the Huns combined with the Goths against the Empire, but the campaign was unsuccessful, because they quarrelled among themselves.

The Ostrogothic chief Theodoric, son of Triarius, aspired to succeed to the position of Aspar, and in 473 he sent an embassy to that effect to Constantinople. When Leo refused his demands, Theodoric, having divided his forces in two parts, with one division ravaged the territory of Philippi and with the other reduced Arcadiopolis by starvation. These energetic proceedings extorted concessions from Leo; he agreed to pay a yearly stipend of 2000 lbs. of gold to the Goths, to allot them a district in Thrace, to create Theodoric *magister eq. et ped. praes. mil.* Theodoric, on his part, was to fight for the Emperor against all enemies except the Vandals. He was, moreover, to be recognised as king of the Goths.²

In the troubles that followed Leo's decease, the son of Triarius took the part of Basiliscus, while the son of Theodemir supported Zeno. The relations which existed between Zeno and the two Theodorics during the three years succeeding Zeno's restoration (477-479) may be divided into three stages. In the first stage Zeno and the son of Theodemir are combined against the son of Triarius; in the second stage the two Gothic chieftains join forces against the Emperor; in the third stage the son of Triarius and Zeno are allied against the son of Theodemir.

In 477 Zeno received an embassy from the son of Triarius and his federate Goths who were desirous to make a treaty with the successful Emperor. The ambassadors reminded

¹ According to John of Antioch, fr. 214, 3, the son of Theodemir was the ἀνεψιός, cousin of Recitach, who was son of Theodoric, the son of Triarius.

² His wish to be recognised as king by the Emperor shows that he was not of royal descent (Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, ii. 69).

Zeno of the injuries which the son of Theodemir had inflicted on the Empire, though he was called a Roman "general" and a friend. It appears that Theodoric the Amal, who was now stationed in Lower Moesia, had received the title of general in reward for his opposition to Basiliscus. Zeno called the senate, and it was concluded to be impossible to support the two generals and their armies, for the public resources were hardly sufficient to pay the Roman troops. The exchequer, it must not be forgotten, had not yet recovered from the failure of the Vandal expedition of 468. As the son of Triarius had always shown himself hostile at heart, was unpopular on account of his cruelty,¹ and had assisted Basiliscus "the tyrant," it was determined to reject his offer. Yet, as Zeno for a time withheld a reply, three friends of Theodoric in Constantinople, Anthimus, a physician, and two others, wrote him an account of the course which matters were taking; but the letters were discovered, the affair was examined by a senatorial commission of three persons, in the presence of the *magister officiorum*, and the three friends of the Goths were punished by flogging and exile. It is not quite certain, but it is probable, that after the rejection of his request the son of Triarius harried Thrace up to the walls of the capital.²

Soon after this, probably in 478, the Emperor, perceiving that while the son of Triarius was becoming stronger and consolidating forces, the son of Theodemir was becoming weaker, deemed it wise to come to terms with the former. He therefore sent an embassy proposing that the son of the chief should be sent to Byzantium as a hostage, and that Theodoric himself should pass the life of a private individual in Thrace, retaining what he had already secured by plunder, but binding himself to plunder no more. Theodoric refused, representing that it was impossible for him, having collected tribes together and formed an expedition, to withdraw now. Accordingly Zeno decided on war; troops were summoned from the dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and the East, and it was expected that Illus would assume the

tr.¹ He and Harmatius had made a practice of cutting off the hands of prisoners: *χείρας τε ἀποτέμνων ἀμα τῷ Ἀπαυρίῳ*. The Greek is hardly ambiguous, and Mr. Hodgkin is perfectly justified in rejecting the interpretation in Smith's edition of

Gibbon, "cutting off the hands of Harmatius."

² Compare Evagrius (that is, Eustathius of Epiphania) iii. 25, and Theophanes *ad ann.*; also Müller's note in *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iv. p. 120 (and Malchus, fr. 11).

command. It seems, however, that Illus did not take the field, for we find Martinianus, his brother-in-law, conducting a campaign against the son of Triarius in the same year, and proving himself incompetent to maintain discipline in his own army. Then Zeno sent an embassy to the other Theodoric, whose headquarters were at Marcianopolis in Lower Moesia, calling upon him to fulfil the duties of a Roman general and advance against the enemy. He replied that the Emperor and senate must first swear that they will never make terms with the son of Triarius. The senators took an oath that they would not do so unless the Emperor wished it, and the Emperor swore that he would not break the contract if it were not first violated by Theodoric himself.

The son of Theodemir then moved southwards. The master of soldiers of Thrace was to meet him with two thousand cavalry and ten thousand hoplites at the passes of Mount Haemus; when he had crossed into Thrace another force was to join him at Hadrianople, consisting of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse; and, if necessary, Heraclea¹ and the cities in the neighbourhood were prepared to send additional troops. But the master of soldiers was not at the gates of Haemus, and when the Ostrogoths arrived on the banks of the Hebrus no troops met them there. At Mount Sondis they fell in with the army of the other Theodoric, and the antagonists plundered one another's flocks and horses. Then the son of Triarius, approaching his rival's tent, reviled him as a traitor to desert his own countrymen, and as a fool not to see through the plan of the Romans, who wished to rid themselves of the Goths, without trouble on their own part, by instigating them to mutual destruction, and were quite indifferent which party won. These arguments took effect, and the two Theodorics made peace. This is the second stage of alliance, which we noted above.

The reconciled Ostrogothic chieftains then sent ambassadors to Byzantium (in the beginning of 479). The son of Theodemir, upbraiding Zeno for having deceived him with false promises, demanded the concession of territory to his people, a

¹ Heraclea, on the Propontis, formerly called Perinthus. Mr. Hodgkin strangely confounds it with the

Heraclea in Macedonia, near the Pelagonian plain, and now Monastir (p. 92).

supply of corn to support his army till harvest time, and also that the *domestics*, who collected the revenue, should be sent at once to give an account of what they had received; and he urged that, if these demands were not satisfied, he would be unable to restrain his soldiers from plundering, in order to support themselves. The son of Triarius demanded that the arrangements he had made with Leo (in 473) should be carried out, that the payment he had been accustomed to receive in former years should be continued, and that certain kinsmen of his, who had been committed to the care of Illus and the Isaurians, should be restored. We are not informed what answer Zeno made to the elder Theodoric, or whether he made any; to the son of Theodemir he replied, that if he consented to break with his namesake and make war upon him he would give him 2000 lbs. of gold and 10,000 lbs. of silver immediately, besides a yearly revenue of 10,000 aurei and an alliance with the daughter of Olybrius or some other noble lady. But his promises did not avail, and Zeno prepared for war, notifying his intention to accompany the army in person. This intention created great enthusiasm in the army, but at the last moment Zeno drew back, and the murmurs of the soldiers threatened a revolt, to prevent which the army was broken up and the regiments sent to their winter quarters.

When the army was disbanded, Zeno's only resort was to make peace on any terms with the son of Triarius. In the meantime Theodoric, the son of Theodemir, was engaged in ravaging the fairest parts of Thrace in the neighbourhood of Mount Rhodope, which divides Thrace from Macedonia; he not only ruined the crops, but extorted from the farmers or slew them. The son of Triarius, when he received Zeno's message,—remarking that he was sorry that the innocent husbandmen, for whose welfare Zeno¹ did not care in the least, suffered from the ravages of his rival—concluded a peace on the conditions that Zeno was to supply a yearly payment sufficient to support thirteen thousand men selected by himself (Theodoric); that he was to be appointed to the command of two *scholae* and to the post of a master of soldiers *in praesenti*, and receive all the dignities which Basiliscus had

¹ "Zeno or Verina" (Malchus, fr. 17). This seems to show that Verina had a preponderant influence at this time.

bestowed upon him; that his kinsmen were to inhabit a city assigned by Zeno. The Emperor did not delay to execute this agreement; Theodoric, son of Theodemir, was deposed from the office of master of soldiers, and Theodoric, son of Triarius, appointed in his stead. This marks the third stage in these changeful relations.

In the meantime the son of Theodemir laid waste Macedonia, including Stobi, its chief city. He even threatened Thessalonica, and the inhabitants felt so little confidence in Zeno that they actually believed that the Emperor wished to hand their city over to the barbarians. A sedition broke out which ended in the transference of the keys of the city from the praetorian prefect to the archbishop, a remarkable evidence of the fact that the people looked on the ministers of the Church as defenders against imperial oppression. These suspicions of the Emperor's intentions seem, however, in this case to have been unjust, and Zeno sent Artemidorus and Phocas to Theodoric, who was persuaded by their representations to stay his army and send an embassy to Byzantium. Theodoric demanded that a plenipotentiary envoy should be sent to treat with him. Zeno sent Adamantius, directing him to offer the Goths land in Pautalia, a district of Macedonia, on the borders of Thrace,¹ and 200 lbs. of gold to supply food for that year, as no corn had been sown in the designated region. The motive of Zeno in choosing Pautalia was that if the Goths accepted it they would occupy a position between the Illyrian and Thracian armies, and so might be more easily controlled.

Meanwhile Theodoric had proceeded by the Egnatian way to Heraclea in Macedonia, and sent a message to Epirus to one Sidimund,² an Ostrogoth who had been in the service of Leo and had inherited an estate near Dyrrhachium, where he was living peaceably. Theodoric induced him to make an attempt to take possession of that important city of New Epirus, and for this purpose Sidimund employed an ingenious device. He visited the citizens individually, informing each that the Ostrogoths were coming with Zeno's consent to take possession of the city, and advising him to move his property with all haste

¹ Malchus, fr. 18: ἐν Πανταλῆ ἡ τῆς μὲν Ἰλλυρικῆς μόρας ἐστὶν ἐπαρχία.

² He was cousin of Aidoing, a friend of Verina and *magister domesticorum*.

We cannot avoid seeing in his name the Gothic analogue of the English Edwin (Eadwin).

to some other secure town or to one of the coast islands. The fact that his representations were listened to and that he managed to dispose of a garrison of two thousand men proves that he must have possessed considerable influence. Theodoric was at Heraclea¹ when the messenger of Sidimund² arrived with the news that the plan had been successfully carried out; and the Amal chief, having burnt a large portion of the town because its inhabitants could not supply him with provisions, set out for Epirus. This collusion of Sidimund, the Ostrogothic subject of the Empire, with Theodoric, the Ostrogothic despoiler of the Empire, is an example of the manner in which the Germans within helped the Germans without, or more strictly, those who were half foes and half dependants, for Theodoric had been a Roman general, was still a Roman patrician, and had been educated at New Rome.

When he left Heraclea—the city now called Monastir,³ situated in that plain of Pelagonia which became famous on one occasion in the later history of the Roman Empire—the Gothic invader proceeded along the Egnatian way, crossing the range of the Scardus mountains, and arrived at Lychnidus, which is probably identical with Ochrida. Built in a strong situation on the shore of Lake Ochrida, and well provided with water and victuals, Lychnidus defied the assault of the barbarians, who, unwilling to delay, hastened onwards, and having seized Scampa, the most important town between Lychnidus and Dyrrhachium, arrived at the goal of their journey.

It may be wondered whether at Dyrrhachium (the Calais of the south Adriatic passage if Brundisium was the Dover) it entered the mind of Theodoric to ship his people across to the western peninsula and attack the Italian kingdom of Odovacar in the south, as in old time the power of Rome and the Latin name was attacked by the Epeirot Pyrrhus. Adamantius, the ambassador who had been sent by Zeno to treat with him, seems to have thought it more likely that the Ostrogoths would employ vessels for the purpose of plundering the Epeirot or Dalmatian coasts, for he sent a post messenger to Dyrrhachium,

¹ It is worth noticing that Theodoric's sister, as well as his mother and brother, accompanied him on his march; she died at Heraclea and was buried there.

² Mr. Hodgkin calls him Sigismund, but Malchus has Σιδιμουῖνδος, according to Müller's text, *F. H. G.* iv. 126.

³ See Mr. Tozer's *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, ii. 368.

to blame Theodoric for his hostile advance while negotiations were pending, and to exhort him to remain quiet and not to seize ships until he arrived himself.

Starting from Thessalonica, and passing Pella on the Via Egnatia, Adamantius came to Edessa, the modern Vodena, where he found the captain Sabinianus, and informed him that he had been appointed master of soldiers in Illyricum. The messenger, who had been sent to Dyrrhachium, returned in the company of a priest, to assure Adamantius that he might proceed confidently to the camp of Theodoric; and having issued a mandate to collect all the soldiers available, the general and the ambassador moved forward to Lychnidus. Here Sabinianus¹ made difficulties about binding himself by oath to restore the hostages whom Theodoric was willing to deliver as a gage for the personal safety of Adamantius. This produced a deadlock; Theodoric naturally refused to give the hostages. Adamantius naturally refused to visit Theodoric.

Adamantius invented a simple solution of the difficulty, which led to a strange and striking scene. Taking with him a body of two hundred soldiers he climbed by an obscure and narrow path, where horses had never set hoof before, and reached by a circuitous route an impregnable fort, built on a high cliff, close to the city of Dyrrhachium. At the foot of the cliff yawned a deep ravine, through which a river flowed. A messenger was sent to inform Theodoric that the Roman ambassador awaited him, and, attended by a few horse-soldiers, the son of Theodemir rode to the bank of the river. The physical features, the cliff, the chasm, and the river, are sufficiently simple and definite to enable us to call up vividly this strange scene. The attendants of both Adamantius and Theodoric had retired beyond range of earshot; and "they twain, like a king with his fellow,"—the representative of the Emperor standing on the edge of the cliff, and the Ostrogothic chieftain, whose name was in later years to become so great, on the opposite side of the ravine,—held "converse of desolate speech."

"I elected to live," complained Theodoric, "beyond the

¹ Sabinianus was a great disciplinarian, see Marcellinus *ad ann.* 479: *disciplinæ prætoræ militaris ita op-* *timus institutor coercitorque fuit ut* *præcis Romanorum ductoribus compar-* *etur.*

borders of Thrace, far away Scythia-ward, deeming that if I abode there I should trouble no man, and should be able to obey all the behests of the Emperor. But ye summoned me as to war against Theodoric, and promised, firstly, that the master of soldiers in Thrace would meet me with his army, yet he never appeared; secondly, ye promised that Claudius, the steward of the Gothic contingent, would come with the pay for foreign troops (ξενικῶ), yet I never saw him; thirdly, ye gave me guides who, leaving the better roads that would have taken me to the quarters of the foe,¹ led me by steep and precipitous rocky paths, where I wellnigh perished with all my train, advancing as I was with cavalry, waggons, and all the furniture of camp, and exposed to the attacks of the enemy. I was therefore constrained to come to terms with them, and owe them a debt of gratitude that they did not annihilate me, betrayed as I was by you and in their power."

"The Emperor," replied Adamantius, "bestowed upon you the title of Patrician, and created you a master of soldiers. These are the highest honours that crown the labours of the most deserving Roman officers, and nothing should induce you to cherish towards their bestower other than filial sentiments." Having endeavoured to defend or extenuate the treatment of which Theodoric complained, the envoy proceeded thus: "You are acting intolerably in seizing Roman cities, while you are expecting an embassy; and remember that the Romans held you at their mercy, a prisoner, surrounded by their armies, amid the mountains and rivers of Thrace, whence you could never have extricated yourself, if they had not permitted you to withdraw, not even were your forces tenfold as great as they are. Allow me to counsel you to assume a more moderate attitude towards the Emperor, for you cannot in the end overcome the Romans when they press on you from all sides. Leave Epirus and the cities of this region—we cannot allow such great cities to be occupied by you and their inhabitants to be expelled—and go to Dardania, where there is an extensive territory of rich soil, uninhabited, and sufficient to support your host in plenty."

¹ In Müller's *F. H. G.* the Latin version mistranslates the Greek: οἱ τὰς εὐπορωτέρας τῶν ὁδῶν ἐλάσαντες τὰς εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φεροῦσας ἀπήγαγον δι' ὁρθίας ἀτραποῦ, κ.τ.λ. is rendered by

qui, tutis et expeditis omissis, per cas quae ad hostem ferebant, per praerupta et praecipitia loca me deduxerunt, of which words the most obvious meaning is not that of the Greek.

To this proposal Theodoric replied that he would readily consent, but that his followers, who had recently endured many hardships, would be unwilling to leave their quarters in Epirus, where they had fully expected to pass the winter. He proposed a compromise, and engaged that if he were permitted to winter at Dyrrhachium he would migrate to Dardania in the ensuing spring. He added that he was quite ready to leave the unwarlike mass of his Ostrogoths in any city named by Zeno, and giving up his mother and sister as hostages, to take the field against the son of Triarius with six thousand of his most martial followers, in company with the Illyrian army; when he had conquered his rival he expected to succeed to the post of master of soldiers and to be received in New Rome as a Roman.¹ He also observed that he was prepared, if the Emperor wished, "to go to Dalmatia and restore Julius Nepos." Adamantius was unable to promise that the wishes of the Goth would be acceded to; it was necessary to send a messenger to Byzantium to consult the Emperor. And thus the interview terminated.

Meanwhile the military forces, stationed in the Illyrian cities, had assembled at Lychnidus, around the standard of Sabinianus. It was announced to the general that a band of the Ostrogoths led by Theudimund, the brother of Theodoric, was descending in secure negligence from Mount Candaira, which separates the valley of the Genusus from that of the Drilo. This band had formed the rear of the Ostrogoths' line of march, and had not yet reached Dyrrhachium. Sabinianus sent a few infantry soldiers by a circuitous mountain route, with minute directions as to the hour and place at which they were to appear; and himself with the rest of the army proceeded thither, after the evening meal, by a more direct way. Marching during the night he assailed the company of Theudimund at dawn of day. Theudimund and his mother, who was with him, fled with all speed into the plain, and, having crossed a deep gully, destroyed the bridge which spanned it to cut off pursuit. This act, while it saved them, sacrificed their followers, who turned at bay upon the Romans. Two thousand waggons and more than five thousand captives were taken, and a great booty.²

¹ τὸν Ῥωμαῖκὸν πολιτεύοντα τρόπον.
For Julius Nepos, see below, p. 278.

² Marcellinus *ad ann.* 479: *Theodoricum idem Sabinianus regem apud*

After this the Emperor received two messages, one from Adamantius announcing the proposals of Theodoric, the other from Sabinianus exaggerating his victory, and dissuading from the conclusion of peace. War seemed more honourable to Zeno, and the pacific offers were rejected; Sabinianus was permitted or commanded to continue the war,¹ which seems to have been protracted in these regions for more than two years longer. But the able general was murdered by an ungrateful master; and we hear that John the Scythian and Moschianus were sent to succeed him.

Of the events of the following years our notices are meagre. We find the son of Triarius assisting Illus in the suppression of the revolt of Marcian in the same year in which the campaign of Epirus took place. Soon afterwards we hear that he operated successfully against "Huns,"² and we may be sure that these Huns were identical with the Bulgarians, who were now for the first time roused up by Zeno to make war against both the Theodorics.³ From another source we learn that Theodoric, the son of Theodemir, defeated an army of Bulgarians.⁴ Hence we may conclude that, in the year 480, the two Ostrogothic chieftains combined against the Empire, and that Zeno sought the alliance of the Bulgarians, who, in the movements that had ensued upon the dissolution of Attila's power, had migrated westward from their homes near the Caspian and hovered on the lower Danube. Moreover, both the Theodorics gained victories over the Bulgarian forces.

In the following year (481) "the son of Triarius advanced against Constantinople itself, and he would easily have reduced it if Illus had not guarded the gates in time. Thence he passed to the so-called Sycae (a suburb), where he again failed in an attempt on the city. It remained for him to proceed to the place named *Pros Hestiais* and the so-called Losthenion, and endeavour to cross the straits to Bithynia. But he was defeated in a sea-fight, and departed to Thrace. Thence he set

Gracciam debacchantem ingenio magis quam virtute deterruit. Notice that Graecia is used of New Epirus.

¹ The fate of Sabinianus is stated by John of Antioch, fr. 213. According to Marcellinus he died in 481, therefore I conclude that the war continued in Epirus until that year.

² John of Antioch, 211, 5.

³ *Ib.* 211, 4: καὶ ἡ τῶν Θεοδερίκων συζυγία (the pair of the Theodorics) κ.τ.λ. ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ζήνωνα τότε πρῶτον τοὺς καλουμένους Βουλγάρους εἰς συμμαχίαν προτρέψασθαι.

⁴ Ennodius, Panegyric of Theodoric (ed. Vogel in *M. G. H.* series, p. 205, 27).

forth for Greece (Hellas) with his son Recitach and his two brothers and his wife and about 30,000 Goths (Scythians). And when he was at the Stable of Diomede¹ he was killed. Having mounted his horse in the morning he was thrown by it on a spear which was standing erect beside the wall of the tent. Others asserted that the blow was inflicted on him by his son Recitach because he had whipped him. His wife Sigilda buried him by night. Recitach succeeded to his authority over the people, his father's brothers sharing in the power.² But he slew them afterwards, and reigned alone over the land of the Thracians, performing more outrageous acts than his father had performed." Recitach was soon afterwards slain by Theodoric, the son of Theodemir, whom Zeno instigated to the deed³ (483 or 484).

In 482 we find Theodoric—the name is no longer ambiguous—ravaging both the Macedonias and Thessaly and capturing the town of Larissa. For the ensuing six years (until 488) he continues to be a thorn in the side of the Roman Emperor, and a burden and menace to the lands of the Haemus, though, for the most part, he is not openly hostile, having been conciliated by honours and benefits. Parts of Moesia and Dacia were conceded to him (483), and he was appointed master of soldiers.⁴ In 484 he enjoyed the great dignity of giving his name to the year as consul, and he assisted Zeno against the rebel Illus. But three years later (487) he marched on Constantinople, laying waste the country as he went; Melantias was taken,⁵ and the capital was once more threatened by the Ostrogoths. But in 488 the land was delivered from their presence, and the Ostrogoths, like the Visigoths eighty years before, left Illyricum to seek a new home in the West.

¹ τὸν Διομήδους καλούμενον στάβλον (on the Egnatian Road). I translate the short account of John of Antioch. A more elaborate account will be found in the third fragment of Eustathius (*apud Eusebium*, iii. 25).

² *παρεδυνάστευον*, a word used in

later Roman history of influential ministers of the Emperor.

³ Theodoric was a cousin of Recitach (John of Antioch, 214, 3).

⁴ *Magister militiæ praesentalis* (Marcellinus *ad ann.* 483).

⁵ Marcellinus, 487.

CHAPTER V

ODOVACAR THE PATRICIAN AND THEODORIC THE PATRICIAN

FOR more than four months after the death of Olybrius, Leo was the sole Roman Emperor, and during that time the power in Italy seems to have rested with the senate and Gundobad, the nephew of Ricimer. On 5th March 473 Glycerius, count of the domestics, was proclaimed Emperor at Ravenna, "by the advice of Gundobad,"¹ even as Severus had been proclaimed Emperor at the same place by the advice of Ricimer. But Gundobad the Burgundian was not like Ricimer, and he soon disappears from the scene of Italian politics. One important public act is recorded of the Emperor Glycerius. Italy was threatened by an invasion of Ostrogoths, who were moving from Pannonia under the leadership of Widemir; Glycerius' diplomacy averted the storm, so that it fell on Gaul.

The eastern Augustus did not approve of the new election, which was made without his consent; and he selected another as the successor of Anthemius.² His candidate was the husband of his niece, Julius Nepos,³ the nephew of Marcellinus, who had ruled independently in Dalmatia. And the career of Julius Nepos partakes of two characters; at one moment we think of him as the successor of Anthemius, at another moment as the successor of Marcellinus.

Glycerius was easily deposed, he did not fight; and in

¹ Cassiodori Chron. *Gundibato hortante Glycerius Ravennae sumpsit imperium.* Marcellini Chron. *Glycerius apud Ravennam plus praesumptione quam electione Caesar factus est*—this was the view of New Rome. John of Antioch, fr. 209: *τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ρεκίμερος*

ὑπεισελθὼν Γουνδουβάλης, ἀνεψίος ὦν αὐτοῦ, Ἰλυκέριον τὴν τοῦ κόμητος τῶν δομestikῶν ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔγει. For date, see Anon. Cusp.

² John of Antioch, *ib.*

³ Son of Nepotianus and Marcellinus' sister.

Portus, *Portus Augusti et Trajani*, the town at the mouth of the Tiber, he was ordained as bishop of Salona.¹ It is not quite clear whether he ever reached the city of his episcopate, and lived in the vicinity of the palace, which another ex-Emperor, far different from him, had built for himself at the mouth of the Jader. He was ordained and he died—that is all we know. Nepos was proclaimed Emperor and ruled at Rome (24th June 474).

Once more an Augustus at Old Rome and an Augustus at New Rome reigned in unison. At this juncture Epiphanius, the old bishop of Pavia, who was adored in the land of Liguria, appears on the scene, and negotiates a peace between Nepos and Euric, the Visigothic king, as he had before negotiated a peace between Anthemius and Ricimer.² Euric had taken advantage of the recent confusion to extend his dominions, and had attacked Auvergne, which was bravely defended by Ecdicius, the son of Avitus. Sidonius, his brother-in-law, celebrates the enthusiasm of his grateful fellow-citizens—"How they gazed at you from the walls of Arverni."³ But by the peace of Epiphanius, Arverni was ceded to Euric, in order to save Italy from invasion, and Sidonius breaks out into bitter complaints of this abandonment.⁴ What made the yoke of the Visigoths at this time especially intolerable, was the fact that King Euric, who had acceded in 466, was a fanatical Arian. He oppressed the Catholics in his realm; he refused to allow Catholic bishops to be elected at Burdigala, Lemovici (Limoges), and other cities; and Sidonius hesitated whether he should regard him as the leader of an Arian party or as the king of the Goths.⁵ Ennodius says that he ruled the "Getae" with an iron sway.

But it was not with Euric, nor yet with Gundobad, that Nepos had to measure swords; a general named Orestes,

¹ Some doubts have been felt as to the appointment of Glycerius to the see of Salona; but John of Antioch, who is trustworthy, is express (fr. 209). Anon. Val. says merely *factus est episcopus*. Marcellini Chron. *in portu urbis Romae ex Caesare episcopus ordinatus est et obiit*: the form of expression suggests a doubt whether Glycerius ever reached Salona.

² Liguria seems to have played a considerable part in these negotiations. See

Ennodius' *Life of Epiphanius*, ed. Vogel, 94, 15. A provincial council of the Ligurians selected Epiphanius as the emissary to Euric.

³ Sidon. Apoll. Ep. iii. 3. Ennodius, *op. cit.* 94, 6.

⁴ Id. Ep. vii. 7: *Arvernorum, pro dolor, servitus*.

⁵ Id. Ep. vii. 6 (ed. M. G. H. p. 109, 23). This letter is used by Gregory of Tours, ii. 25.

of patrician rank, was to be his adversary. This was that Orestes who had been the secretary of Attila, and had married the daughter of a certain Count Romulus. He was, perhaps, employed as a general in Gaul by Julius Nepos; certain it is that he was in Italy in 475, and he disdained to submit to the rule of him whom the sovereign of New Rome had sent. He determined to do what Stilicho probably desired to do, what Aetius probably desired to do, what Gerontius probably did; he determined to elevate his son to the imperial throne, and thereby possess the supreme power himself.

We are told that Nepos went to Ravenna, and the Patrician Orestes pursued him with an army. And Nepos, fearing the coming of Orestes, embarked in a ship and fled to Salona. This was on the 28th of August 475; the same year that saw the flight of Zeno from Constantinople saw the flight of Nepos from Ravenna; but while in less than two years Zeno returned, the return of Nepos was not to be. He lived for five years at Salona, the third ex-Emperor who had bent his course thither; and if Glycerius really survived, he had the satisfaction of seeing the man who overthrew him overthrown in turn.

The Caesar Julius was succeeded by the Caesar Augustulus; for so young Romulus was nicknamed,¹ whom his father invested with the imperial insignia (31st October 475). These names, Julius, Augustulus, Romulus, in the pages of the late chroniclers, meet us like ghosts re-arisen from past days of Roman history.²

We now come to an event which is often presented in a wrong light, the resignation of Romulus Augustulus on 22d August 476. The immediate cause which led to the fall of Orestes was a mutiny of the *foederati*, as Gibbon clearly saw; Orestes' own conduct in heading a mutiny against Nepos was "retorted against himself." The foreign soldiers in the army, consisting of Heruls, Rugians, Scyrians, and other obscure nationalities, demanded a third part of Italy for themselves; Orestes boldly refused the demand, and his shield-bearer, Odo-

¹ The origin of the name, "the little Augustus," is not recorded.

² M. Am. Thierry, "*Les derniers temps de l'empire d'occident*," makes a similar remark. He adds, "*Ces rap-*

prochements fortuits présentaient dans leur bizarrerie je ne sais quoi de surnaturel qui justifiait la crédulité et troublait jusqu'aux plus fermes esprits: on baissa la tête et on se tut" (p. 258).

vacar,¹ headed the mutineers. Pavia, to which Orestes retired, was easily taken, and the Patrician was slain at Placentia; his brother Paul was put to death in the pine-woods of Classis. "Entering Ravenna, Odovacar deposed Augustulus, but granted him his life, pitying his infancy, and because he was comely; and he gave him an income of six thousand solidi, and sent him to live in Campania with his relations."

These words of a chronicler² represent what practically took place. Italy was now to be divided among the followers of Odovacar, as south-western Gaul more than fifty years ago had been divided among the followers of Wallia. But as Athaulf and Wallia did not break with the Empire, so Odovacar did not desire to break with the Empire; he aspired to govern Italy as a Patrician, nominally dependent on the Emperor, while he was king of his own Germans. For this purpose he made the deposition of Romulus Augustulus take the form of an abdication; he induced the Roman senate to endorse formally the permanent institution of a state of things which had often actually existed in the days of Ricimer; and ambassadors were sent to the Augustus of New Rome to signify the new order of things. In 477, when Zeno had been restored to the throne of which Basiliscus had robbed him, the messengers of the Roman senate appeared in Constantinople, and informed Zeno that they did not require a separate Emperor to govern them, but that his sole supremacy would be sufficient both for East and West; at the same time they had selected Odovacar as a person capable of protecting their interests, being both a warrior and a man endowed with political intelligence; and they now asked Zeno to confer upon him the rank of Patrician and entrust him with the administration of Italy.³

At the same moment, messengers arrived from Nepos, to congratulate Zeno on his restoration, and to ask for his sympathy with one who had suffered the same misfortune, and for his aid in men and money to recover the imperial power. This

¹ The nationality of Odovacar is not clear; he is sometimes called a Scyrian, sometimes a Rugian. It is very likely he was a Scyrian; it is certain he was not a Rugian; he afterwards overthrew the Rugian kingdom in Noricum. It is said he was the son of Edecon; but

it is not certain whether this Edecon was identical with him whom we met at the court of Attila.

² *Anon. Val.* 8, 38.

³ These details are preserved in a valuable fragment of Malchus (10).

message affected Zeno's reply to the envoys from Italy. To the representatives of the senate he said, that of the two Emperors whom they had received from the East, they had slain one, Anthemius, and banished the other, Nepos; let them now take Nepos back. To Odovacar, who had also sent envoys, he replied that he would do well if he accepted the rank of the Patriciate at the hands of Nepos; he praised the respect for Rome and the observance of order which had marked his conduct; and bade him crown his goodness by acknowledging the rights of the exiled Emperor. The fact that Verina was a kinswoman of the wife of Nepos was a determining element in the situation. But Odovacar did not acknowledge the claim of Nepos, and Zeno was not in a position to do more than give him advice.

The unfortunate phrase "Fall of the Western Empire" has given a false importance to the affair of 476: it is generally thought that the date marks a great era of the world. But no Empire fell in 476; there was no western Empire to fall. There was only one Roman Empire, which sometimes was governed by two or more Augusti. If, on the death of Honorius in 423, there had been no Valentinian to succeed him, and if Theodosius II had assumed the reins of government over the western provinces, and if, as is quite conceivable, no second Augustus had arisen again before the western provinces had all passed under the sway of Teutonic rulers, no one would surely have spoken of the "Fall of the Western Empire." And yet this hypothetical case is formally the same as the actual event of 476. The fact that the union of East and West under Zeno's name was accompanied by the rule of the Teuton in Italy, has disguised the true aspect. And in any case it might be said that Julius Nepos was still Emperor; he was acknowledged by Zeno, he was acknowledged in southern Gaul¹; so that one might just as legitimately place "the Fall of the Western Empire" in 480, the year of his death. The Italian provinces were now, like Africa, like Spain, like the greater part of Gaul, practically an independent kingdom, but theoretically

¹ Candidus, fr. 1 (p. 136, ed. Müller), relates that after the death of Nepos the Gallo-Romans (τῶν δυσμικῶν Γαλατῶν)

rejected the rule of Odovacar and sent an embassy to Zeno; but Zeno rather inclined to Odovacar.

the Roman Empire was once more as it had been in the days of Theodosius the Great or in the days of Julian.

When the Count Marcellinus in his *Chronicle* wrote that on the death of Aetius "the Hesperian realm fell," he could justify his statement better than those who place 476 among the critical dates of the world's history. It is more profitable to recognise the continuity of history than to impose upon it arbitrary divisions; it is more profitable to grasp that Odovacar was the successor of Merobaudes, than to dwell with solemnity on the imaginary fall of an empire. Merobaudes, the German against whose influence in the western court the Britannic legions made a Roman manifestation, was succeeded by the semi-barbarian Stilicho, who at once encouraged and kept in check the barbarians, at once undermined and protected the Empire. After a short Roman reaction under Constantius, who, however, was constrained to do what Stilicho never did, and assign to the Goths lands within the Empire, arose the great Aetius, of German descent on his father's side and reared among barbarians, who now warred with the Teutons and now led them to battle. If Stilicho was a semi-barbarian, Aetius might be called a semi-Roman. His successor was the Suevian Ricimer; with him the opposition between the German element and the principles of the Roman Imperium appears; he will only have an Emperor whom he likes; the Emperor depends upon the Patrician, not the Patrician upon the Emperor. The next step is Odovacar the Patrician, not without an Emperor—for that would have been an absurdity in theory—but subject to an Emperor ruling, not at Ravenna or Rome, but at Constantinople, and therefore practically independent. Odovacar is likewise king of his own nation, and though he is not "King of Italy," Italy is virtually a Teutonic kingdom, like Spain and Africa. The administration of Odovacar therefore does not come within my scope. The significance of his reign is that it prepared for the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. The death of Gaiseric (477) was followed by the decline of the Vandalic power, and Odovacar had less difficulty than his predecessors in providing on that side for the safety of Italy. He annexed Dalmatia to his dominion in 481, after the death of Julius Nepos, and acted in every regard as an independent prince. It is noteworthy that the one extant coin, which may

be probably attributed to Odovacar, has no reference to the Emperor.¹

We may pass on to the circumstances which led to the overthrow of the Scyrian monarch and the establishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric in the Italian peninsula. The words of a chronicle, in which the events are clearly and simply related, may be quoted.²

"And so Zeno recompensed Theodoric with benefits; he made him a Patrician and consul, gave him much and sent him to Italy. And Theodoric made a compact with him, that, in case Odovacar were conquered, he should, as a reward for his labours, rule in place of Odovacar, until Zeno came himself.³ Accordingly Theodoric the Patrician *supervened* from the city of Novae with his Gothic people, being sent by the Emperor Zeno from the east to win and keep Italy for him.

"When he came he was met by Odovacar at the river Sontius (Isonzo), and fighting there was conquered and fled. But Odovacar departed to Verona and fixed his camp in the Lesser Veronese plain on the 27th of September [489]. And Theodoric followed him there, and a battle was fought and people fell on both sides; but Odovacar being overcome fled to Ravenna on the last day of September.

"And Theodoric the Patrician marched on to Mediolanum, and the greater part of Odovacar's army surrendered to him; especially Tufa, the Master of Soldiers, whom Odovacar with his chief men [a German Folcmote] had ordained on the 1st April. In that year Tufa, the Master of Soldiers, was sent by Theodoric to Ravenna against Odovacar.

"Tufa, coming to Faventia, blockaded Odovacar with the army with which he had been sent; and Odovacar left Ravenna and came to Faventia. And Tufa delivered to Odovacar the "comrades" (*comites*) of the Patrician Theodoric, and they were put in irons and led to Ravenna.

"In the consulate of Faustus and Longinus [490], King Odovacar left Cremona and proceeded to Mediolanum. Then the Visigoths came to the assistance of Theodoric,⁴ and a battle was fought on the river

¹ An account of "Odovacar's Deed of Gift to Pierius," preserved on two separate fragments of papyrus (one in the Imperial Library at Vienna, the other the Theatine Monastery of St. Paul at Naples) will be found in Mr. Hodgkin's third volume, note B, p. 165.

² Anonymus Valesii, who drew his facts from the lost annals of Ravenna. Ennodius' Panegyric of Theodoric, written in very obscure language, is important for these years, and has been thoroughly utilised by Mr. Hodgkin for the sixth chapter of his third volume.

³ Mr. Hodgkin (iii. 130) finds a difficulty in this passage, whose translation

seems to me sufficiently evident. The Latin is *cui Theodericus pactuatus est ut si victus fuisset Odovachar pro merito laborum suorum loco ejus dum adveniret tantum praeregnaret*. Zeno is the subject of *adveniret*, and *tantum* means "only"; Theodoric's government in Italy was to be only temporary. As for *praeregnaret*, *prae* seems to be redundant—prefixed on the analogy of *praesideo*, *praesum*, etc.—or else it is a mistake for *proregnaret*. The Latin is so bad that it is difficult.

⁴ The Burgundians, on the other hand, under Gundobad, assisted Odovacar by invading Liguria with a great army (*Hist. Miscell.* xv. 16).

Addua, and people fell on both sides. Pierius, the Count of Domestics, was slain on the 11th August, and Odovacar fled to Ravenna. Then the Patrician Theodoric followed him and came to the Pinewoods (*Pineta*) and pitched his camp. And he blockaded Odovacar, keeping him shut up in Ravenna for three years. And a bushel of corn reached the price of six solidi.¹ And Theodoric sent Faustus, the head of the senate, to the Emperor Zeno, hoping to receive at his hands and wear the royal apparel.

"In the consulate of Olybrius, *vir clarissimus*, [491] King Odovacar departed from Ravenna by night and entered the Pinewoods along with the Heruls and came to the camp of the Patrician Theodoric. And soldiers fell on both sides; and Levila, Odovacar's Master of Soldiers, fleeing was killed in the river Bedens.² And Odovacar being vanquished fled to Ravenna on the 15th of July.³

"Then [493] Odovacar, being constrained, gave his son Thelane as a hostage to Theodoric, having his pledge that his life would be spared. Thus Theodoric entered in (to Ravenna). And some days after, Odovacar was discovered to be plotting against him,⁴ but his design was anticipated; for Theodoric with his own hand slew him with a sword in the palace of Lauretum. On the same day all his soldiers were slain, wherever they could be found, and all his kin."

Thus Theodoric "supervened"⁵ and succeeded Odovacar, as Odovacar had supervened and succeeded Orestes. Both for one and for the other it had been a political necessity to slay his rival; it would have been dangerous to accord him his freedom; and it was not the habit of German warriors to immure fallen adversaries in dungeons. The only possible compromise would have been to divide Italy; but Theodoric had come from the East to recover the whole land. The death of Odovacar was the most natural and simple alternative; confinement in an island was not a method likely to be adopted by a German king. The statement that Odovacar was found plotting against Theodoric has been doubted, though it is quite credible; and whether it is true or not, Theodoric could hardly escape the necessity of putting him to death.

¹ That is, £3:12s. a peck.

² The Ronco. Cf. Hodgkin, iii. 228.

³ During the year 492 no hostilities took place. The *Anonymus Valesii* proceeds as if no interval took place between the defeat of Odovacar in the Pinewoods and the compact of 493 (27th February, *Anon. Cuspin.*)

⁴ *Dum ei Odoachar insidiaretur*; the other sources which depend on the Ravennate Annals (*Anon. Cuspin.*,

Continuatio Prosperi Havn., and *Agnellus*) do not mention this moment in the transaction, but it is supported by the Chronicle of Cassiodorus (*Odoacrem molientem sibi insidias*) and Procopius, *B. G. i. 1* (*ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενον*). Cassiodorus is perhaps a prejudiced witness, and was likely to adopt a view favourable to Theodoric.

⁵ *Supervenio* is the *vox propria* in the *Anon. Valcs.*

But Zeno, who had given the commission of recovering Italy to Theodoric the Patrician, had meanwhile been succeeded by Anastasius; and the new Emperor had adopted an attitude of reaction against his Isaurian predecessor. Theodoric therefore could not be sure of imperial recognition. "He had sent Faustus Niger as an ambassador to Zeno. But having learned of his death before the embassy returned, the Goths confirmed Theodoric as their king, when he entered Ravenna and slew Odovacar, and did not wait for the order of the new Emperor."¹ It was not till five years later that he made peace with Anastasius (498) and "received all the ornaments of the palace which Odovacar had sent to Constantinople."² The Roman Emperor tardily recognised him, but looked upon Italy as the territory of an enemy rather than of a Patrician, and even sent ships to make a raid on the coast of Apulia (508).³

Theodoric adopted Ravenna, the city of Honorius and Placidia and Valentinian, as his capital. The Emperors who reigned in the days of Ricimer had seldom resided in the palace of the Laurelwood, but Odovacar had adopted it as his home. Theodoric built a new palace in another part of the city, close to the church of St. Martin, in which his Arian Goths worshipped. This church, which is still extant, was afterwards dedicated to St. Apollinaris, and is now known as San Apollinare Nuovo. Of the Ostrogothic palace perhaps some relics still remain; but of the Lauretum, where Odovacar was slain, no trace is left.

While Italy was being ruled by the German Patricians Ricimer, Odovacar, and Theodoric, a new power was consolidating itself in Gaul. Aegidius was the successor of Aetius in the work of maintaining Roman authority and resisting Teutonic advance in Gaul; he opposed Frankish Childeric as Aetius had opposed Frankish Chlojo. It was Childeric who really founded the kingdom of the Franks⁴; he acquired the cities of Köln and Imperial Trier; and at Tournai his tomb and corpse with his armour were found in the seven-

¹ *An. Val.* 57.

² *Ib.* 63. The negotiator was Festus. It is not clear what the *ornamenta palatii* exactly were.

³ Marcell. Com. *ad annum*.

⁴ The story of Childeric's deposition, Aegidius' elevation, and Childeric's re-

storation, by the Franks in Gregory of Tours, ii. 12, is rightly rejected as legendary by von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iv. 1, 421. [Cf., however, Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin*, pp. 117, 118.] Childeric was accused *filias eorum* (the Franks) *stuprose detrahere*.

teenth century. If Childeric founded, his son Chlodwig reared and extended, the new kingdom, and achieved for it an important position in the political system of Europe. As the Patrician Aegidius was the adversary of Childeric, the Patrician Syagrius, his son, was the adversary of Chlodwig. Syagrius ruled at Augusta Suessionum (Soissons) as independently of the Empire as Odovacar ruled at Ravenna, yet as the representative of the Roman name. But Syagrius had no allies; his forces were not a match for the might of Chlodwig; and in the year 486 he fled vanquished from a field of battle. The Visigoths, with whom he sought refuge, did not dare to save him; he was delivered to the victor and put to death. This battle decided the predominance of the Franks in Gaul.

Among the German nations who settled in the Roman Empire the Franks had a peculiar position. In the first place, they were less imbued with Roman ideas, they were more opposed to the Roman spirit, they represented more purely the primitive German man,¹ with his customs and ways, than the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, or the Burgundians. In the second place, they had never served as *foederati* under a Roman Emperor, like the Visigoths under Alaric or the Ostrogoths under Theodoric; neither Chlojo nor Childeric had ever been Roman Patricians or masters of soldiers, nor had they received grants of territory from an Augustus²; they won their kingdom by force, without the semblance of right. In the third place, while the Burgundians, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Vandals formed their kingdoms in countries where people of their races had never settled before, the kingdom of Childeric arose in lands where Franks had been settled for more than a hundred years.³ Yet another mark distinguished them from the neighbouring Teutonic kingdoms, when Chlodwig was converted to Christianity by the influence of his Burgundian wife Clotilda and embraced the Catholic creed (496 A.D.), whereas the other German kings and peoples had either been originally baptized or afterwards lapsed into the Arian doctrine. This

¹ This is clear from the Salic laws. The Salian Franks derived their name from Sala, the old name of the Yssel.

² Since I wrote this sentence, I have read the discussion of M. Gasquet (*op. cit.* p. 122 *sqq.*), and am disposed to

think it probable that Childeric held the rank of *magister militum*.

³ Constantius called them in at the time of the revolt of Magnentius; Libanius, *Ἐπεὶ δὲ* on Julian (ed. Reiske, i. 533, 7); von Ranke, *op. cit.* iv. 416.

act smoothed the relations between the Gallo-Roman subjects and their Frankish rulers, and was of vital consequence for the history of western Europe.

Chlodwig subdued the Alemanni in a great battle (about 492 A.D.), and rendered them tributary; he defeated the Arian Burgundians, and compelled them, too, to pay tribute; and he won a decisive victory over the Arian Visigoths on the Campus Vocladensis,¹ where King Alaric the Second fell. But against the great Theodoric he could not contend as he had contended against Alaric and Gundobad; he besieged Arelate, but the forces of the Ostrogoths inflicted a terrible defeat on the Franks and Burgundians outside the walls of the Roman city.² Provincia was incorporated in the Ostrogothic kingdom, and ruled by a vicar. Before the death of Theodoric its limits were increased to westward and northward, at the expense of Visigoths and Burgundians, and it was ruled by a praetorian prefect.

Chlodwig, meanwhile, who stood as the Catholic power of the West over against the Arian kings, was recognised as an ally by Anastasius. The Roman Emperor conferred upon the king of the Franks the dignity of the consulate.³ The geographical positions of the Empire and the kingdom of Chlodwig rendered the alliance natural, as their borders did not touch. The bestowal, however, of the consulship on Chlodwig implies the theory that, as his territory once belonged to the Empire, he was in a certain way still connected with, if not dependent on, the Emperor. Anastasius would hardly have thought of bestowing the consular rank on a German prince who lived in a district of central Europe which had never been an imperial province. Chlodwig was hereby recognised by the Emperor as his successor or vicegerent in Gaul.

Of the political administration of Theodoric something will be said in a future chapter. We may point out here that in relation to the Vandals he followed the policy of Odovacar, and allowed them to retain a small corner of Sicily, including the fortress of Lilybaeum, which had in old days belonged to the

¹ Greg. of Tours, ii. 37: *in campo Vogladense*; Vouillé, in Department Vienne.

² Jordanes, *Get.* c. 58.

³ Gregory of Tours, ii. 38: *igitur ab*

Anastasio imperatore codecillo de consolato accepit et in basilica beati Martini tunica blattea indutus et clamide imponens vertice diademam.

Carthaginians. Thus at the beginning of the sixth century the political geography of Europe was very different from its simple character at the beginning of the fifth, when civilised Europe and the Roman Empire were conterminous. Beside his possessions in Asia and Egypt, the Emperor exercised direct authority over Thrace and Illyricum, that is the prefecture of Illyricum; but the diocese of Illyricum or Western Illyricum, as it is sometimes called, including Rhaetia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, belonged to the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy.¹ As the Ostrogothic king was a Roman Patrician, it might be said that the Emperor still ruled nominally over Italy. The rest of the old prefecture of Italy, that is, Africa, Sardinia, and Corsica, with a small part of Sicily, was held by the Vandals, whose kings accentuated their independence of the Empire by wearing the diadem on their coins. The old prefecture of the Gauls had been converted into four Teutonic kingdoms: (1) the small realm of the Suevians in north-western Spain; (2) the large realm of the Visigoths, which extended from the Loire to the Straits of Gades; (3) the kingdom of the Burgundians, on the Rhone; (4) the kingdom of the Franks, which comprised all northern Gaul, and extended east of the Rhine. In these kingdoms two corners are not included, the north-western corner, which was inhabited by Celtic Britons, and the south-eastern corner, Provincia, which passed into the hands of Theodoric when he protected it against the Franks. As for Britain, it was at this time experiencing the invasions of the Saxons and the Angles, and passing out of the remembrance of the Roman Empire.

SAINT SEVERINUS.—Before I conclude this chapter I must give some account of one of the strangest episodes in the history of the dismemberment of the Empire in the West—the condition of the provinces of Noricum and Rhaetia under the dominion of a saint. These provinces formed a Roman island in the midst of a barbarian sea, for German nations had pene-

¹ Theodoric won Sirmium from the Gepids in 504. The Gepids were assisted by the Bulgarians. Cf. the Chronicle of Cassiodorus (*ad annum*): *victis Bulgaribus Sirmium recepit Italia*. When Theodoric was engaged

in the expedition he assisted the Hun Mundo against the imperial general Sabinian, who had Bulgarian allies. The Ostrogoths were successful (505 A.D. Marcellinus Com.)

trated westward along the Julian Alps and formed a wedge dividing Noricum from Italy. They were exposed to constant invasions from the barbarians who encompassed them—the Ostrogoths, who, after the break-up of the Hun empire, had settled in the lands of the Save,¹ the Thuringians in the north-west, the Alemanni and Suevi in the south-west, the Rugians to the north and north-east, with their dependants, the Turcilingi and Heruls. The Rugians proposed to protect these Roman provinces against the other barbarians, but such a protectorate was a pretext for oppression. The Rhaetian and Noric lands fell into a state of complete disorganisation, political, military, and moral. The imperial officers abandoned their dangerous posts in this inhospitable country and departed to Italy, leaving the maintenance of order to the municipal magistrates. The soldiers quartered as garrisons in the strong towns had no means of maintaining communication, and as their pay became irregular, and finally ceased, owing to the interruption of direct relations with Italy, they were more ready to quarrel with the provincials than to fight with the enemy. They reinforced the bands of brigands or scammers,² who began to infest the wild mountainous regions and plunder the plains. The moral chaos is represented as appalling. While the distinction of right and wrong vanished, while prudence and pity were forgotten, the grossest superstitions prevailed. Human beings were actually sacrificed in a town of Noricum to appease some deity or fiend, to whom the miserable condition of the country was attributed. In Noricum and Rhaetia the pain which attended the great travail of the fifth century reached its highest degree, the darkness assumed its blackest hue.

Here, if anywhere, there was need of some divine intervention, of a prophet at least who believed himself divinely inspired. A new social organisation was required to render possible an adequate defence against the barbarians, and as joint action requires a certain minimum of unselfishness, some moral regeneration was a condition of success. Such a prophet, "the apostle of Noricum," came from the East.

¹ Theodemir, in the neighbourhood of Vienna; Walamir, on the Save; Widemir, between the two.

² This name first occurs in Eugippius, whose *Vita Severini* (recently

edited by H. Sauppe in the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*) is our authority for these events. See X, 2, *scameras*. Afterwards it often occurs as the name of the robbers in the Balkan peninsula.

It was in the year after Attila's death that Saint Severinus appeared in Pannonia. His past history was a secret that went to the grave with himself. It was only known that he was by birth an Italian, and that "he had set out to a solitude in the East, through a burning desire of the more perfect life" (*fervore perfectioris vitae*), and that he had travelled much in oriental countries. He learned there the austerities of a monk. His life in the lands of the upper Danube makes us imagine him as a sort of mystic theosophist with strong practical energy.

He united the mission of John the Baptist with the mission of Christ; he preached repentance and lovingkindness. The first city to which he came was Astura, an important commercial centre in Pannonia. He bade the people repent and change their ways, prophesying that otherwise destruction would speedily come upon their city — a safe prophecy; but the people were froward, and looked upon the prophet as a common beggar. Having made only one convert, the porter of the city gate who had taken him in, he proceeded to another town, Comagenae.¹ Soon afterwards Astura was surprised by barbarians, and the fulfilment of the prediction of Severinus, which was noised abroad by the porter, who escaped from the sack of the town, changed his position from that of an obtrusive mendicant impostor to that of a prophet and a saint. It was suddenly discovered that he was the one man capable of saving the imperilled countries, which God seemed to have abandoned.

And for this work Severinus proved well adapted. He was not merely an enthusiast capable of exciting enthusiasm in others, but he had a genius for organisation and command. He was skilful in judging an actual situation, in planning a mode of defence or a sally, in dealing with individual men. He soon had an opportunity of displaying his talents at Faviana (now Mauer), where he was summoned on account of an impending famine, owing to the scarcity of corn, which, as the Inn was frozen, could not be obtained in the usual quantity. The disorganisation and immoral tone in the town prevented its fair distribution, but Severinus restored order, and superintended the apportionment with complete effectiveness. In this town, on the borders

¹ Now Tulln, near Mount Cettius Astura is perhaps Klosterneburg (*ib.*)
(Mommson, *Corp. Insc. Lat.* iii. 683). near Mount Cettius.

of Rhaetia and Noricum, he took up his abode, and made it, as it were, the centre of his administration. Having led the people into the path of repentance, he proceeded to teach them charity. He imposed on all a tax of one-tenth of provisions and one-tenth of raiment for the benefit of the poor, who had always been the chief objects of his solicitude. This tax was enforced by his own moral influence. It is to be particularly observed that his charity was extended to barbarians and brigands as well as others. Misery was a sufficient recommendation.

But his practical activity had not subdued his passion for solitude and the life of the hermit. Suddenly he disappeared from Faviana, and made a cell for himself in a valley of Mount Cettius. And so he passed his life, meditating alternately in his mountain cell and in the monastery which he founded at Faviana.¹

The history of the intimacy of Severinus with Flaccitheus, king of the Rugians, whose territories reached the left bank of the Danube at Faviana; of his relations with that king's two sons, the feeble Feva and the crafty Frederick, and with Ghisa, Feva's wife, whose nature was deadly and pestilential, *feralis et noxia*,² might form the framework of a romance. It is a matter of interest that Odovacar visited the saint's cell as he journeyed southward in search of a career, and that the saint prophesied his greatness; and further, that when he had attained the royal power in Italy, the saint predicted his downfall.

Severinus' government in Noricum and Rhaetia lasted about thirty years (453-482). His task was hardest at the beginning and at the end. At the beginning he had to regenerate the inhabitants; at the end the barbarians pressed harder on the provinces. The Ostrogoths were indirectly the cause of this; for their movement from Pannonia into the Illyrian lands left a place for other nations to press in, and disturbed the existing equilibrium. We may attribute the peace that existed during the reign of Flaccitheus between the Rugians and the provincials of Noricum to the constant warfare that was waged between the Rugians and the Ostrogoths. We hear how the saint made the king of the Alemanni tremble in every limb under his glance; but he was obliged first to

¹ He founded two monasteries, one at Passau (Batavis), called "the small." at Faviana, called "the great," and one ² Eugippius, *Vit. S. Sev.* viii. 1.

abandon Passau and retreat to Lauriacum (Lorch), and afterwards to yield to the determination of Feva that the provincials should be transported into the land of Lauriacum. The saint did not long survive this; he died in 482, the Rugian royal family standing at his bedside. His dying injunctions and menaces had little effect; Frederick pillaged his monasteries as soon as his eyes were closed.

Odovacar avenged the saint. He determined to win back the provinces of Noricum from the Rugians, with whom, though some said he was a Rugian himself, he had nothing in common. He set out for Italy in 487, and exterminated the Rugian nation. After adorning his triumph, Feva was put to death and Ghisa thrown into a dungeon. The provincials were transported to Italy, and the remains of St. Severinus were conveyed to a monastery at the villa of Lucullus, at the request of a Neapolitan lady.

CHAPTER VI

ANASTASIUS I

AFTER the death of Zeno, Flavius Anastasius of Dyrrhachium was proclaimed Emperor (11th April 491) through the influence of the widowed Empress Ariadne, who married him about six weeks later. Anastasius, who held the not very distinguished post of a *silentiarius* or guardsman, was nevertheless a remarkable and well-known figure in Constantinople. He held unorthodox opinions, partly due, perhaps, to an Arian mother and a Manichaean uncle, and he was possessed by a sort of religious craze, which led him to attempt to convert others to his own opinions. He did this in a curiously public manner. Having placed a chair in the church of St. Sophia, he used to attend the services with unfailing regularity and give private heterodox instruction to a select audience from his cathedra.¹ By this conduct he offended the Patriarch Euphemius, who by Zeno's permission expelled him from the church and pulled down his chair of instruction; but he gained golden opinions from the general public by his piety and liberality. It even appears that he may have at one time dreamt of an ecclesiastical career, for he was proposed for the vacant chair of Antioch.² Euphemius, unpleasantly surprised at the choice of the Empress, who was supported by the eunuch Urbicius,³ refused to crown Anastasius until he had signed a written declaration of ortho-

¹ See Theophanes, 5982 A.M.

² In 488, when Palladius was elected.
Compare A. Roso, *Kaiser Anastasius I.*

(p. 13), who translates *συνεψηφισθη* in Theophanes rightly.

³ Cedrenus (ed. Bonn), i. 626.

doxy, which, in spite of his heretical tendencies, he did not hesitate to do.¹

The accession of Anastasius must have seemed to Byzantium a great and a welcome change. Instead of a man like Zeno, who in spite of considerable ability was very unpopular on account of the unfair favour shown to the Isaurians, and who scandalised propriety by his loose life, while he could not attract men by an imposing or agreeable exterior, a man of the highest respectability occupied the throne, a man with a strong religious turn, of slender stature and remarkable for his fine eyes, which differed in hue, a man to whom the people called out when he was proclaimed Emperor, "Reign as you have lived," and to whom a bishop of Rome² wrote, "I know that in private life you always strove after piety." He is characterised in general³ as a man of intelligence and good education, gentle and yet energetic, able to command his temper and generous in bestowing gifts, but with one weak point, a tendency to be unduly parsimonious.

But the accession of the new Emperor was not undisputed. Zeno's brother Longinus, who was president of the senate, conceived that he had a claim to the crown, and he had actually a strong support in his countrymen the Isaurians, who saw that their privileges were endangered. Zeno, who knew his brother well, had with real patriotism refused to designate him as his successor, feeling that his elevation would be a disaster to the Empire; somewhat as Antipater the Macedonian refused to transmit his protectorate to his son Cassander. Longinus, supported by a *magister militum* of the same name, played much the same part against Anastasius that Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo, had played against Zeno. He organised the numerous Isaurians who resided in the capital, and the year of Anastasius' elevation was marked for Constantinople by bloodshed and fatal street battles, in the course of which a large part of the town, including the hippodrome, was destroyed by a conflagration. Anastasius, however, succeeded in removing his rival to Alexandria, where he became a priest by compulsion, early in 492. Longinus, the master of soldiers, was

¹ The document was lodged in the church archives under the charge of the skeuophylax.

² Gelasius (Mansi, *Concilia*, xiii. 30).

³ By Johannes Lydus, *de Mag.* i. 47.

deposed from his office and returned with many other Isaurians to his mountainous home in Asia Minor.

The tedious Isaurian war, of which this was the first scene, lasted for five years, 491-496.¹ The events of the first years are often obscured by failing to understand clearly that hostilities were carried on in Constantinople and Isauria simultaneously; the war had begun in Isauria before the Isaurians were expelled from Constantinople. Longinus and his friends, who arrived, filled with indignation, in the regions of Mount Taurus, roused their excitable countrymen to revolt; and an understanding evidently existed between the rebels in Asia Minor and the rebels in Byzantium. Among the generals who led the Isaurians in conjunction with Longinus was Conon, the archbishop of Apamea.² Their forces marched in a north-westerly direction towards the Propontis, but at Cotyaeum in Phrygia they were met by a small army which Anastasius had sent against them under the command of many experienced officers. The masses of the rebels were utterly routed and fled back to their mountains, while the imperial soldiers followed leisurely and took up winter quarters at the foot of the Taurus range.

In what relations the various generals in command of Anastasius' small army stood to one another we do not know; but it would be unfair to suppose that Anastasius was adopting the policy of dividing the command from motives of jealousy or suspicion. The number of commanders is quite accounted for by the nature of the warfare to be expected in the defiles of Taurus, where it was necessary for small divisions to act in many places, and a large regiment under a single leader would have been of little use.

The news of Cotyaeum was followed by an edict (issued in the capital in 493) unfavourable to the Isaurians, who thereupon filled the streets with all the horrors of fire and sword, and hauled along with ropes the bronze statues of the Emperor.

¹ Marcellinus is probably wrong in placing the latest events of the war in 497. See Rose, *op. cit.* p. 19.

² Other commanders were Silingis (Ninilingis?), a bastard brother of Illus; Athenodorus, noted for his wealth (but al. ἀπλούστατος, Theoph. p. 138, ed. de Boor). The forces

numbered about 100,000, John of Antioch, 214^b (*P. H. G.* iv.) The generals of Anastasius were Johannes the Scythian, who had conquered Illus; Johannes, the hunchback; Diogenes, a relation of Ariadne; Justin, who was afterwards Emperor; Apsikal, a barbarian.

These scenes of indecent violence were with difficulty suppressed,¹ and then a summary edict was issued banishing all Isaurians from the city, among the rest the family of Zeno,² while the Isaurica or annual grant of 1000 lbs. of gold (which Zeno had instituted) was withdrawn.

The banished members of the obnoxious nationality, burning for revenge, reinforced their countrymen in the castles and hiding-places of the Taurus mountains, and for the next three years (493-496) a somewhat desultory but anxious war was carried on round the strong places of the country. Claudopolis, a very important position, was taken in 493, and in 494 a considerable victory was won near the same city in a battle which was fatal to archbishop Conon. The following year saw the capture and execution (at Byzantium) of Longinus, one of the chiefs, not to be confounded with the ex-magister³; and in 496 the last two surviving leaders, Longinus and Athenodorus, were taken, and the war was at an end.

It is important to note that the Isaurians were then removed from their Asiatic home and transported to Thrace,⁴ but it is hard to believe that this measure can have been carried out with any degree of completeness. The whole history of the Isaurian war indicates what an isolated position, from their sentiments, habits, and mode of life, the Isaurians held in the Empire, as we have already described. It was as natural for them to take up arms when an Isaurian did not succeed Zeno as it would have been for the Ostrogoths if by some extraordinary concurrence of circumstances Theodoric had become a Roman Emperor and on his death an Ostrogoth did not replace him.

Besides its disastrous effects on agriculture and industry in the south of Asia Minor, this long war led indirectly to other harmful consequences. It was a very unsuitable and unfortunate preparation for the serious Persian war which broke out in 502, and was only temporarily terminated by the

¹ By Anastasius' brother-in-law, Socondinus, husband of his sister Caesaria.

² Lalis, his mother; Valeria, the wife of Longinus; Longina, her daughter, who married one Zeno, son of Anthemius and Herais. All the property of Zeno and the Isaurians was confiscated; the imperial robes of Zeno were sold.

³ Thus three persons named Longinus were connected with this Isaurian war—(1) the brother of Zeno, who disappears at the very beginning; (2) the ex-magister; (3) a leader executed in 495, called the Selinuntian.

⁴ Procopius of Gaza, *Panegy. c.* 10.

peace of 505. An account of this three years' war will be given in the next chapter, but it may be here observed that the Isaurian warfare, which required operations in small divisions and introduced the practice of numerous independent commands, was a bad drill for the war in Mesopotamia, which demanded the united action of large bodies under one supreme general.

In the meantime the Balkan lands were becoming acquainted with new foes, who were destined to play a great part in the subsequent history of the Roman Empire. The departure of Theodoric the Ostrogoth to Italy left Thrace and Illyricum free for the Slaves, who dwelt beyond the Danube in the countries which are now called Siebenbürgen and Moldavia, to invade and plunder. The first invasion of which we have record¹ took place in 493, on which occasion they severely defeated Julianus, the master of soldiers, and devastated Thrace. The next invasion that we hear of was in 517, when they penetrated into Macedonia and Thessaly; but it is highly probable that in the intervening years they were not idle, though we have no record. But other enemies had also laid waste the provinces and defeated the legions. These were the Bulgarians, a people of the Ural-Altaic or Ugro-Finnic race, who must not be confounded with the Slaves. They are first mentioned as having been employed by Zeno against Theodoric, by whom they were defeated. In 499 they crossed the Danube, and returned gorged with plunder, and crowned with the glory of a victory over a Roman army; and in 502 they repeated their successful expedition.²

It seems clear to me that there must have been invasions, whether of Slaves or Bulgarians, between the years 502 and 512, which our scanty and brief notices have not recorded. For, in the first place, they had met with no repulse; invasion was easy and inviting; nothing except hostilities among the

¹ In the Chronicle of Marcellinus they are called Getae, because they lived in the homes of the old Getae. For the Slaves, *see* below, Bk. iv. pt. i. cap. xii.

² I may conjecture, though there is no evidence on the subject, that Anastasius formed the settlements of Isaurians in Thrace in order to replenish a population decimated by the incursion

of the barbarians. The presence of the Ostrogoths must have in the first instance reduced it; the expedition of the Slaves in 493 did further mischief; and it may have been after 499 that the settlement took place. The Isaurians were a stout race, accustomed to self-help, and would be suitable settlers in a land constantly exposed to the raids of barbarians.

barbarians themselves could have hindered them. In the second place, Anastasius built the Long Wall for protection against their hostilities in 512, and it is hardly conceivable that he would have built it then if, during the ten preceding years, the provinces had been exempted from the devastations of the heathen. It rather seems probable that in 510 or 511 a really dangerous invasion took place, and that this was the immediate cause of the erection of the wall. This wall, of which traces are still visible, stretched from the Sea of Marmora at Selymbria to the Black Sea. Its length was 420 stadia, its distance from the city was 280 stadia, and its effect was to insulate Constantinople.¹

Thus the arms of Anastasius were so unsuccessful in Europe that at last no serious attempt was made to protect Thrace; he confined himself to saving the capital by a massive fortification. This wall was really efficacious, and it is meaningless rhetoric to call it a "monument of cowardice," an expression which might be applied to all fortifications. On the other hand, in Asia some useful successes were gained in 498 against the Bedouin or Scenite Arabs, who had begun to invade Syria and Palestine. They were thoroughly defeated in two battles.² But a success of still greater consequence was the recovery of the island of Jotaba, from which the Romans had been expelled in the reign of Leo. Jotaba was the centre of an important Red Sea trade; all the ships with cargoes from India put in there, and custom-house duties were collected by imperial officers. Its possession was thus extremely important for the Empire.³

Anastasius' reign was signalised by many riots and disturbances in Constantinople. These often took the form of conflicts between the Blues and Greens, the latter of whom were favoured by Anastasius, as they identified themselves with the unorthodox monophysitic party. The religious disputes and the schism with Rome were noticed in a previous chapter; here I shall only call attention to the strained relations, already referred to, between the Emperor and the Patriarch Euphemius.

¹ Evagrius, iii. 38.

² Eugenius defeated one party at Bithapsus, Romanus routed Agarar at Gamalus.

³ Theoph. 5990 A.M. Cf. Rose, *op. cit.* p. 28.

It happened that in 495 Anastasius informed the Patriarch that he was sick of the Isaurian war, and would willingly make easy conditions with the rebels, if he could thereby conclude it. Euphemius was treacherous enough to repeat these words to Johannes, a son-in-law of Athenodorus, one of the Isaurian leaders. We cannot determine to what extent Euphemius entertained a traitorous design; but Anastasius, when Johannes made him aware of the Patriarch's communication, looked upon him, or chose to look upon him, as a traitor and accomplice of the rebels. He was banished, or fled, soon afterwards from Byzantium.

There was a strong party of opposition whose hostile machinations must have often made the Emperor feel insecure. How this party, which represented the orthodox faith, acted in regard to the Isaurian revolt we do not hear; but the incident of Euphemius, just related, might incline us to suspect their loyalty during those years. The measures adopted by Anastasius for the reform of abuses created much discontent among those who profited by them; he put down informers (*delatores*) with a firm hand. His conscientious scruples did not permit him to indulge the corrupt populace in the dissolute and barbarous amusements to which they were accustomed. He forbade the practice of contests with wild beasts, a relic of heathen Rome which was an anachronism in the christian world. We cannot be surprised at its survival so long when we remember that gladiatorial shows lasted for fifty years after Rome had become christian; and we must also recollect that the christian doctrine that animals have no souls hindered any strong sentiment on the subject. He also refused to allow the celebration of nocturnal feasts, which were the occasions of licentious orgies. The May feast of Bruta¹ was on two occasions the scene of scandalous riots, resulting in the sacrifice of life, and the Emperor forbade its celebration for the future, thereby (says a contemporary) "depriving the city of the most beautiful dances." Thus his staid and frugal court, which his enemies might call shabby, his strict censorship of morals, which seemed, as we should say, puritanical, and his heretical opinions in theo-

¹ John of Antioch, fr. 214^c (*F. H. G.* iv.) It was also called feast of Majūnas. It was a Roman festival, and the cus-

tom was that grave officials (*οἱ ἐν τοῖς τέλει*) should duck one another in sea water.

logy, exposed Anastasius to constant odium, which culminated (511 A.D.) when he sanctioned the adoption of a monophysitic addition to the hymn called Trisagios ("thrice holy").¹ To quell the sedition Anastasius adopted a theatrical artifice, which was successful. He appeared before the people without a crown, and offered to resign the sovereignty in favour of another. The respect which his uniform conscientiousness had inspired in all predominated for the moment, and the multitude cried to him that he should resume the diadem. But discontent continued to prevail, and the opposition was so strong that it seemed a good opportunity for an ambitious man who had soldiers at his command to attempt to dethrone the Emperor.

In 514 such an attempt was made. The commissariat which had been supplied by the State to the corps of foreign foederati, who were stationed to defend Thrace and Scythia, had been withdrawn, and the discontent which ensued afforded a new pretext against the existing government. Vitalian, the son of a man² who had been himself count of the foederati, fostered the ill-feeling. He was a man small in stature, and afflicted with a stammer, but he had associated constantly with Huns and Bulgarians, and could count on their co-operation. The brunt of the unpopularity of the government with the soldiers was borne by Hypatius, the Emperor's nephew, who was the master of soldiers in Thrace, and it was against him in the first instance that Vitalian directed his attack. By stratagem he compassed the death of the chief officers of his staff, he corrupted the governor of Lower Moesia, and then capturing Carinus, Hypatius' trusted confidant, he granted him his life on the conditions that he should co-operate in the capture of Odessus and recognise himself as general. Hypatius seems to have escaped to Constantinople.

The rebel, or "tyrant," as he was called, then advanced on the capital with 50,000 soldiers, consisting partly of the foederati and partly of rustics, some of whom were perhaps Slaves settled in Moesia and Scythia. It was not merely as spokesman of the grievances of the army, and as protesting against the administration of Hypatius, that Vitalian posed; he also

¹ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς was inserted after δθάνωρος in the following words: ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἱσχυρός, ἅγιος δθάνωρος

ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. The orthodox, on the other hand, inserted ἅγια τριάς.

² A native of Zaladaba, in Lower Moesia.

professed to be the champion of orthodoxy, indignant at the treatment of certain bishops whom Anastasius had banished. He took care to insist on this pretext; and we may confidently assume that he had established intimate relations with the disaffected party in the city.¹

"The Emperor, inclined to be timorous on account of his recent experiences (that is, the revolt of 511), and vexed by the unexpectedness of these occurrences as well as by the fact that the adversaries who were advancing made a similar pretence of blaming his religion (as the rebels had done on the former occasion), commanded bronze crosses to be set up over the gates of the walls, setting forth in writing the real cause of the rebellion. He also reduced by one-quarter the tax on animals for the inhabitants of Bithynia and Asia, depositing the bill to that effect on the altar of the First Church (St. Sophia). He employed the officers and ministers as a garrison for the city.

"But when Vitalian attacked the suburbs and marched round the walls, the Master of Soldiers, Patricius, was sent to him. Such missions devolved upon him in virtue of his office; moreover, he was distinguished by honour and dignities, and had considerably helped Vitalian himself in his successful career. He took Vitalian sharply to task, availing himself of the liberty permitted to a benefactor; and in reply Vitalian, as was to be expected, dwelled on many acts passed by the Emperor, and pointed out that the present object of himself and his party was (1) to rectify the injustices committed by the *magister militum per Thracias* (Hypatius), and (2) to obtain the recognition and sanction of the orthodox theological creed.

"Next day the chief officers of Vitalian's camp came, on the Emperor's invitation, without Vitalian, for he could not be persuaded to enter the city; and an interview was held in which the Emperor, having charged them and proved to them that they were not dislained or passed over, won them by presents and by promises that they would receive their dues, and undertook that the church of Old Rome would be allowed to arrange the religious questions at stake. When they had declared with oaths their future loyalty to him, he dismissed them. Having returned to Vitalian, they departed with him and the army."²

Thus the first essay of Vitalian was frustrated by the desertion of his officers, whose confidence Anastasius won. Anastasius followed up his promises by appointing Cyrillus to the

¹ So the revolution which overthrew Maurice in 602 rested on a combination of a general (Phocas) without and an opposition party within Byzantium. The parallel is increased by the analogy between the unpopularity of the General Hypatius, Anastasius' nephew, and that of the General Peter, Maurice's brother. Rose, who perhaps passes too

lightly over the religious aspect of the revolt, does not seem to have grasped this combination.

² John of Antioch, fr. 214^a (*F. H. G.* vol. v.) Marcellinus, ill-disposed to Anastasius, describes his diplomacy in this matter, which he does not give in detail, as "pretences and perjuries."

post of *magister militum* instead of his nephew, who was so unpopular with the army. Cyrillus proceeded to Lower Moesia, where he knew that he would find Vitalian actively engaged in new schemes. Vitalian was even more on the alert than he thought, and as the general was enjoying the society of his concubines a Hunnish assassin slew him. This act made it clear that the rebel was irreconcilable, and a decree of the senate was passed in old Roman style—the use of this formality is noteworthy—that Vitalian was an enemy of the republic (ἀλλότριον τῆς πολιτείας).

A large army of 80,000 was collected, and while Alathar, a Hun, was appointed to succeed Cyrillus, the supreme command of the army was assigned to the unpopular Hypatius, who was accompanied by Theodorus, “steward of the sacred treasures.” Vitalian’s new army consisted of Huns, Bulgarians, and perhaps Slaves, recruited probably as before from rustics of the Haemus provinces. We have no hint that his former adherents, the officers whom Anastasius’ adroitness had won over, or their soldiers, fell back again from their allegiance, and we may assume that they joined the imperial army. The Emperor’s forces gained an inconsiderable victory, which was soon followed by serious reverses. Julian, a *magister memoriae*, was taken alive by the rebels, and carried about in a cage, as Bajazet was carried about by Timour, but was afterwards ransomed. Hypatius then fortified himself behind a rampart of waggons at Acris, on the Black Sea, near Odysseus. In this entrenchment the barbarians attacked him, and, assisted by a sudden darkness, which a superstitious historian attributed to magic arts, gained a signal victory. The Romans, driven over precipices and into ravines, lost about 60,000 men. Hypatius himself ran into the sea, if perchance he might conceal himself in the waves, but his head betrayed him, for he was unable to practise the cunning trick of the Slaves, who were accustomed thus to elude the pursuit of their enemies, breathing under water through a long hollow reed, one end of which was held in their mouth while the other was just above the surface. Vitalian preserved him alive as a valuable hostage. This victory enabled him to pay his barbarian allies richly, and placed him in possession of all the cities and fortresses in Moesia and Scythia, which he ruled as an emperor. The

ambassadors whom Anastasius sent with 10,000 lbs. of gold to ransom his nephew were captured in an ambush at Sozopolis.

In the meantime a tumult, attended with loss of life, took place in Constantinople because the Emperor forbade the celebration of a festival on account of disorders in the circus which had occurred on the same day; among others the prefect of the watch was slain. This disturbance, along with the captivity of his nephew and the threatened siege, may have perhaps contributed to induce Anastasius to make a compromise with Vitalian. The conditions were that Vitalian should be made *magister militum per Thracias*, that he should receive 15,000 lbs. of gold, that the proclamation of the orthodox faith should be renewed, and that Hypatius should be liberated.

The following year (515) was troubled not only by the ravages of a horde of Sabir Huns, who entered Asia Minor through Armenia, and laid waste Cappadocia and the provinces of Pontus, penetrating as far as Lycaonia, whence they returned gorged with booty and laden with captives, but also by a fresh demonstration of hostility on the part of Vitalian. He marched on Constantinople, and took up his quarters at Sycae. He then embarked in a fleet which he had prepared, and was completely defeated off Scutari by Marinus the Lycian, some say with the help of chemicals prepared by a man of science named Proclus, an Archimedes of that day. This naval victory decided the war. Vitalian withdrew, probably to the neighbourhood of the Danube, and we hear that a Hunnish leader named Tarrach was captured and burned at Chalcedon, and that many other prominent rebels were punished.

Although Anastasius did not accomplish anything that can be called brilliant, his reign was prosperous. His mild character and his beneficial reforms partially blotted out, in the eyes of contemporaries and of historians, the deadly taint of heterodoxy, and he appeared in a still more favourable light as he was directly contrasted with his unpopular Isaurian predecessor. Mildness is a trait on which his panegyrist Priscian more than once insists,¹ comparing him to Nerva—

et mitem Nervam lenissima pectora vincunt,

¹ This trait is confirmed by Lydus, τῷ πάντων βασιλέων ἡμερωτάτῳ.

and another eulogist¹ represents him as a *deus ex machina* setting right the wrongs and lightening the burdens of the Empire. A member of the civil service, who began his career in this reign, asserts that Anastasius' careful financial policy, and his strictness in supervising personally the details of the budget, really saved the State, which had first become financially involved by the money that was expended on Leo's unsuccessful armament against the Vandals, and had been kept in a depressed condition by the shortsighted and "miserable" policy of Zeno.²

The act which earned for him most glory and popularity was the abolition of the Chrysargyron,³ a tax on all receipts, to which the humblest labourer and the poorest prostitute were liable. It had been instituted by Constantine, and Anastasius abolished it in 498. The chief fault that the Church had to find with this tax was that it recognised vices forbidden by nature and the laws.⁴ Another abuse which the Emperor remedied was the unfairness of officers in paying rations to their soldiers, in order to make a private profit; this is not mentioned by any writer, but the facts are preserved in an inscription at Ptolemais in the Pentapolis.⁵ His donations to soldiers are perhaps another indication of his interest in the army. He was indefatigable in restoring "prostrate cities," and, besides the Great Wall, he executed an important public work which deserves mention, the construction of a canal connecting Lake Sophon with the Gulf of Astacus.⁶

But the men of Dyrrhachium had the reputation of being avaricious, and even favourable writers say that Anastasius was no exception. Elegiac verses were posted up in the hippodrome by his foes, addressing him as "bane of the world" (*κοσμοφθόρε*). His love of money, it was said, induced him to listen

¹ Procopius of Gaza.

² Johannes Lydus, iii. c. 43 *sqq.*

³ Anastasius burned all the documents relating to the collection of this tax, so that it could not be renewed. So the Emperor Gratian had caused the lists of arrears of taxes to be burnt in every town throughout the provinces which he ruled over.

⁴ Evagrius, iii. 39. Anastasius' abolition of the tax is said (Cedrenus, i. 627, Bonn) to have been due to a play on the subject composed by an actor of Gaza

named Timotheus. Anastasius favoured the theatre, and in his reign Choricus of Gaza wrote an essay *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Διογύσειον τὸν βίον ἐκονισθῶντων* (*Revue de Philol.* 1877, pp. 212-247).

⁵ Zacharia von Lingenthal, *Abhandlungen der Berl. Acad.* 1879; Wetstein, *ib.* 1863.

⁶ "A work which Pliny had proposed to Trajan, and which was restored by the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I." (Finlay, i. 182). See Pliny, *Ep.* x. 50.

to the counsels of Marinus, a Syrian *scriniarius*, who wormed himself into his confidence by promising to raise large sums. It is very probable, however, that our authority, Johannes Lydus, had strong prejudices against the successful Syrian, and misrepresents his policy. There seem to have been a Marinus faction and an anti-Marinus faction in official circles.¹

The great innovation of Marinus was the abolition of the old curial system, by which the *curiae* or municipal corporation collected the moneys due to the State. A new farming system was introduced. Officers, named *vindices*, were appointed to collect the revenue, which on the old system was often cheated through the collusion of the provincial magnates with the governors of the provinces and the tax-collectors (*canonicarii*). The enemies of Marinus said that the *vindices* treated the cities like foes, because the appointments were given by auction to those who promised most.² The nature of the new system evidently involved this evil, but it is only fair to assume that Anastasius, whose mildness was so remarkable, took care to arrange a mode of checking this by increasing the influence of the *defensores*, and his panegyrist Priscian represents the measure as healing a flagrant abuse.³ It must be noted that this change involved an increase of centralisation, which seems to have been an object of Anastasius' policy. Henceforward even minute matters were referred to the Emperor, so that few steps could be taken in the provinces "without a divine command."

Anastasius is said to have never sent petitioners empty away, whether they represented a city, a fort, or a harbour. He was above giving offices by favour, and when his wife Ariadne requested him to appoint Anthemius to the praetorian prefecture, he refused to make an exception to his principle that only men of forensic training (*λογικοί*) were entitled to it. His saving policy necessarily involved a great reduc-

¹ I infer this from Lydus' expression of *Μαρινιῶντες*, who, he says, were enriched by Marinus' policy, as well as Marinus himself and Anastasius (iii. c. 49).

² Lydus says the general result was to impoverish the provinces, and thus decrease the business done in the bureaux of the praetorian prefect. This meant a diminution of his own

fees. Evagrius, who is hostilely inclined to Anastasius, as heterodox, says of the measure (iii. 42): *ὅθεν κατὰ πολὺ οἱ τε φόροι διερρήσαν τὰ τε ἀνθ' τῶν πόλεων διέπεσαν.*

³ *Agricolae miserans dispendia saeva relaxas; curia perversis nam cessat moribus omnis nec licet iniustis solito contemnere leges.*

tion of the court expenditure, and he was probably on that account unpopular with the frivolous nobles and the court ladies, accustomed to the pageants and pleasures of Byzantine festivals. But the staid Anastasius did not care for pomp, and the result of his fiscal economy was that he not only righted the financial depression of the Empire, but that at his death 320,000 lbs. of gold were found in the treasury.

Anastasius died in July 518, more than eighty years old.

CHAPTER VII

THE PERSIAN WAR

THE restored Persian empire under the sovereignty of the Sassanid dynasty rose on the ruins of the Parthian Arsacids in the reign of Alexander Severus (226 A.D.) During the third and fourth centuries, the eastern frontier was the scene of fatal wars, in the course of which two Roman Emperors, Valerian and Julian, perished. In 363 a treaty was concluded, by which Jovian ceded five provinces beyond the Euphrates, including Arzanene and Corduene, and the towns of Nisibis and Singara to Sapor, and this cession was followed by an emigration of the Greeks from those lands, because Sapor and the Magi afflicted the Christians with persecutions.

During the fifth century the relations of the Empire with Persia varied, but there were no protracted or considerable hostilities, although Armenia, the perpetual source of annoyance, was in a state of ferment, and a serious war seemed ever on the point of breaking out. This was in a great measure due to the circumstance that the Persian monarchs were fully occupied with dangerous and savage enemies on the north-east frontier of their kingdom—the Ephthalite Huns; while the Roman Emperors had enough to do in weathering the storms that were convulsing Europe.

When our period begins, in the reign of Arcadius, Varahran was on the throne, but was succeeded in 399 by Isdigerd, who was as much an object of veneration to Greek historians as he was an object of detestation to the chroniclers of his own kingdom. He did not take advantage of the childhood of Theodosius II to vex the Empire; and I do not see that there

is sufficient reason to follow modern writers in rejecting the statement of Procopius, that Arcadius in his testament made Isdigerd the guardian of his son. There is nothing incredible in this, provided we regard it in the proper light, and recognise that it was only a way of paying a compliment to a royal brother. The guardianship was merely nominal; and Arcadius' act of courtesy is not without a parallel in later Roman history.¹ The fact that Procopius mentions it with no expression of amazement shows that it did not strike all men, who breathed in the atmosphere of the time, with surprise; and it is therefore arbitrary in modern writers to follow Agathias in pronouncing it improbable.

Isdigerd's successor, Varahran II, was sufficiently amenable to the influence of the Magi to persecute the christian residents in Persia. A cruel system of proselytising was carried on in Persarmenia, and some outrages were committed on Roman merchants. The consequence was a war, which lasted for two years (420-421); the Persians held Nisibis against the siege of the Roman general Ardaburius (father of Aspar), and the Romans on their side defended Theodosiopolis against the attacks of the Persians. It is narrated that the war was decided by a sort of medieval single combat between a Persian, Ardazanes, and a Goth, Areobindus, in which the latter was victorious; but the tale should perhaps be relegated to the region of myth. A peace, however, was concluded for one hundred years. An interesting incident of this war, which deserves to be recorded, was the humanity of Acacius, the bishop of Amida, who ransomed 7000 *Persian* captives at his own and the Church's costs.

Varahran appointed a Parthian governor in Armenia in 422, but this governor's personal character made him so unpopular that the Armenian nobles begged in 428 for a Persian satrap, and their petition was granted.

At this time began the struggles of Persia with the Haithal nation, known in Roman history as the Ephthalite or Nephthalite Huns,² whose abode was beyond the Oxus. They invaded

¹ Heraclius, when he started for the Persian war, placed his son under the guardianship of the chagan of the Avars. The weightiest objection against the statement of Procopius is the scepticism of Agathias (iv. 26).

² They do not seem to have been really Huns, from the physiographical description given by Procopius (*Bell. Pers.* i. 3); see Rawlinson, *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 295.

Persia, but Varahran defeated them. Under Varahran Persia flourished. He was succeeded (440) by Isdigerd "the clement," who straightway declared war against the Empire, but circumstances, on which historians are silent, led to an almost immediate conclusion of peace. Isdigerd was soon engaged in a war with the Ephthalites, which lasted for nine years. He made energetic endeavours to convert Armenia to the religion of Zoroaster, but the Armenians were so tenacious of their Christianity that his efforts were expended in vain. The noble family of the Mamigonians was noted as singularly staunch in supporting the national faith.

Perozes succeeded Isdigerd II (453), having overthrown his rival Hormisdas with the assistance of the Ephthalites, who were the inveterate enemies of the Persian kingdom, but might be the temporary friends of a Persian aspirant. His reign was occupied in quelling serious revolts, which agitated Armenia, and in making war on the khan of the Ephthalites, by whose cunning stratagem of covered ditches he was defeated and slain in 483. Balas (Valâkhesh), perhaps his brother, followed him, and enjoyed a shorter but more peaceable reign. He made a treaty with the Huns, consenting to pay them a tribute for two years. He pacified Armenia by granting unreserved freedom of religion, and ordaining that in future it should be governed directly by a king and not by a deputy. Soon afterward internal conspiracies forced him to make yet further concessions; Vahan the Mamigonian was appointed governor of Armenia, and Christianity was fully reinstated. Balas died in 487.

The reign of his successor Kobad (Cabades), the son of Perozes, is remarkable for the rise of the communistic reformer Mazdak.¹ The first principle of this teacher was that all men are naturally equal. It followed that the present state of society is contrary to nature and unjustifiable, and thence that the acts which society considers to be crimes are, as merely tending to overthrow an unjustifiable institution, themselves blameless. Community of property and wives was another deduction that naturally followed. The remarkable thing is that King Kobad himself embraced and actively helped to promulgate these doctrines, which the Persian lords and the

¹ See Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 342 *sqq.* Tabari; Agathias, iv. 27; and Procop. Our authorities are Mirkhond and B. P. i. 5.

orthodox Zoroastrians viewed with utter repugnance and contempt. Impatient of such a recreant monarch, the nobles immured him in the castle of Lethe, and proclaimed Zamasping (498-501); while Mazdak was imprisoned, but forcibly released by his disciples. In the space of two or three years Kobad found means to escape, and with the help of the Huns was reinstated on the throne. In his attitude to Mazdakism and Zoroastrianism during his restored reign he adopted a compromise; as a king he was a fire-worshipper, as a man he was a follower of Mazdak.

It was at this point that hostilities were renewed between Persia and New Rome. In 442 it had been agreed that the Roman government was to contribute a certain sum to enable Persia to provide for the defence of the Caucasian pass of Derbend, close to the Caspian Sea, against trans-Caucasian tribes. Demands had been twice made of the Emperor Leo to fulfil the engagement, but he had refused. It is generally stated that Kobad pressed Anastasius for this payment; but it is more probable that the cause of the outbreak of the war was somewhat different.¹ For their assistance in restoring him to his throne the Persian king owed the Ephthalites a large sum of money which he had promised them, and, finding difficulty in raising it, he applied to Anastasius. The Emperor, however, had no intention of lending it to him, and his refusal took the form of a demand for a written acknowledgment or *cautio*, as he knew well that to Kobad, unfamiliar with the usages of Roman law, such a mercantile transaction would appear contemptible and intolerable. Kobad replied by a hostile demonstration in Armenia, and thus the "hundred years' peace was broken, after a duration of exactly eighty (502 A.D.)

Martyropolis, Theodosiopolis, and Amida, the strong places of the great marchland, fell into the hands of the Sassanid monarch one after another. Martyropolis surrendered, Theodosiopolis was betrayed, and Amida, after a long and laborious winter siege, was surprised during a festival early in the year 503, a Persian soldier having chanced to discover the

¹ J. Lydus attributes the war to a demand for the costs of maintaining the castle of Biraparach. Rawlinson follows this account, but I follow

Theodorus Lector (ii. 52), cf. Theophanes, 5996 A.M.; and so Rose, *op. cit.* p. 33.

issue of a mine.¹ The besiegers had been so long baffled that the garrison and inhabitants ultimately yielded to the negligence of security, and they used to mock the Persians from the walls. A massacre commenced, but was stayed, perhaps by the persuasions of a priest, and Amida was left with a garrison of 1000 men. Thus in the course of a year the three most important frontier fastnesses of the Romans had been lost—Amida in Mesopotamia, Martyropolis and Theodosiopolis on the borders of Armenia.

Anastasius arrayed an army of 15,000 men to take the field, but, still influenced by the traditions of the Isaurian warfare, which had been waged some years before, he committed the grave mistake of dividing the command among several generals. First among these must be named Areobindus, the great-grandson of Aspar (on the mother's side) and husband of the daughter of the Emperor Olybrius; he was a man who seems to have loved dancing and flute-playing better than the serious things of life, and he exhibited slowness and slackness in his conduct of the war. Hypatius, a nephew of Anastasius, also received a general's commission, a post which his military inexperience did not deserve. Other commanders of less importance but more ability or energy were Justin, who afterwards became Emperor; Patriciolus, the father of Vitalian; Romanus.²

The campaign of 503 opened with a success for the combined divisions of Areobindus and Romanus in the neighbourhood of Nisibis; but the enemy soon mustered a stronger army and forced Areobindus from the position which he had occupied at Constantina in Arzanene. The jealousy of Hypatius induced him to keep back the assistance which the most moderate standard of duty and patriotism required him to send to Areobindus, and the latter, left unsupported, had almost decided to return to Constantinople. In the meantime, while the Roman generals were quarrelling, the Persians occupied Nisibis, and soon afterwards fell unexpectedly upon the troops of Hypatius

¹ Eustathius of Epiphania wrote a special work on this siege of Amida (Evagr. iii. 37), and it is described in the Syriac ecclesiastical history of Zacharias of Mitylene, edited by Land. The chapters relating to Amida were published, with a Latin translation, in

Mai's *Script. Vet. Collect.* vol. x. (1838), which I have consulted. A curious wine, in the form of a powder, was found in Amida, but the secret of its production was lost (p. 370).

² Phylarch of Euphratesia.

and Patricius (a Phrygian commander) and destroyed a large number of their men.

At this juncture an event happened which changed the tide of fortune, but from which the Romans, had they been led by one able general, might have drawn far greater profit. The Huns invaded Persia, and numerous forces were demanded in the north-east of the kingdom; Kobad therefore desired to make peace. But he thought he could have peace and war simultaneously, and while he treated he devastated. Areobindus, however, defeated him near Edessa, and then he withdrew. The campaigns of 504 were advantageous to the Empire. Hypatius had been recalled, and a valiant Illyrian named Celer, the master of offices, was appointed as a new general. He invaded and devastated Arzanene, and his achievements were followed by successes which the other generals gained elsewhere. Nisibis was wellnigh recovered, and Amida was blockaded. The Roman siege, like the Persian siege two years before, lasted throughout the winter (504-505), and the garrison finally consented to surrender, but on very favourable terms. This advantage was followed by the conclusion of a peace for seven years, by which Amida was left in possession of the Romans, who, however, on the whole had lost, while the Persians on the whole had gained, by this three years' war.

Some years later, probably in 507,¹ Anastasius converted the little village of Daras in Mesopotamia into a splendid fortified town, provided richly with churches, corn magazines, and cisterns, and boasting two public baths. He named it after himself, Anastasiopolis, and it was henceforward one of the centres of frontier warfare. Kobad protested against the work, but, hampered as he was by hostile neighbours in the north-east, he was ready to yield to the diplomacy and accept the bribes of Anastasius, who at the same time strengthened the city of Theodosiopolis on the Armenian borders.

¹ Theoph. 6000 A.M. See Zacharias of Mitylene, cap. xi. *de urbe Dara condita*. The objects of its foundation were (1) to be *exercitusi perfugium et*

statio, (2) to be an *armorum officina*, (3) to be *regionis Arabicæ praesidium adversus Persas latrones atque Ismaelitas*.

CHAPTER VIII

GREEK LITERATURE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

AN able critic of the first or second century A.D.¹ describes a discussion which he had with a literary friend as to the causes of the decline of Greek letters ; why, they asked, are literary works of supreme excellence, works in the grand style, no longer produced. His friend attributed it to the Empire of Rome, which kept the spirits of men in bondage ; he considered that grandeur of thought, and consequently grandeur of style, were largely conditioned by political freedom. The critic himself, on the other hand, was inclined to defend the "peace of the world" against this impeachment, and to attribute the decadence of letters and the lack of inspiration to the decline of human character, to the growing love of money, the growing love of luxury, and, above all, the growing feeling of indifference (*ῥαθυμία*).

A modern critic, accustomed to take account of the reciprocal influences of character on environment and of environment on character, would reconcile the disputants by observing that the discrepant opinions were only superficially discordant, and that each gave one aspect of the truth.

Now, while the decadence, so plain in the time of Longinus, could with little justice be called an effect of the Roman Empire, no better could the still lowlier condition which literature reached in the fourth and fifth centuries be called an effect of Christianity. But at the same time, just as the spirit of the Roman sway—the chill of imperial Rome—was a most favourable atmosphere for the rapid decay that had set in, just

¹ The author of the treatise *περὶ ὑψους*, supposed to be Longinus.

as it exercised a freezing influence on the wells of inspiration, so also the spirit of early Christianity was a most favourable atmosphere for the stifling of humane literature; and as christian theology became current, and christian ideas penetrated the minds of men, little breathing space was left for the faint life of that humane literature which had already travelled so far from its former heights. It continued to support in nooks and by-ways a flickering artificial existence; but the gods of Greece had gone into exile, and inspiration had departed with them.

Although Christianity looked upon pagan literature as full of demonic snares, just as she looked upon the heathen gods as demons, she did not disdain to learn the tricks and ornaments of pagan rhetoric, she did not hesitate to plume her arrow with the eagle's feather. Chrysostom, as a christian priest, could not forget what he had learned in his youth from Libanius; Salvian's treatise *On the Government of God* exhibits careful attention to the effects of rhetorical style. It was not till the sixth century that culture had declined so much that Gregory, the bishop of Rome, could warn his clergy against superfluous concern for grammar. Augustine, in his *Confessions*, only went so far as to marvel that men care to peruse the rules of grammar and not to obey the divine precepts. Both Augustine and Jerome were rhetoricians and stylists, Prudentius wrote christian hymns in Horatian metres, Licentius even spoke of Christ as "our Apollo." Just in the same way pagan art influenced christian art, notwithstanding all christian zeal against it. The habitations of the Greek gods were imitated in the christian churches. Theodosius, who permitted the destruction of temples, who abolished the Olympic games, permitted his victories to be represented as the labours of Hercules. Representations taken from pagan mythology were constantly used in allegorical sense on christian tombs.

It should be borne in mind that while zeal for the house of God exhibited itself prominently as zeal against the houses of the gods, those divinities had still a corner in men's hearts, the charm of paganism still lingered. For, once paganism had lost all power, the works of the ancients lost also their dangerous qualities, and then they were neglected. But in the fifth century the Christians themselves felt the glamour of antique perfection. We see Jerome shrinking in fear from his love

of Cicero, we see Augustine shrinking in fear from his love of Virgil. The classics were, for many of the early saints, like beautiful horrors, possessing a double potency, to attract and to repel. Augustine calls Homer *dulcissime vanus*; and even Orosius confessed of his great contemporary Claudian that though he was a "most pervicacious pagan" he was an excellent poet. The children of light felt that they could not approach the children of this world in the finite perfections of genius. "Infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae"—no Christian of his day could approach that, and Augustine knew it.

In western Europe, among the Latin-speaking Romans, paganism held out longest, and offered most resistance to the new faith, and at the same time it is among Latin divines that we find the strongest abhorrence of pagan literature. On the other hand, in eastern Europe, where Christianity had spread rapidly, among Greek-speaking Romans, paganism clung less obstinately to life, and the feeling in regard to pagan literature was more moderate and indulgent,—less saintly, we might say, and more rational. This difference of feeling may be considered as in some degree the beginning of that difference of culture which distinguished the East from the West in later centuries, when in the West indifference to letters prevailed, while in the East learning and the study of ancient writers never fell into disuse.

It may be wondered why no works of great literary value were produced in the fourth and fifth centuries under the inspiration of the great christian idea which was changing the face of the world. Perhaps some one will contest the statement, and cite St. Augustine's *City of God*. But that work is not a work of great literary value; it is a work of great religious and theological value. The idea itself—the idea of the city of God in the world and not of the world—has, potentially at least, literary value, but the work itself possesses very little. The incomparably less important work of Sir Thomas More on an imaginary state has more worth in this respect than the *City of God*. Other christian works of the time, remarkable in many respects, deserve this criticism in a higher degree, for example Salvian's book *On the Government of God*. We go to Chrysostom or Cyril for history or doctrine, but no one would go to either for general ideas.

The fact is that there was a very small stock of new ideas current at the time, and there was no literary instinct. It may seem perverse to say that there was a small stock of new ideas in the face of the fact that the general view of the world was so thoroughly transformed. But the theories current were of a homogeneous kind; they were imbued with that theological tinge which renders thought unfruitful and unfits it for literary handling. The new spirit tended to stereotype itself in technical theology, and also to express itself in a particular phraseology; and thus the thoughts of the time lost their elasticity and their freedom in the bonds of dogma. Men's minds wandered through eternity, but they wandered on a beaten highroad. That is partly the reason why the writings of the stoic philosophers have much more literary flavour than the writings of christian theologians, although Stoicism was so much less effective than Christianity. On the speculations of the Stoics no trammels were imposed from without; the Stoics had no church, no ecumenical councils, no popes. And that too is partly the reason why the New Testament writers were far more fertile in original ideas, expressed with effect, than doctors of the Church in subsequent ages.

To note the want of literary instinct is merely to note the other side of the same fact—the subjective side of it. Literary instinct implies a certain elasticity and freedom of mind, because it implies the faculty of selection; it is not easily compatible with formalism or with dogma. The christian divines had not this sort of elasticity, and they would not have cared to have it; just as they had not originality, and would not have cared to have it. That freedom of mind on which a doctrine or creed sits lightly would have seemed licence to those who delighted in thralldom to a formulated system, just as originality would have seemed undesirable, or at least unnecessary, to those who considered that all things needful had been revealed. The want of literary taste among christian divines may be illustrated by the case of Jerome, who did not care for and could not feel any charm in the *style* of the old Hebrew scriptures, in spite of the prepossession for them that his beliefs would naturally produce.¹

¹ In this Jerome may be contrasted with the old pagan Longinus, who quotes with admiration the opening verses of Genesis as an example of the sublime.

Jerome's knowledge of Hebrew is said to have been defective. He boasted of being "trilinguis."

The same want of taste is displayed in his frigid and degrading comparison of the love of Christ to the love of woman, a comparison which is characteristic enough of the man and of the time.

It cannot be denied that there were pagans of some literary ability in the fourth century. Historians of literature deal very hardly with Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek writing in Latin; yet do we not feel that there is a unique literary quality in his curious style, as though the perfume of the fourth century had passed into his pages? And of Greek writers Julian had considerable literary talent. *The Misopogon*, which deserves attention as an attempt to express the most scathing satire with ironical urbanity, and *The Banquet of the Emperors*, are works that one reads without feeling an inclination to skip a line. He allows his own cultured personality to penetrate his writings in a way that no divine could do, and his writings therefore have a human interest.

But Julian and Libanius and Themistius had no successors. The only essayist of the fifth century who deserves to be mentioned was Synesius, the bishop of Cyrene.¹ He was the pupil and friend of the unfortunate Hypatia; he was superficially imbued with philosophy; he appears for a moment on the stage of public affairs; he was fond of literary composition; he used to indulge in the pleasures of the chase in the vicinity of Cyrene. All these details remind us of Xenophon, who had the same stamp of respectability, a man fond of philosophy, not a philosopher. And we might add that as Xenophon represents the type of transition from the Athenian of the fourth century to the cosmopolitan of the age of Alexander and his successors, so Synesius, dividing his worship between Plato and Christ, is the type of the transition from the pagan to the christian gentleman. If he had been brought up in the atmosphere of Constantinople he would not have been a Platonist, he would have been an unexceptionably orthodox Christian; if he had been brought up in the atmosphere of Athens he would have been a thorough-going pagan and refused to bow the knee to Baal; but brought up

¹ The standard work on Synesius is the monograph of R. Volkmann, "Synesius von Cyrene." There is an elaborate article "Synesius" in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (ed. Wace), by the late Mr. Halcomb, in which English translations of some of Synesius' verses will be found.

as he was in the atmosphere of Alexandria, which was at this time divided between pagan philosophy and Christianity, his pliable nature adapted itself to both influences and he became a platonic bishop. His works consist of rhetorical compositions, political essays and letters, which possess considerable interest. When he stayed at Constantinople he mixed in a circle of literary mediocrities, who enjoyed ephemeral notoriety, and he is himself a typical member of such a society.

Perhaps the most interesting and attractive feature in Synesius is his love of the pure intellect and his supreme disdain for mere ethical virtue. In this, although a christian bishop, he was more unchristian than the heathen Neoplatonists; in this too he was more platonic than they. Plato did not set store by what we call "goodness"; he almost disdained the demotic virtues. It is curious to see the aristocratic spirit of the pure intellect in the fifth century A.D., and it is only to be regretted that Synesius was not a stronger man.

Far the most important pagan Greek writer of the fifth century was the philosopher Proclus, of whose system I have already spoken. I have dwelt on the dearth of ideas of literary value in that age. Now Proclus has the credit of having expressed a thought that was well worth expressing in a form that deserves to be remembered—in a form that possesses literary value. He said that the true philosopher would never consent to confine himself to any one set of religious ideas; "a philosopher," he said, "is the hierophant of the whole world." Perhaps that is one of the few remarks made in the fifth century that deserves to be remembered in the words in which it was originally expressed. It contains moreover a thought which had long been in the air and had constantly inspired others than philosophers; it idealises in the form of a philosophical maxim that cosmopolitan eclecticism which was practised by such different persons as Alexander Severus and Constantine. Both a great philosopher like Proclus and a great statesman like Constantine can feel themselves above the world and the things, including the religions, that are therein; the eclecticism of Alexander Severus was merely that of a serious dilettante.

The poetical remains of Proclus are a few hymns, conceived in the same style as the famous hymn of Cleanthes to Zeus, and exhibiting the influence of the mystical Orphic

poems. The gods are addressed as mythical beings; their attributes have second imports; and the reader feels that he does not possess the key to a chamber of theosophic significances. But they are not lifeless like formulated chants of a sorcerer or a vulgar theosophist; there is in them perceptible the breath of an "immortal longing," the same longing that was felt by Plato and by Plotinus. Proclus was ever pressing to the "way sublime," *πρὸς ὑψιφόρητον ἀταρπύον*, and he prays to the sun, to Athene, to the Muses for pure light, the kindly light that leads upwards (*φῶς ἀναγώγιον*), the means of attaining thereto being the study of books that awaken the soul.¹

Athens, where Proclus studied and afterwards lectured, had preserved its fame as a university town since the days of Cicero, though it had not any political importance. It was the headquarters of the pagans, the "Hellenes," who, suffered by the christian Emperors to live quiet lives in unobtrusive retirement, still practised secretly the old customary sacrifices, still worshipped Athene, Artemis, and Asklepios. They formed here a small cultured society, on which the "urbane" society of the residence might look down as provincial, and which the Christians held in abhorrence as profane. At the same time Athens was regarded with a peculiar respect; it was fashionable to go thither, and it was considered by some a mark of inferiority, almost of philistinism, not to have visited it.

The storm of the Visigoths of Alaric, which laid in ruins the temple of Eleusis, passed by the city of the philosophers without harming it much. But after the foundation of the university in Constantinople Athens gradually declined; it seemed as if the departure of Athenais had led to a cessation of the patronage of the goddess whose name she bore. Even when Synesius visited Athens (about 416 A.D.) he was not favourably impressed with it²; in the description of his visit he does not say a word of the beauties of the place, the works of art or

¹ The expression in regard to the natural state of men's earth-bound souls, *ὑλοτράφεςσι περὶ κληροῖσι μανέϊσαι*, is worthy of notice.

² Synesius, ed. Migne, p. 1524 (*Ep. cxxxv.*, to his brother), *ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἰ νῦν Ἀθῆναι σεμνὸν ἄλλ' ἢ τὰ κλεινὰ*

τῶν χωρίων δνόματα. "In our time," he goes on to say, "Egypt nourishes the seeds of wisdom which she received from Hypatia; but Athens—long ago she was a home of philosophers, now she is worshipped only by beekeepers."

the flavour of antiquity. Desolateness and dilapidation overwhelmed for him all other impressions.

But while Athens was the home of the most profound philosophers, Alexandria was the centre of the widest culture, just as was the case in the days of Alexander's successors, when Stoics and Epicureans taught at Athens, while the schools of poetry and learning flourished in the great capital where they came into contact with the general movement of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries all the Greek poets of any distinction wrote at Alexandria, and most of them were born in Egypt; there too pagan philosophy and christian theology lived side by side.

We are told by Damascius, a pupil of Isidorus, that his master was superior to Hypatia not only as a man to a woman, but as a philosopher to a mathematician. This remark gives us an insight into the character of Hypatia's philosophy. In contrast with those mystical and misty speculators, Iamblichus and the "Egyptian writer on Mysteries," she laid stress on philosophical method, divisions, and definitions, as recommended by Plato, and followed rather the intellectual than the mystical side of Neoplatonism. The germs of both developments, the intellectual and the super-intellectual, were contained in the philosophy of Plotinus. The sober and rational character of this lady's metaphysics may also be deduced from the teaching of her pupil Hierocles, who succeeded her after her death in 415.¹ She was not only a philosopher and a mathematician; she also studied physics, a science which was then generally combined with mathematics. Her pupil Synesius mentions that he had constructed an astrolabe with the assistance of his "respected" instructress,² and in another place he asks her to superintend the construction of a hydroscope.³

There was one remarkable poet in the fifth century, and only one, who had a sufficiently original manner to found a school of inferior imitators. This was Nonnus of Panopolis. It is particularly interesting to note that having been

¹ This is well brought out by W. A. Meyer in his tract on Hypatia.

² πρὸς Παύλον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου ἀστρολαβίου λόγος. Migne, LX. p. 1584.

³ *Ep.* xv. It was perhaps the man-

ner of Hypatia's death (already described) that secured her a place among the stars, as it gave her name a romantic interest.

a pagan in his youth, when he wrote his *Dionysiaca*, he became a Christian in later years, and composed a paraphrase of St. John's Gospel in hexameter verse. He thus presents a parallel in Greek literature to Sidonius Apollinaris or Paulinus of Burdigala.

It is easy to say that Nonnus is artificial, that his long poem in forty-eight books lacks unity, and that he falls into prolix digressive descriptions. It is only in the ninth book that he begins the proper subject of his poem.¹ But living, as he did, in a self-conscious age, how could he be other than artificial? To aim at simplicity when simplicity is not in the air is an affectation which can hardly fail to produce the ridiculous. Recognising that he is always artificial and often tedious, we nevertheless feel in reading his verses that he had a really poetical mind, that he

“ran beside the naked swift-footed
And bound his forehead with Proserpine's hair.”

There are few pages on which we do not find some thought or phrase that pleases, if it is nothing more than the picture of Ganymede raising aloft a goblet in his *scratched* hand.² We may quote two of the opening lines as a fair example of the general style, which Callimachus did not excel—

ἄξατε μοι νάρθηκα, τινάξατε κύμβαλα, Μοῦσαι,
καὶ παλάμη δότε θύρσον ἀειδομένου Διονύσου.

The twelfth book is one of the best. Hôrê wanders in search of the dead Ampelos, and having learned the *symbols* of prophecy from Hyperion, finds wherever she goes prophecies in writing relating to the death and resurrection of the youth. This introduction of writing into mythological history is characteristic.³ The effect produced on nature by the death of Ampelos is very charmingly portrayed, and the description of

¹ The first eight books are occupied with the mythical history of the Cadmean house of Dionysus' mother Semele. The most recent edition is that of A. Koechly, 1858.

² γραπτῇ χειρὶ κύπελλον ἀεργάζει Γανυμήδης (xii. 40).

³ In one place she finds these words (which I quote in illustration of Nonnus' style, as to the general classical reader he is a poet completely unknown)—

Φοίβῳ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσεν ἔχειν μαντώδεα
δάφνην
καὶ ῥόδα φοινίσσοντα ῥοδόχροϊ Κυπρο-
γενείῃ,
γλαῦκον Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκώπιδι θαλλὸν
ἐλαίῃς,
καὶ στάχνας Δήμητρει καὶ ἡμερίδας Διον-
ύσῳ.
τοῖα μὲν ἐν γραφίδεσσι φιλέειος ἔδρακε
κούρη.

Pactolus restraining the flow of his water, wan with grief, and having the aspect of a dejected man, deserves to be noted for its subjectivity. Even when he wrote the *Dionysiaca*, in his pagan youth, Nonnus could not escape from the atmosphere of Christianity. A line, for example, like this,

Βάκχος ἀναξ δάκρυσε, βροτῶν ἵνα δάκρυα λύσῃ,
Lord Bacchus wept, that mortals might not weep,

could hardly have been written before the air was permeated with christian sentiment. But while a trait of this kind occasionally appears, the note of the poem is untrammelled fancy, and thus it has some points in common with the romantic poetry of the nineteenth century. The learning displayed in the composition is prodigious, yet Nonnus wields his lore lightly, and he is as far from the obscure dulness of Lycophron as day from night.

The poets whose influence chiefly affected his style seem to have been Homer and Euripides, the latter of whom was far more read under the Roman Empire than his great elder compeers, because he had a premature tincture of that profound individualism and subjectivity which began to penetrate life in the fourth century B.C. Both Homer and Euripides were favourites with Christians of culture, as may be gathered from the fashion of writing Homero-centra on christian subjects, and from the *Christus Patiens*,¹ an extant Greek drama which has been attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, and which is practically a cento of Euripidean verses. Whether Gregory was the author or not, it is probably a product of this age, and it possesses some interest as a specimen of a class of dramas to which the medieval mystery plays partly owe their origin.

The paraphrase of St. John's Gospel which Nonnus wrote when he embraced Christianity is a curious composition, far superior to the ordinary christian poem.² We cannot read

¹ The *Χριστός Πάσχων* forms the first volume of Ellissen's *Analekten*.

² It has been recently edited by A. Scheindler. It is so little known that a specimen may be interesting. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc., is thus rendered—

πνεῦμα παλινδίνητον ἀθηήτω τινὶ παλμῷ
οἷδε περιπνεύειν θεὶ βούλεται. ἀγχι-
φανῇ δὲ

φωνῆς ἡερῆς θεοδινέα βόμβον ἀκούεις
οἷασιν ὑμετέροις πεφορημένον. . ἀλλὰ
δαῖναι
οὐ δύνασαι βλεφάροις πόθεν ἔρχεται ἡ
πῶσε βαίνει.
οὕτω παντὸς ἔφν τύπος ἀνέρος ἐκ πυρὸς
ὑγροῦ
πνεύματι τικτομένοιο καὶ οὐ στροφάλιγγι
κονίῃς.

a line without seeing that it is the work of an adept, and although the simplicity of the original is lost, a very readable poem, with many interesting touches, is produced. "I am the vine, ye are the branches," is rendered thus—

ἄμπελος αὐδήεσσα πέλω καὶ ὁμόφυγες ὑμεῖς
κλήματα φωνήεντα σοφῶ βεβριθότα καρπῶ.

It was really in its way a triumphant achievement, implying no ordinary poetical skill and command of language, to translate a christian gospel into hexameters that have always a pleasing flow, and into words which, however they expand the original, never offend the taste.

We need not say much of the versifiers who imitated Nonnus and formed an Egyptian school of poetry. Tryphiodorus' *Capture of Ilion* and Koluthos' *Rape of Helen*¹ may still be read, but they possess little interest. The *Hero and Leander* of Musaeus, who probably lived about 500 or a little later, has obtained a reputation which it hardly deserves. It has the merit of brevity and the merit of possessing unity, two advantages which Nonnus lacks, but in all other respects it seems to me inferior. Pamprepius of Panopolis, the friend of Illus, was a poet as well as philosopher, but we have no means of knowing whether he can in any sense be ranked as one of the school of Nonnus.² The Athenian Empress Eudocia did not write secular poetry, or if she did no fragment has survived. The most striking of her compositions that remain is the versification of the legend of Cyprian and Justina, which has been mentioned in a preceding chapter.

One species of literature, which had sprung up when the Greek spirit was already declining, reached its best bloom at this period, the romance.³ Between the world of the new

¹ Koluthos flourished under Anastasius.

² Other verse-writers of the fifth century were Cyrus, the prefect of Constantinople, some of whose epigrams are extant; Troilus, who wrote an account of the revolt of Gainas; Claudian, who wrote a gigantomachy, and metrical histories of towns—not to be confounded with the great Latin poet Claudian, who was a native of Alexandria, and also wrote a gigantomachy, of which a fragment is extant; Christ-

odorus (flourished in the reign of Anastasius) wrote a description of the statues in the gymnasium of Constantinople. Both Christodorus and Panolbius wrote *Isaurica*.

³ Several books have been written on the Greek romance: Nicolai, *Ueber Entstehung und Wesen des gr. Romans*, 1867; Chassang, *Histoire du roman dans l'antiquité*, 1862; and more recently and fully, E. Rhode, *Der griech. Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 1876.

Greek comedy and Roman *fabulae palliatae*,—full of amorous gallants, lost maidens, angry fathers, and smart slaves moving in an atmosphere of loose morality—and the world of Boccaccio's *Decamerone* and Shakespeare's comedies—a gay Italian world, equally frivolous but more refined, in which the lights and shades of morality are not unattended to,—there are two intermediate worlds. The first is that of Longus and Heliodorus and the story-writers of the fourth and fifth centuries; the second is that of Floire and Blanceflor, Imberius and Margarona, and the other romances which circulated first in the countries of the Mediterranean and thence found their way to northern Europe in the later Middle Ages. The outward influences that partly determined the evolution of the former were the opening up of eastern lands by Alexander the Great, the spirit of adventure that then set in, and the cosmopolitan life of Alexandria and Antioch; while the evolution of the latter was affected in somewhat the same way by the Saracen element that had penetrated southern Europe. The romance-world of the fifth century is also one of amorous gallants, of barbarous brigands and cruel pirates, of lovers parted, of children lost in infancy, reared by shepherds and recognised by tokens, of faithful servants; but while it is marked by an unlikelike refinement and an absence of that naked dissoluteness which was a feature of ancient comedy, it has characteristics of Greek life, fibres connecting it with the antique intuitions, and these separate it not only from Boccaccio but from the cycle of medieval tales that was formed a few centuries later. It is a world in the air, which with the help of oriental material was built on the ruins of Greek life, partly to replace it, and which sought in foreign adventure the interest that city life no longer afforded. And we can detect, behind the artificial form, the sentiment of pagans, who, feeling in the christianised Empire that “not here, O Apollo, are haunts meet for thee,” sought to revive their weary spirits on a Helicon of fancy, as Theocritus had sought in the sphere of his Sicilian idylls to escape from the close and stifling air of Alexandrian reality. It may be said that the romance succeeded the old drama and fulfilled in some respects the same functions, just as in modern times the novel-writer may be considered to have taken the torch from the composer of plays. In these romances love and

adventure were interwoven; the spirit of adventure and travel in strange lands having come in with Alexander the Great, around whose name wonderful legends had soon entwined themselves, while fictitious love-stories may be traced back to Callimachus, perhaps even to Stesichorus.

Unfortunately we know nothing or little of the authors of three remarkable romances that were written at this period. Longus, the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*, is a mere name, and even the name is doubtful; Achilles Tatius, who wrote *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, is little better; of Heliodorus, whose *Ethiopica* became famous, we know only that he was a bishop.

All these stories have great similarity; we could easily believe that they were written by the same person. A diligent concern for elegance of style, for the choice of phrases and the order of words, characterises them all; and quotations, or echoes, sometimes graceful, of old classical writers abound. An unfailing feature is the love of elaborate description of scenes of nature, in which, however, there is no feeling for nature in the modern sense. It is a purely sensual love of nature—the soft grass (ποὰ μαλθακή) and the clear springs and the cool caves of the nymphs,—just as in that idyllic passage at the beginning of Plato's *Phaedrus*, the great charm of the spot is that the grassy sward is so inclined that Socrates and his friend can comfortably lie down. Nature is a picture-frame for lovers; "the spot," says Achilles Tatius of an agreeable place, "is pleasant in every way, and suitable for romances of love." Flowers and fruit have an erotic import. The association of flowers, especially roses, with love and young maidens is natural and ancient; we find it in the fragments of Sappho. Flower-names are often chosen for heroines, Antheia, for example, and Rodane¹; the song in praise of the rose that was sung by the maiden Leucippe deserves special mention²; and if there was

¹ So Florizel, Floire, Blanceflor, in medieval romances.

² Choricus of Gaza, who lived in the time of Anastasius, wrote a short essay (μελέτη) "On the Rose," which is extant (Mai, *Spicil. Rom.* v. 410). As Aphrodite sought for Adonis she came on a white rose; the thorn bled her naked foot, and her blood made the rose red. He also wrote an "Occasional Essay" on roses in spring (No.

8 *apud* Mai), wherein he describes himself taking a walk outside the city in early spring. Wandering among groves he bethought himself of Socrates (as described in the *Phaedrus*) on the banks of the Ilissus bathing his feet in its cool waters: καὶ ἐπὶ πόᾳ τιμὴ μαλθακῇ κατακλίνεται καὶ ψυχάζει. On such scenes these writers loved to dwell. Another essay of Choricus is on a *horologium*.

not a "Language of Fruit," love at least could be declared by the gift of an apple.

In the same way the descriptions of the persons of youths and maidens are long and minute; and we have a consciousness throughout that the writers are thinking of their diction more than of their matter. They have not the art of concealing their art.

The best of these romances and the most popular in recent times is that of *Daphnis and Chloe*, a shepherd and shepherdess of Mytilene, each a child of noble parents, exposed in infancy and found by shepherds.¹ The chief motive of the story turns on the innocence of the boy and girl, who fall in love and are ignorant of their own desires.² There is an idyllic realism in the description of Daphnis' initiation that reminds us of a certain idyll of Theocritus, but it is not bolder than the narrative of Alcibiades in Plato's *Banquet*. The maidenhood of Chloe is stainless until her marriage, and it is worthy of remark that in all these romances the chastity of women is considered to have a sort of preternatural value, and heroines pass through the most dangerous situations unharmed. This idea is one of the symptoms of a new spirit in the world, and contrasts with the old Greek feelings on the subject, which were not romantic. As an element that entered into the spirit of chivalry and thence into the notions of modern society the appearance of the new idea deserves special notice.³ In the sixth century we shall see it in operation on the occasion of the capture of Rome by Totila, the king of the Ostrogoths.

Daphnis and Chloe has perhaps more peculiarities than any of the other romances; the idyllic life of Mytilene, an island which, like Sicily, corresponded to the Arcadia of the Renaissance, invests it with a unique atmosphere. The far longer novel of Heliodorus, the *Ethiopica*, is more typical of the genus, and has had a greater effect on the development of romance-writing. The magic gem Pantarbe, the conceal-

¹ "Longus a cru, comme l'auteur de Floire et Blanceflor, légitimer encore leur affection par les ressemblances matérielles de leur destinée" (M. de Méril, Introduction to *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. cii.)

² *Daphnis and Chloe* has been often

called the *Paul et Virginie* of antiquity.

³ See Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 240. The author informs me that he now regards this new idea as an importation from the East to Alexandria in the days of the Diadochi.

ment in tombs, and fancied death, all the wild and varied adventures by sea and land, formed a large repertory from which subsequent writers borrowed motives and incidents.

Descriptions of pictures and works of art, resembling the descriptions of Philostratus, are constantly introduced by these writers, and have often considerable merit, reminding us of word-pictures by Gautier. The romance of Achilles Tatius, *Cleitophon and Leucippe*, opens with a minute account of a picture of the rape of Europa. Love, as a little boy, is leading the bull in the midst of a landscape in which such details as a peasant stooping over a ditch at his work are portrayed. And in another part of the same story a picture of the rape of Philomela by Tereus is graphically described. The accounts which the same writer gives of the crocodile and the hippopotamus remind us of Herodotus, and had at that time a sensational value. The stage sword, that shut up like a telescope and proved the safety of Leucippe, is worthy of a modern "dreadful."

The story of *Abrocomas and Antheia* is the story of the adventures and misfortunes of a pair of married lovers. The name of the author is Xenophon of Ephesus, but it occurs to one that Xenophon may be a pseudonym, and that the author may have adapted the names of his hero and heroine, Antheia and Abrocomas, from Pantheia and Abradates, of whom a touching story is told in the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon the Athenian.

History and romance stand in a relation of kinship to one another. We may say that they have a common mother, mythology, and this common origin seems to cause a certain association between them in later times; we have the romantic history of Herodotus, and we have the historical romance of pseudo-Callisthenes. Moreover, in the history and fiction of a period we generally see common characteristics. The affected artificiality of style which we tolerate in the rhetoric of Libanius, which attracts us in the romance of Achilles Tatius, repels us a little in the history of Eunapius; yet we cannot say that the style of historians was inordinately affected and far-fetched until Theophylactus wrote on the reign of Maurice. The love of travel, adventure, and things outlandish, which had de-

veloped since the days of Alexander, is reflected in the histories of the fifth and sixth centuries as well as in the fiction. Priscus gives us an account of his personal experiences in Hunland, Nonnosus describes his adventures among the Ethiopians, and Cosmas relates his visit to the Indian Ocean.

The secular Greek historians¹ of the fifth century were chiefly pagans. Olympiodorus, Eunapius, and Priscus flourished in the first half of the century, Malchus, Candidus, and Zosimus in the second half. Of these, only Candidus was an indisputably orthodox Christian; Eunapius and Zosimus were militant pagans; Olympiodorus and Priscus were quiescent pagans; Malchus seems to have been neither for God nor for God's enemies.

Eunapius of Sardis² wrote two books, of which only fragments have survived. One was a history of the Roman Empire from Claudius Gothicus (270 A.D., the point at which Dexippus' history ended) to the tenth year of Arcadius (404); the other was a collection of lives of philosophers and sophists. His style bears the impress of a training in rhetoric, which did not teach him taste, though a good critic thought he wrote prettily³; he talks of a "rivery tear" (*ποταμῶδες δάκρυον*). His spirit is that of an ardent pagan into whose soul the iron has entered, one to whom the new order of things seems "a world without any order," an ecumenical mistake. Like all ardent pagans of the time he lavishes the most touching hero-worship upon the Emperor Julian (the last who combined the true belief with the power to enforce it), and crowns him with a halo of celestial light. "By virtue of the power of his nature and the greatness, not less than divine, that was in him, he constrained the inherent tendency that drags down-

¹ Four writers of ecclesiastical history flourished at the beginning of the fifth century—Socrates, whose history embraces the period from 306 to 439; Sozomen, who dedicated his history in 439 to Theodosius II, and treats almost the same period, 324-415; Theodoret, a disciple of Chrysostom, who wrote in the last years of Theodosius II, and beginning at the same point as Sozomen, carried down his narrative fifteen years later; Philostorgius, who wrote from an Arian point of view a history of almost the same period as

that covered by Theodoret. These histories are preserved, except that of Philostorgius, from whose work, however, the diligence of Photius has preserved valuable excerpts. The history of an Arian was less likely to survive than those of orthodox Athanasians. In the following century Theodorus the Reader (*Anagnostes*) wrote a history of the Church from Constantine to Justinian.

² Born about 347. Studied under Proaeresius at Athens.

³ Photius.

ward, and, rising above all the waves of life, he saw heaven and knew the beautiful things that are in heaven, in commune with the bodiless beings, being himself still in the body." The last pagan Emperor, the last hero of the forlorn cause, who had died when Eunapius was a boy of sixteen, had entered into his "study of imagination" and appeared to him half a god. There was a further bond of attraction in their common mysticism. Eunapius was a thaumaturge, and had been initiated in supernatural mysteries.

The christian Emperors, on the other hand, are for him impersonations of all that is malignant and irrational, and Eunapius' history is written from the point of view that the time is out of joint, and that the course of history is exactly what it should not have been. It is probably the first history ever written in Greek from this point of view.¹ It was followed some years later by the history of Zosimus,² whose work, as far as he completed it, has come down to us, and is one of our chief sources for fourth-century history. His political and religious opinions were the same as those of Eunapius, whose work was one of his main sources; but while the opposition of Eunapius to the new order of things was altogether inspired by his religious conviction, the opposition of Zosimus was partly affected by his experiences as an officer in the civil service.

Zosimus states expressly that he looked upon Polybius as his master and model in the art of history. He studied his style with diligence, as Demosthenes studied Thucydides, and he adopted, or adapted from him, rules of hiatus to which he makes the structure of his sentences conform.³ And Zosimus too, like his master, wrote a history dominated by a pervading idea, but an idea exactly the reverse of the idea of Polybius. Polybius' history was written to prove the *right* of Roman conquest and the merits of Roman conquerors; Zosimus' history was written to show the *unright* of christian

¹ Eunapius has a lordly contempt for dates (for which Dexippus was very careful and troubled); he relegates them to the stewards of rich households as something banalistic.

² A good edition of Zosimus has at length appeared, the editor being L. Mendelssohn (1887). He shows in the

preface that the limits of date for the composition of the history are 450 and 501. The text is accompanied with some valuable historical as well as full critical notes.

³ See Mendelssohn, Preface, p. xxviii. *sqq.*

dominion and the demerits of christian Emperors. Polybius justified history, Zosimus impugned it.

Of the nexus of cause and effect the notions of Zosimus are as infelicitous as those of contemporary christian writers. He attributes the decline of the Empire in the West to the fact that the old pagan sacrifices were discontinued in Rome. His superstition is such that he wonders that no oracle foretold the greatness of Constantinople. Of positive historical errors which he employs to justify his political tendency, we may notice that he blames Constantine for having withdrawn all the frontier troops, whereas Constantine removed only the comitatenses from the defence of the marks, which were still protected by the pseudocomitatenses.¹

Of Olympiodorus, who was also a pagan, but apparently not bigoted, there is little to say. His history was rather a collection of materials for history, a *silva* (ὑλη) or miscellany, as he called it himself, than a history in the usual sense; its style is so simple and uncared for as to be almost vulgar, thus to some extent anticipating the style of late chroniclers like Theophanes, but the substance is extremely valuable and trustworthy.² Priscus, whose description of his journey and adventures in the land of the Huns has come down to us, was also a pagan. His style was very good, and we are impressed with the wisdom and the credibility of the writer.³ The discussion which took place in the Hun town concerning the comparative merits of the freedom of barbaric life and the trammelled existence of the civilised world is of especial interest. Priscus was not only a scholar or "sophist"; he was a man who, moving in the midmost circle of the political world, had a near view of the most stirring events of the time. His history was continued by Malchus of Philadelphia (in Palestine), who wrote in the reign of Anastasius. It is in the pages of Malchus that we read the somewhat puzzling narrative of the marches and countermarches of the two Theodoric in the Balkan provinces. Malchus' style is clear and unaffected,

¹ See the essay of von Ranke on Zosimus (*Weltgeschichte*, iv. 2).

² It embraced eighteen years (407-425, and dealt with western history. It was utilised by Zosimus and Sozomen. As for the style, Olympiodorus does not

hesitate to employ words like ῥήξ, διαγνώτος, etc., without explanation or so much as a ὁ καλούμενος.

³ Priscus' history probably began between 430 and 440, and ended at 474.

though he was a scholar and a rhetorician ; and he has a good reputation as a trustworthy narrator. In regard to his religion I should be inclined to suppose that he was a Laodicean ; he is said to have been " not outside " the pale.¹

The only undoubted Christian who wrote secular history in the fifth century was Candidus the Isaurian.² His style was frigid and in bad taste, abounding in poetical phrases inappropriately introduced ; " in the suave," says Photius, " he had no part or lot," although it was just the suave that he attempted to achieve. He was orthodox of the orthodox, an admirer of the council of Chalcedon. The tone of the age rather than that of his own mind is illustrated by his derivation of *Isauria*, the land of rough and doubtless hairy mountaineers, from Esau, the brother of Jacob.

On the Latin literature of the fifth century it is not my purpose to dwell at length. The most prominent prose-writers were christian theologians, and the most prominent verse-writers, with two exceptions, were either converts to Christianity when they wrote, or became converts afterwards. Of the two exceptions, the most famous is Claudian, " a most obstinate pagan, but an excellent poet," who towers above the heads of all his contemporaries. Most will agree with Teuffel, that he is far superior to Statius, who had the distinction of being a contemporary of Martial and Tacitus, in fertility, richness of fancy, and many-sidedness. We have already become sufficiently acquainted with the subjects of his historical poems, which throw a mixed light on the history of Arcadius' reign ; we need only add that his mythological poem " The Rape of Proserpine " shows him at his best. An inscription on a statue erected in his honour at Naples contains an ancient parallel to Dryden's quatrain on Milton, an elegiac distich expressing that Claudian was Homer and Virgil in one.³ The other uncompromisingly pagan poet was Rutilius Namatianus, in whose eyes the Christians were " a sect more fell than Circe's poisons,"⁴ as he said in his picturesque poem *de reditu suo*, describing his return to Italy from Gaul.

¹ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ θιάσου (Photius).

² His history embraced the reigns of Leo and Zeno, 457-491.

³ εἰν ἐν Βιργιλίῳ νόον καὶ μούσαν Ὀμήρου

Κλαυδιανὸν Πώμη καὶ βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.
This inscription was found in 1493.

⁴ *Deterior circaeis secta venenis.*

Of converts to Christianity, whose writings are partly or wholly pagan, may be mentioned Macrobius, Licentius, and Sidonius Apollinaris. Paulinus of Burdigala,¹ who afterwards became bishop of Nola, was converted in time to write a panegyric on Theodosius I. in celebration of his victory over Eugenius; and two lines written in his christian period deserve to be remembered as an expression of the general experience of the age—

plurima quæsi, per singula quæque cucurri,
sed nihil inveni melius quam credere Christo.

The poems of Sidonius Apollinaris, the son-in-law of the Emperor Avitus, possess the peculiar charm of transporting us into a circle of old Roman culture amid the alien surroundings of the fifth century. His pagan poetry is Roman, but decadent, infected with something not Roman; it is the poetry of one who might become a Christian. He is at home in Rome, amid the monuments of the pagan Emperors and the memorials of the pagan republic; but he is by no means at home in Ravenna, the capital of christian Emperors, where all the buildings are of brick, the waterless city of marshes, "where the living thirst and the dead swim," *qua vivi sitiunt natant sepulti*. In the consulate of his friend and father-in-law the Emperor Avitus he spent pleasant days at Rome; he wrote and recited a panegyric on the Emperor²; and it was decreed by the senate that a bronze statue should be erected to him in the Forum of Trajan, between the Latin and Greek libraries—

cum meis poni statuam perennem
Nerva Trajanus titulis videret
inter auctores utriusque fixam
bibliothecæ.

¹ 353-431 A.D., converted about 390; bishop of Nola 409. His *Epithalamium Juliani et Julianæ* is a protest in its spirit against pagan epithalamia, and exhorts to chastity. As to Paulinus of Pella, see above, p. 147. On a curious anonymous poem, *de providentia*, see Ebert, *op. cit.* i. 305; on the African Dracontius, *ib.* 367.

² *Panegyricus Avito socio dictus*. The education of Avitus is described; his services to Aetius on the eve of the battle of the Catalaunian Field; and the circumstances of Maximus' elevation. In 458 Sidonius addressed a

Panegyricus to Majorian on the occasion of his consulate, and gives in it a remarkable description of the hostility which Majorian experienced from the nameless wife of Aetius. In 467 Sidonius attended the marriage of Ricimer with Alypia, the daughter of Anthemius, and in 468 addressed and read a poem to the Emperor—*Panegyricus quem Romæ dixit Anthemio bis consuli*, in which there is an interesting account (see above, p. 206) of the education of Anthemius, the ideal Byzantine. The best edition of Sidonius is that recently published in the *M. G. H.* by C. Luetjohann.

Thus the poet of Avitus was set up in bronze beside the poet of Stilicho and the poet of Aetius.¹ Twelve years later he was to become the bishop of Clermont.

Of christian poetry, beside the hymns of St. Ambrose, the writings of Prudentius² won popularity; they blended Horatian love-poetry with Christianity, as it were warm wine with cool water, and the mixture suited the taste of the day. The asclepiads of Severus Endelechius "on the deaths of cattle" exhibit the same christianising tendency as the writings of Paulinus. Two swains are introduced, complaining of the loss of their cattle by the plague, and as they talk, Tityrus, a Christian, enters driving along a herd of cattle which the pestilence had not injured. The animals had escaped, as Tityrus explains, because the sign of the cross, "signum quod perhibent esse crucis Dei," was branded on their foreheads.

Into the characteristics of the ecclesiastical and religious writers, Augustine and Jerome, Salvian and Cassian, I cannot attempt to enter here; I can only repeat what has been said before, that they retained the form of pagan style and employed the arts of pagan rhetoric, while they contended against the pagan spirit. Besides Jerome's translation of the Bible, his enlarged translation of Eusebius' Chronicle was very important and served as a model for Latin chroniclers. Orosius' *History against the Pagans*, written as a sort of supplement to Augustine's *City of God*, attained less celebrity, and is now read more for its historical statements than its arguments.³ All these writers contributed in a greater or less degree to the establishment of a school of Latin theology, though Augustine and Jerome tower so far above the others that they may be considered its founders.

¹ Flavius Merobaudes' *Panegyric on Aetius* has been referred to (above, p. 173). The inscription on the statue erected to him in 435 (on account of his military services and his Panegyric) is extant (*C. I. L.* vi. 1, 1724). A few fragments of other poems remain, and have been published by Bekker in the Bonn *Corpus Hist. Byz.*

² Ebert (243 sqq.) remarks that his

Psychomachia has "ein sehr bedeutendes literarhistorisches Interesse," because it is the first christian poem in the West in which the allegorical style is thoroughly worked out; "es gehörte so zu sagen zu den *standard works* des Mittelalters."

³ It is practically, as Ebert remarks (p. 324), a christian *Weltgeschichte*.

BOOK IV
THE HOUSE OF JUSTIN

PART I
THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF JUSTIN I.; AND THE EARLIER YEARS OF JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

IN order to understand the European history of the sixth century and the reign of Justinian, we must grasp the fact that it is a direct continuation of the history of the fifth century, but that there is one great difference in the situation. It is a continuation of the struggle between the Romans and the Germans, but their relation has altered. In the fifth century the Germans were conquering lands from the Romans, in the sixth century the Romans are reconquering lands from the Germans. Europe is now divided between them. North-western Europe is irrevocably lost to the Empire and secured to Teutonic peoples, south-eastern Europe is still Roman in the wide sense of the word. Italy is the intermediate land between these extremes, and consequently becomes the scene of the last combat, which results in the overthrow of the Ostrogoths, and leads to the division of the peninsula between the Romans and the Lombards.

Justinian is the great figure of the time. His enterprising spirit carried out the idea of regaining a footing in western Europe. He set in order a system of law for the world. Politically he was absolute, as against the aristocracy; ecclesiastically he was absolute, as against Pope or Patriarch. His buildings in number and splendour were the marvel of his age; and in St. Sophia he bequeathed to posterity an imposing monument of his greatness.

The reign of Justin I. is chiefly important as preliminary to the reign of his nephew Justinian I.

Justin is said to have been originally an Illyrian peasant who came to Constantinople with his two brothers in the reign of Leo.¹ We have already met him as a trusted officer of Anastasius, assisting in quelling the Isaurians, and he was afterwards advanced to the post of commander of the guards (*comes excubitorum*). At the time of Anastasius' death (1st July 518) the eunuch Amantius formed a plot to invest a friend or creature of his own with the purple. To attain this end it was absolutely necessary to gain over the guards, and he consequently enlisted Justin in his service and supplied him with money to bribe the soldiers. But Justin was more wily and more ambitious than Amantius calculated; he took the treasure and secured the interests of the soldiers for himself; the senate consented, and the people acclaimed.²

Observe the position of affairs. The government of Anastasius in his later years had been most unpopular in two ways, financially and ecclesiastically. He hoarded the income of the State instead of expending part of it as productive capital, and he increased his hoard by oppressive exactions; he was, moreover, a pronounced monophysite. The opposition to his government was expressed in the revolt of Vitalian, who professed to represent the cause of orthodoxy. Vitalian had indeed been repressed, but he was still in Thrace, his attitude was hostile, and he was doubtless in relation with a faction in the city which shared his disaffection.

Anastasius, though childless, had near relations, especially two nephews, Hypatius and Pompeius, who might urge a claim to the throne, and were secure of the support of the monophysite party and the green faction, which their uncle favoured.

But Justin ousted both Vitalian and the nephews of the late Emperor. Justin's religion was orthodox, and his accession to the throne rested on the facts that he attached to himself the orthodox anti-Anastasian party, including the blue faction, and that he was, by his military reputation and his position

¹ On the Slavonic legend, which makes Justin a Slavonic peasant, see the article of Mr. Bryce on Theophilus' *Vita Justiniani* (a work which had been lost since the days of Alemannus and was discovered by Mr. Bryce) in the *English Historical Review*, October 1887. As to the identification of Jus-

tinian's birthplace, Justiniana Prima, see note, vol. ii. p. 7.

² Compare Justin's letter to Hormisdas, bishop of Rome (Mansi, viii. 434): "primum inseparabilis trinitatis favore, deinde amplissimorum procerum nostrisacri palatii et sanctissimisenatus, nec non electione firmissimi exercitus ad imperium nos electos fuisse."

as commander of the guards, so formidable that Vitalian could not continue hostilities, especially as the causes for dissatisfaction, which had led to them, were now removed. Vitalian was consoled with a consulship and the office of master of soldiers; and the great schism (which had lasted since Zeno's Henotikon) between the Roman and Byzantine Churches came to an end, as the Emperor recognised the dogmatic symbolum of Pope Leo I. But Vitalian enjoyed his new honours for only a few months; he was assassinated, and his assassination was generally attributed to the jealousy of Justinian.

Justin was an able soldier, but was already wellnigh seventy years old. He had not much aptitude for civil affairs,¹ and he was illiterate. The enemies of the new dynasty afterwards said that he was an imbecile old man, who did neither good nor evil to the Empire, because he was unable to do anything. Such a slight is of no value in regard of the fact. He was a man of ambition and strong will who, notwithstanding his advanced age, steered the Empire into a new era and guided a thoroughgoing reaction.

To make up for his own deficiencies in culture and knowledge of civil government he had the assistance of his nephew Justinian,² who was destined to succeed him. Justinian assumed the consulate in 521 A.D., and exhibited games and spectacles of magnificent costliness. This munificence was a contrast to the careful frugality of Anastasius, and indicated to the people the reactionary policy of the new dynasty.³ In April 527 Justinian was created Augustus, and in August, on the death of his uncle, became sole monarch.

The financial difficulties in which the Empire was involved in the latter part of the fifth century had been solved by the care of Anastasius, and the new Emperor found a large sum of money in the treasury. But before the accession of Justinian this sum is said to have been considerably reduced, for the frugality of Anastasius had been followed by a more liberal expenditure,

¹ John Lydus, iii. 51, says he was ἀπρόγμωτος, and understood nothing save military matters. In the *Secret History* a contrivance, which he is said to have used for signing his name, is described. When he came to the throne he was

about sixty-six years old.

² Justinian was born about 483.

³ Justin, in a constitution of 519, speaks of Anastasius' frugality as the "parca posterioris subtilitatis principis" (*Cod. Just.* ii. vii. 25).

and the exactions for which he had been blamed were not continued.¹ Justinian's ideas soared higher than to the mere maintenance of a brilliant court, and he required money to carry them out. The harmless administration of Justin was incompatible with the achievement of public glories—and there is so much truth in the unkind remark that Justin did no good or evil to the State. The great works by which Justinian's name is remembered, the works on Roman law, the conquest of Italy and Africa, and the public edifices are connected with the names of three men, Tribonian, Belisarius, and Anthemius. The abilities of these men were worthy of the large conceptions of their sovereign. But the great works could never have been executed but for another human instrument, whose name has been handed down to infamy, and not, like theirs, to fame. This was John the Cappadocian, who was appointed praetorian prefect,² and supplied the treasury by oppressing the subjects. The most authentic account of him is that of John Lydus, who was a civil servant at the time, and has left us a narrative of his enormities.

It was the duty of the prefect to supply money for needful expenses. John not only supplied it but became immensely wealthy himself, and led a life of gluttony and debauchery. "He did not fear God or regard man."³ The provinces of Lydia and Cilicia especially suffered from his extortions; he let a company of his creatures loose upon Lydia, and they devastated it for the space of a year, leaving (according to John of Lydia) not a virgin or a youth undeflowered, nor a vessel in a house. He was regarded as a demon, attended by a band of demons, too ready to do his bidding,⁴ and such names as Cyclops, Cerberus, Sardanapalus were lavished on him. Of his special acts we may notice the partial abolition, or rather modification, of the State post, *cursus publicus*,⁵ the result of

¹ John Lydus, iii. 51.

² *Ib.* 57. He was at first a logotheta. Since the time of Theodosius I. the office of praefectus praetorio had been decreasing in power, and by the end of Justinian's reign the civil service was in a very poor condition. Lydus lays this result partly to the charge of John the Cappadocian, who helped to ruin the subjects.

³ Procopius, *B. P.* i. 24.

⁴ One of his worst creatures was John Maxilloplumaciis (Flabby-cheek), who oppressed Philadelphia. According to the *Secret History* (cap. 21) the moneys collected by the praetorian prefect in excess of the regular tribute amounted to 3000 lbs. of gold annually, and were called the *Aerikon*.

⁵ The post which connected Byzantium with the Persian frontier was not abolished, as the author of the *Secret*

which measure was economically disastrous. Directly, certain expenses were saved to the treasury, but the unfortunate provincials were obliged to undergo the labour of transporting their produce themselves to the ports for transference to Constantinople, and large quantities of corn rotted in the granaries. The impoverished provincials flocked to the capital; a large number of new taxes were invented to extort money, and justice is said to have been so abused that men would not go into court, and the business of advocates declined. The prefect instituted the use of hideous and painful fetters, he had dark dungeons under the praetorium for punishing his subordinate officials, and none were exempted from the indignity of torture.

The remarkable point is that, according to John Lydus, Justinian was ignorant of the excesses of the prefect. Lydus is continually inserting a parenthesis to warn us that the Emperor knew nothing of this or that unjust transaction. That Justinian was prepared to enforce rigorously the collection of all established dues we know from his laws; but he may not have been aware of, and, we may be sure, did not inquire too curiously into, all the details of his minister's actions. We can easily understand the value he laid upon a prefect who never failed to supply him with the funds requisite for the achievement of his schemes.

Justinian shared his throne with a remarkable woman, the Empress Theodora. She was originally a ballet-dancer; her beauty and intellectual ability attracted the love of Justinian, before he became Emperor, and he married her. A contemporary said it was impossible for mere man to describe her comeliness in words or to imitate it by art¹; we cannot judge how far this remark was due to the enthusiasm of adulation, but if we were entitled to form an idea of her features from the mosaic picture in San Vitale at Ravenna, we should infer that Procopius, in speaking of her beauty, uses the language of a courtier. Nevertheless I think we may conclude that Theodora was a beautiful woman, not from the praise of Procopius, but from the admissions of the *Secret History*, whose author would doubtless, if he could, have disparaged her

History admits (cap. 30). In the other parts of the East the change for the worse consisted in the substitution of

a few asses for a large number of horses.

¹ Procopius, *de Aed.* i. 11. Compare *Anecdota*, cap. 10.

charms. The only blemishes which he can find in her are that she was rather short in stature and had a somewhat pale complexion, but the pallor, which he assures us was not sickly, he seems to admire rather than censure.

In order to understand her political position we must direct our attention to the factions of the circus, which were of considerable historical importance throughout, especially at the beginning of, the sixth century. The origin of the four parties of the circus,¹ symbolised by the colours white, red, green, and blue, is veiled in obscurity. The masters or leaders of these parties (*domini factionum*) are first mentioned in the reign of Nero. Caligula favoured the green, Nero the blue colour, and the rivalry of the parties continued to a late period of the Empire, the Emperor himself generally patronising either blue or green, in which white and red had been respectively absorbed. It was not merely in Rome that these factions existed; they cheered and fought throughout the capitals of the provinces; they had existed in Byzantium since (at latest) the time of Septimius Severus. At Constantinople in the fifth century they seem to have assumed greater political importance, and we can hardly avoid connecting this with the religious differences which agitated the East. For the parties of the circus became soon identified with the parties of the Church; the eunuch Chrysaphius, who was inclined to the heresy of Eutyches, supported the Greens, Marcian, the orthodox Emperor, supported the Blues; and at the end of the fifth century the monophysite Anastasius favoured the Greens. In the year 501 a battle took place between the two parties in the hippodrome. It must be observed that these parties did not consist merely of the participators in the games; any citizen might belong to them. They were maintained on an organised system, recognised by the government, with regular officers. They were a machine by which the opinion or will of the people could be expressed; and the Greek name of a "party" was *δήμος*, a deme, or "people."²

¹ On this subject I have consulted with advantage the article of Wilken in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1827, entitled "Ueber die Partheyen der Rennbahn." Much information is to be found in the *de Caerimoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

² It should be noticed that the distinction of Blues (*Veneti*) and Greens (*Prasini*) prevailed throughout the larger provincial towns — Antioch, Caesarea, Apamea, Tarsus, etc.—and there was doubtless a sort of freemasonry throughout the Empire between members of the same party. At

The support of the Blues was one of the elements on which the new dynasty rested; the hostility of the monophysitic Greens was one of the lurking dangers against which it had to guard. It was natural for Justin and Justinian to favour the blue party, as Anastasius had favoured the green.

Now Theodora, in the days of her life as a public dancer, was identified with the green faction. Her father is said to have been employed in its service; and she held monophysitic opinions. When she married Justinian, she transferred her sympathies to the Blues, but did not change her creed. It is characteristic that the opposition writer, who afterwards treated her with scurrilous virulence in the *Secret History*, ascribed this change of colour to personal pique.

Many looked upon the interest taken by Justinian in the blue faction as a mania. He is said to have allowed it to commit the most outrageous acts of petulance and violence with impunity, and even to have heavily chastised governors who ventured to punish members of that faction for their misdemeanours. The Greens, on the other hand, were harshly treated, exposed to the malevolence of their opponents and unable to retaliate. We must not forget that the factions were mixed companies; and among the Blues there was clearly a select fellowship of unprincipled adventurers and debauchees, who, under the cover of orthodoxy and loyalty, threw off the restraints of society. About this time they adopted the fashion of wearing beards like the Persians; and shaving the crown of the head to the temples, they wore their hair long behind like Huns. But it would be an error to suppose that all the members of the factions were like these obtrusive individuals.

We can perceive that the licence permitted to the favoured party was in a manner a political necessity. Even in the most despotic state, public opinion is more or less a check on the acts of the sovereign, for he feels that there is a limit somewhere at which human endurance will rebel. Now Justinian's financial exigencies forced him to try the endurance of his subjects; his vigorous policy and his rapacious ministers

all events the affairs of the factions in the provinces interested and influenced the factions in the capital, as we can infer from a notice in the *Secret*

History, cap. 29. The δῆμοι were organised bodies, over which demarchs (or προστάται) presided.

naturally excited much discontent. The populace were dissatisfied on account of the reduction which was made in the distributions of corn; the conservatism of the patricians and senators revolted against the Emperor's ideas of innovation; and no favour was shown to the professional classes. Besides this the monophysites were hostile to his government, and there were many adherents of the family of Anastasius. Public opinion was a force which he could not ignore, especially as it had made itself heard in the reign of Anastasius. Now the circus was the place in which public opinion could express itself; the demes of the circus were organised parties capable of political combination and action. It was consequently Justinian's policy to enlist in his service one party as a sort of government organ, and his party was naturally the blue, which had been the party of opposition under Anastasius. He could thus paralyse resistance on the part of the people by keeping them divided, and favouring one division. As long as the two parties were opposed, John the Cappadocian and the other unpopular ministers were safe.

But it is evident that such a policy could not be permanent; Justinian could not be content, while his position depended on a party. In 532 A.D. a turning-point came, the sedition of "Nika," which shook the throne. The import of this event was that Justinian attempted to render himself independent even of the blue faction, which had grown intolerably turbulent. The blue faction consequently coalesced with the green; and the Emperor quelled the rebellion by the soldiers. The affair was further complicated by the fact that the disaffection was taken advantage of by the party of the Anastasian dynasty, an element of danger which the Emperor finally extinguished.

On the 13th of January¹ the Greens complained to the Emperor in the hippodrome of the grievous oppression which they suffered, especially from Calapodius, a guardsman, who had been a Green in the days of Anastasius and had become

¹ As the conversation which took place between the Emperor and the Greens (recorded verbatim by Theophanes) is not really closely connected with the sedition which followed, I have preferred to reserve it for the chapter on manners, etc., of the age of

Justinian. It takes up so much space that the reader receives the impression that it was an important scene of the sedition, whereas it was only an accident that the sedition followed at this moment.

a Blue under the new dynasty. The Blues supported the Emperor, and the streets were soon the scene of sanguinary conflicts. But a circumstance occurred which determined the union of the hostile parties in a common insurrection against the oppressive administration. Seven individuals had been condemned to death, and five of them were executed without difficulty. But in the case of two, a Blue and a Green, the hangman blundered,¹ and twice the bodies fell, still alive, to the ground. Then the monks of St. Conon interfered and carried the two criminals to the adjacent monastery. As some of the criminals were Blues, and as the hitch in the execution tended to make the incident more impressive than usual, the Blues and Greens united in a determination to avenge themselves on the civil authorities, and they chose the watchword *Nika*, "conquer," from which the sedition has received its name.²

The most obnoxious ministers were John of Cappadocia the praetorian prefect, Tribonian the quaestor,³ and Eudemius the prefect of the city, who was especially associated with the executions which had taken place. During five days, from 14th to 18th January, the city was a scene of conflagrations and witnessed all the horrors of street warfare. The troops present in the capital were not numerous. The guards of the palace, who used formerly to be recruited by hardy Armenians or Isaurians, consisted of 3500 men; but as Justinian had made a practice of selling sinecure commissions for large sums, the corps was not very efficient. Belisarius,⁴ who had lately returned from the Persian war, had a force of cataphracts—cavalry completely mailed—who were lodged in the precincts of the palace; and it happened that the Gepid leader Mundus, who had done good service on the Danube

¹ Procopius, who gives an account of the sedition in his *de Bello Persico*, i. 24, does not mention that three of the prisoners were to be hanged. The other four were to be beheaded. Beside Procopius, the *Paschal Chronicle*, Malalas, and Theophanes are our chief authorities; but there is a short notice in the Chronicle of the contemporary Marcellinus.

² Another street cry, designating the coalition of the parties, was "To the friendly Greens and Blues long life!"

³ Tribonian's love of money (*φιλοχρηματία*) was notorious (Procopius). He died in 546.

⁴ From Procopius (*B. V. i. 11*) we learn that Belisarius was born in a district called *Germania*, between Illyricum and Thrace, a name which points to German colonists. At this time the great general was about twenty-seven years of age. I conjecture that he was of a Slavonic family, and that his name means White Dawn; for *Бѣла* = Slav. *bel* or *bial* (Russ. *biely*), cf. *Βελοχρωβάτοι*.

frontier against Bulgarian invaders, was also present in the city with a corps of Heruls. Besides these there were some regiments of municipal guards.

On the 14th (Wednesday). Justinian yielded so far to the public wishes as to depose the three obnoxious ministers and replace them by Phocas,¹ Basilides, and Tryphon. This measure could hardly have been expected to satisfy the Greens, but it might have been fairly expected that it would succeed in dissolving their coalition with the Blues and so paralyse the revolt. But the excitement that prevailed was fomented by the secret machinations and bribes of the partisans of Anastasius' nephews. The people seemed resolved to overthrow the dynasty of Justin. But Hypatius and Pompeius, the nephews of Anastasius, were in attendance on Justinian in the palace, and Probus, their brother, had escaped to Asia,² so that the insurgents had no one whom they could proclaim Augustus.

In the afternoon Belisarius issued from the gate of Chalke at the head of his Goths and harassed the rioters until evening. When he retreated they set fire to the Chalke porch³; the flames enveloped the senate house and spread along the Diabatika of Achilles⁴ to St. Sophia. On the same evening the offices of the prefect of the city were probably burnt, but we do not know in what locality they were situated. On the 15th (Thursday) the conflagration continued, and a part of the hippodrome on the side of the Augusteum was consumed; on the 16th (Friday) the offices of the praetorian prefect were fired. Meanwhile the ruins of St. Sophia were smouldering, and either from them or from the praetorium (which may have been in that region), a wind blew flames northward, which wrought the destruction of the hospital of Samson and the church of St. Irene. The palace of Lausus, rebuilt after the

¹ An account of the good Phocas, his philanthropy and popularity, will be found in John Lydus, *de Mag.* iii. 72 *seq.* Justinian persuaded him with difficulty to accept the office of praetorian prefect. When he drove forth he received an ovation, and during his prefecture money was plentiful and life was secure. 4000 lbs. of gold were spent on the new church without wronging any.

² The house of Probus was burnt down when the insurgents sought him and could not find him.

³ For the order in which the events took place and the buildings were burnt, one must combine Malalas with the *Paschal Chronicle*. Theophanes merely gives a list of the edifices which were destroyed. Malalas makes the initial mistake of placing the affair of the rescue of the condemned men on the third day before the Ides.

⁴ Malalas calls it the *εμβολος*. For the topography I may refer the reader to Bk. i. cap. v.

fire in 465, the baths of Alexander, and many private houses perished in the course of the conflagration. On Friday evening some ships arrived with troops from neighbouring cities¹; and, encouraged by this increase of his forces, the Emperor arranged an attack on the insurgents, who on the following day (17th, Saturday) assembled in the Augusteum, intending perhaps to make a decisive assault on the palace. The conflict ended with the siege of a building in the Augusteum called the Octagon, where the rebels entrenched themselves; the soldiers, unable to expel them, set fire to it.

On Sunday morning Justinian ventured to appear in the cathisma of the hippodrome with a copy of the Gospels (the holy *μεγαλειον*, as a chronicler calls it) in his hands. It was proclaimed that the Emperor would converse in person with the people, and large crowds assembled, but with no purpose of pacification. Justinian swore that he would grant an unreserved amnesty, forget the past, and comply with the demands of his subjects. A sovereign could hardly say more than this; but all he heard in reply was, "You lie!" in conjunction with some abusive vocative²; and "As you kept your oath to Vitalian, even so would you keep this oath to us." Justinian, when he returned to the palace, ordered all the senators who were present to leave it, among the rest Hypatius and Pompeius; perhaps he thought that his two rivals would be less dangerous outside. They professed to be devoted to the Emperor, and it is not clear whether their devotion was a mask or not. The insurgents were elated when they learned that Hypatius had left the palace; they met him and constrained him to take the decisive step.³ On Monday morning (19th January) he was crowned in the Forum of Constantine with a golden chain wreathed like a diadem, and soon afterwards he sat in the cathisma of the hippodrome, while a multitudinous

¹ From Hebdomon, Rhegium, etc.

² *Chr. Pasch.* i. 624, *ἐπιτορκείς, σγαύδαρι*. *ἐπιτορκείς, γαύδαρι* has been proposed, the final sigma of the first word producing the initial of the second. *γαύδαρι* is explained as equivalent to *γάδαρε*, "ass," for which an almost incredible derivation from *δειδαρος* = "ever flayed" or "beaten" has been proposed. See Ducange, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græc.*

³ It is recorded that Hypatius' wife,

Maria, tried to prevent this consummation. Marcellinus represents the Nika revolt as an agitation entirely got up by the partisans of Anastasius' nephews. His words are: "Jam plerisque nobilium conjuratis omnique seditiosorum turba armis donisque ministratis illecta dolis invadere tentaverunt (imperium)." This theory of the revolt was doubtless encouraged by Justinian.

assembly below called out, "Hypatie Auguste, tu vincas." They had come to the hippodrome in order to organise an attack on the adjacent palace, contrary to the judicious advice of the senator Origen, who recommended that they should first seize one of the other palaces in the city. Meanwhile Justinian strengthened the fortifications of the palace, and called a council of his ministers. This was the really decisive moment.

John of Cappadocia recommended flight to Heraclea, and Belisarius agreed with his view; but their weighty opinions were outbalanced by the short speech of the Empress Theodora¹:—

"The present occasion is, I think, too grave to take regard of the principle that it is not meet for a woman to speak among men. Those whose dearest interests are in the presence of extreme danger are justified in thinking only of the wisest course of action. Now in my opinion, on the present occasion, if ever, nature is an unprofitable tutor, even if her guidance bring us safety. It is impossible for a man, when he has come into the world, not to die; but for one who has reigned it is intolerable to be an exile. May I never exist without this purple robe and may I never live to see the day on which those who meet me shall not address me as 'Queen.'² If you wish, O Emperor, to save yourself, there is no difficulty; we have ample funds. Yonder is the sea, and there are the ships. Yet reflect whether, when you have once escaped to a place of security, you will not prefer death to safety. I agree with an old saying that 'Empire is a fair winding-sheet.'³

From the mere words of this speech we can understand what effect it might have produced; but we can hardly realise how that effect was magnified when it proceeded from the lips of the Empress—"cette diablesse de génie attachée à l'existence de Justinien."

In the meantime it was believed in the hippodrome that the Emperor and his court had fled. For Hypatius, not yet sure of success, had sent a messenger to Justinian, bidding him attack the people assembled in the hippodrome. Ephraem, the messenger, could not himself reach the imperial presence, but

¹ Recorded by Procopius. I have no doubt that these words were actually spoken by Theodora, and that Procopius, if he was not present himself, heard them from Belisarius.

² *δέσποινα*, "mistress," the usual mode of address. The Emperor was addressed as *δέσποτα*. Compare *Secret History*, cap. 30: *ἦν δὲ τις τούτων*

ὁποτέρῳ ἐς λόγους συμμίξας βασιλέως ἡ βασιλίδος ἐπιμνησθείη, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσπότην τε ἀποκαλοῖ καὶ δέσποιναν . . . οὗτος δὲ ἀμαθὴς καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀκόλαστος ἐδόκει εἶναι.

³ *ὡς καλὸν ἐντάφιον ἡ βασιλεία ἐστὶ.* It should be noticed that Procopius does not say that Justinian himself was afraid.

he gave the message to one of the secretaries, Thomas, who was a pagan. Thomas, ignorantly or designedly,¹ gave him the false information that Justinian had fled, and Ephraem proclaimed the tidings in the hippodrome. It now seemed to the rebels and the perhaps unwilling usurper that they had only to take possession of the palace.

When Theodora's resolution had conquered the prudence or pusillanimity of the court, the eunuch Narses was sent forth with a well-filled purse to regain the allegiance of the Blues; and at the same time Belisarius led out his troops with the purpose of cutting the revolutionists to pieces in the crowded enclosure. Belisarius first attempted to reach Hypatius himself by the spiral stair which led up to the cathisma, but the door was kept fast by the guard on the inner side. Failing here, he entered the hippodrome by the general entrance to the west of the cathisma, and at the same moment another force under Mundus appeared at the Dead Gate on the east side. Narses' distribution of bribes meanwhile had succeeded in producing dissension between "the friendly Greens and Blues,"² and this favoured the attack of the soldiers. An unsparing massacre took place, and it is said that about 35,000 persons perished in the sedition of Nika. Hypatius and Pompeius were executed.

Those who draw a line between "Roman" and "Byzantine" history might well look on this striking sedition as the last scene in "Roman history," for it resulted in an imperial victory which established the form of absolutism by which "Byzantine history" is generally characterised—a result perhaps partly implied in the remark of Procopius that the revolt was fatal in its consequences to both senate and people. M. Marrast³ describes it as "the last convulsion which marks the passage from Graeco-Roman antiquity to the Middle Age."

The blue and green factions made themselves conspicuous on several subsequent occasions during the reign of Justinian, but they did not again shake the foundations of the throne as in the Nika revolt. Their rivalry outlived their short union, and as long

¹ The fact that Thomas was a pagan has given rise to the suspicion that he may have been at heart disloyal to Justinian.

² See *Chron. Pasch. ad ann.* For gates of hippodrome, see above, Bk. i. cap. v.

³ *La Vie Byzantine*, p. 180.

as they were hostile there was no danger for Justinian ; and in spite of the occasional storms that broke out their importance was really decreasing. It is recorded that a faction fight took place in 549, and there was a more serious demonstration in 556, during a great dearth at Constantinople, when common suffering seems again to have united the foes. The people cried, "Provide supplies for the city," and they pulled down the house of the prefect of the city. The factions clamoured against Justinian in the circus, and as Persian ambassadors happened to be present, the Emperor felt especially indignant and mortified. In 561 a conflict of the Blues and Greens took place in the hippodrome before the Emperor arrived, but his appearance quelled it ; and in 563 the Greens, who were undoubtedly connected with the conspiracy which was at that time formed against Justinian, reviled and stoned the new urban prefect Andreas, and their behaviour led to a battle with the Blues. I shall have to speak of "the colours" once or twice again in the reigns of Maurice and Phocas, but they are then far on their way to political insignificance.

The conflagration of so many important public buildings would have entailed a heavy outlay for their mere restoration, but they were rebuilt by the ambition of Justinian on a more splendid scale. We must postpone to another place some account of the new St. Sophia, and the architectural works of Anthemius, whose skill raised the city from its ashes fairer than ever. Notwithstanding these expenses, which were incurred simultaneously with the costly wars in Africa and Italy, the condition of the subjects seems to have somewhat improved, owing partly to the milder though short administration of Phocas, the new and popular praetorian prefect of the East. But in the course of little more than a year John the Cappadocian returned to office and oppression.¹ We can hardly doubt that the Emperor, for the fulfilment of whose schemes enormous

¹ John is praet. pref. in December 533 (Novel ii.), and we can trace him every year in the imperial constitutions as the holder of this office up to September 540. In 541 constitutions are addressed to Bassus, the vicarius of John, praetorian prefect of the East. On 1st June 541 Theodotus is *P. P. orientis*, and he is succeeded by Petrus,

to whom laws are addressed in 543, 544, 545, 546. Theodotus perhaps held the office again in 546 and 547, but Bassus seems to have been the prefect during the latter part of 548 (Nov. clvii. clviii.) We find Addaeus praetorian prefect in 551, Arcobindus in 553, Petrus in 555 (?), 556 (?), and 559.

funds were necessary, found that his treasury was not so full since the degradation of this unscrupulous minister, and concluded that the only way out of his difficulties was the re-appointment of John.

The enemies of Justinian might appeal to this reappointment as their best proof that the Emperor was utterly unscrupulous as to the means employed to carry out his ideas.

The overthrow of John of Cappadocia was due to the hatred of the Empress Theodora. She ruined him by a curious stratagem, contrived by her friend Antonina, the wife of the general Belisarius, who is described by Procopius, her husband's secretary, as a woman "more capable than any one to manage the impracticable."¹ Antonina cultivated the acquaintance of John's daughter Euphemia, and gave her to understand that Belisarius was highly discontented with the reigning powers, who had shown ingratitude for all his services, but that he could make no attempt to throw off the intolerable yoke without aid from some influential person in the ranks of the civil ministers. Euphemia communicated this news to her father, who was not without ambition and eagerly embraced the chance of ascending the throne with the help of the army. He arranged a secret interview with Antonina at Rufinianum, a country house of Belisarius,² and the Empress took care that officials³ with soldiers should lurk near to overhear the implicating words and arrest the unsuspecting conspirator. It is said that Justinian, aware of the plot, sent to John a secret warning against the trap; but notwithstanding, John went, conspired, and fell. He was sent to Cyzicus (541 A.D.), disgraced but wealthy, where he lived for some time as a priest; but the relentless indignation of Theodora still pursued him, and he was scourged and stripped of his goods for slaying a bishop. He ended his days as a presbyter at Constantinople, whither he returned after the death of Theodora in 548.

¹ Proc. B. P. i. 25.

² Rufinianum had belonged originally to Rufinus, the praetorian prefect in time of Theodosius I. and Arcadius.

³ The officials were Narses, the eunuch, and Marcellus, captain of the palace guard. Marcellus still held this office in 548, and as he had a very high

reputation for uncompromising probity, it appears that, in spite of the *Secret History*, probity was not unrecognised. According to the *Secret History*, the successor of John in the office of prefect, Peter Barsames, was little better than John. Peter was said to have been a favourite of Theodora on account of his skill in magic.

The absolutism of Justinian provoked a strong and bitter opposition, all the bitterer because it was so unsparingly suppressed. He was accused of discouraging all liberal professions, of not only suppressing philosophers and sophists, but of depriving physicians of their allowances, and prohibiting the pay which lawyers (rhetors) had been accustomed to receive. The merchants were harassed by customs and monopolies, the soldiers were ill treated by *logothetae*, who cheated them of their pay, retarded their promotion, and gave them deficient rations. Taxation, pitilessly imposed, weighed heavier than ever on the landed proprietors and farmers, and no arrears were remitted. Such is the general tenor of the charges made by the dissatisfied member of the party of opposition, who has painted the agony of the Empire under "the demon Justinian" in the *Secret History*. On this subject something will be said in the next chapter, but we may remark here that, although the general tone of Justinian's rule was *Tel est notre plaisir*, he always condescends in his constitutions to give reasons, often elaborate reasons, for his acts, and that many of his laws seem really, as well as professedly, to have aimed at the wellbeing of his subjects, and not merely at the external prestige of the Empire or the replenishing of the treasury.

Two new offices instituted by Justinian seem to have been unpopular at Byzantium, that of the *praetores plebis* (*πραιτωρες δήμων*) and the new quaestorship. In 535 Justinian superseded the prefect of the watch (*praefectus vigilum*), who was in Greek called *νυκτέπαρχος*, "night prefect," a name which the imperial constitution derides as absurd, and appointed the *praetor plebis*, whose office was to keep order in the city both by night and by day.¹ In 539 he appointed a quaestor, whose chief function was to prevent idlers and strangers who had no special business from sojourning in Constantinople²; and in the constitution by which this office was instituted the legislator dwells with complacency on the fact that the institution of the *praetor plebis* had been found by

¹ Novel xxxviii. (ed. Zacharia), τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ *praetores plebis* προσαγορευέσθωσαν, τῇ δὲ Ἑλλάδι ταύτῃ καὶ κουνῇ *πραιτωρες δήμων*. Justinian always seems to be proud that his native language was Latin.

² Novel xcix. (9th March 539). The Justinianean quaestor must be distinguished from the old quaestors of the fifth century, whose duty was to draft imperial rescripts, etc. (see above, p. 205).

experience "very advantageous to the inhabitants of this our imperial city," and states that the success of that office suggested the introduction of a new one. Tribonian,¹ the great lawyer, was the first quaestor under the new system, and he is said to have been a lover of gain, and very unpopular. Both these innovations are mentioned in the *Secret History* as organs of Justinianean oppression.

The imperial style adopted by Justinian in his constitutions was pompous and imposing. The preface to the second edition of the Codex (534), couched in the form of a constitution, begins thus²:—

"In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Imperator Caesar Flavius Justinianus Alamannicus Gothicus Francicus Germanicus Anticus Alanicus Vandalicus Africanus pius felix inclitus victor ac triumphator semper Augustus senatui urbis Constantinopolitanae S."

In a law concerning imperial constitutions and edicts, which was read aloud "in the new consistory of Justinian's palace" in 529,³ the Emperor exclaims: "What is greater, what more sacred than the imperial majesty? who is puffed up with such haughty conceit as to disdain the royal judgment (*regalem sensum*), when even the founders of the old law lay down clearly and distinctly that the constitutions, which have gone forth by imperial decree, are valid as law?" And, he goes on to say, the sole promulgator of the laws is the sole worthy interpreter of them likewise.

The imperial pride is always flavoured with the religious spirit of the time, and Justinian does not weary of boasting of the divine favour which has been vouchsafed to him. For example, the opening sentences of the constitution on the Digest (533), known as *Tanta*,⁴ run thus:—

"So great in our regard is the providence of the divine humanity, that it always deigns to sustain us with eternal generousities. For after the Parthian (*Parthica*, meaning Persian) wars had been lulled to sleep by an

¹ Tribonian died 545, and was succeeded in the quaestorship by Junilus (*Anecdota*, cap. 20). This institution of Justinian possessed vitality; in the eighth century we shall find that the quaestor existed and exercised the same functions as the Novel of 539 assigned to him.

² In Nov. lx. (ed. Zachariä) this heading will be found in Greek. *Triumphator* is rendered by *τρωπαιούχος* and *semper Augustus* by *ἀεισέβατος αἰγιόμοτος*.

³ *Cod. Just.* i. xiv. 12.

⁴ *Ib.* xvii. 2.

Everlasting Peace and the Vandal nation had been overthrown and Carthage, nay all Libya, had been united again with the Roman Empire, it has enabled the ancient laws, heavy-laden with old age, to assume a new form of beauty in the shape of an abridgment of moderate size, by means of our watchful care—an achievement, which no one, before our reign, ever hoped for or even deemed possible for human intellect.”

CHAPTER II

JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

THE sixth century may be called the age of Justinian. But of the man himself, whose works changed the history of the world, it is hard to win a distinct idea; we have only a vague glimpse of the features of that form which dominated Europe. His elusive personality hides behind meagre statements, uninformative panegyrics, or malevolent pasquinades, and perplexes the historian. And even those who do not care for the analytical dissection of motives, who see the greatness of Justinian revealed in his works—"by their fruits ye shall know them"—feel nevertheless tantalised at the elusiveness of his individuality.

Beside him stands Theodora, another baffling problem, and indissolubly associated with Justinian for those who have visited San Vitale in Ravenna, as well as for those who have read the *Secret History*, a book of ill fame which has thrown a doubtful light or shadow on the imperial court.

We may first resume briefly Justinian's historical position. He may be likened to a colossal Janus bestriding the way of passage between the ancient and medieval worlds.

On the one side his face was turned towards the past. His ideal, we are told, was to restore the proud aspect of the old Roman Empire,¹ and this was chiefly realised by his conquests in Italy, Africa, and Spain. The great juristic works executed at the beginning of his reign breathe to some degree the spirit of ancient Rome. Moreover he represents the last

¹ Johannes Lydus speaks of Justinian as *ὄλην τὴν ὀφρὺν τῆς ἀρχαίας θύρας ἀνακαλούμενος* (ii. 28), and this is the tone of his constitutions. He loved the revival of old names (praetor, etc.)

stage in the evolution of the Roman Imperium ; in him was fulfilled its ultimate absolutism. From Augustus to Diocletian there was a dualism, the "dyarchy" of the Emperor and the Senate which was abolished in the monarchy of Diocletian ; and from Constantine to Justinian there was another dualism between the Church and the Imperium, which passed into Justinian's absolutism. This second dualism reached in the latter part of the period an antagonism which was conditioned by the falling asunder of eastern and western Europe ; and it was by reuniting the West that Justinian was able to overcome the dualism and assert his ecclesiastical authority. The historian Agathias expresses Justinian's absolute government by saying, "Of those who reigned at Byzantium he was the first absolute sovereign (*αὐτοκράτωρ*) in deed as well as in name."¹

On the other hand, he was a great innovator and a destroyer of old things²; and this was made a ground of complaint by the disaffected. The consulate was abolished, the philosophical schools of Athens were closed, and these two events may be considered symbolic of the death of the Roman and the death of the Greek spirit. The Graeco-Roman, Romaic, or Byzantine spirit is installed in their place. He tampered with and partly changed the administrative system of Diocletian ; he allowed the Greek tongue to supplant Latin in official documents ; the authority of the Twelve Tables, long in disuse, was at length formally abolished ; and fundamental conceptions peculiar to the Roman civil law were set aside. Justinian was thoroughly penetrated with the spirit of the christian world ; he spent his nights in theological studies ; and in the erection of the great church of St. Sophia, which still remains to commemorate him, it was Solomon and not Pericles that he desired to imitate and surpass.

In four departments Justinian has won an immortal name : in warfare, in law, in architecture, and in church history. Standing on the shore of the medieval or modern period, he cast into the waters of the future great stones which created immense circles. His military achievements decided the course of the history of Italy, and affected the development of western Europe ;

¹ Agathias, v. 14.

² Thus Agathias makes the Colchian *ficta persona* Aietes speak of the Em-

peror as *ταῖς μεταβολαῖς τῶν δὲ παρόντων ἡδόμενον* (iii. 9).

his legal works are inextricably woven into the web of European civilisation ; his St. Sophia is one of the greatest monuments of the world, one of the visible signs of the continuity of history, a standing protest against the usurpation of the Turk ; and his ecclesiastical authority influenced the distant future of Christendom.

But the means by which he accomplished these things rendered him unpopular. He accomplished them by an artificial system, which could be only temporary, and broke down on his death. It consisted of two parts, (1) a very severe taxation, and (2) a system of ingenious diplomatic relations with those barbarian peoples who hung on the northern frontiers of the Empire. He was not able to keep these nations, Huns, Slaves, and Germans, altogether in check ; they were continually devastating the Balkan provinces, and he was obliged to oppose them with armies destined for Italy ; but he succeeded, partly by money payments, partly by turning them against one another, in paralysing their hostilities sufficiently to prevent them from foiling the prosecution of his projects in the West. Frequent and large money payments were necessary, and in so far the second part of his system depended on the first. There was one limit on his activities, which could not be entirely dealt with by this system, the power of Persia under the great king Chosroes Nushirvan. Money payments were often useful and necessary, but the defence of the Asiatic frontier was a constant and considerable check on the Italian campaigns. This is evident from the increased activity in the West which always succeeded a peace with Persia.

As to the oppressive taxation, we have no option but to conclude that for the bulk of Justinian's subjects his reign was not a blessing. Limited as he was by the circumstances of the time, the execution of his designs was inconsistent with the present prosperity of the people.¹ But history justifies him by the event as she justifies all her true children.

There are the two sides here as elsewhere, the universal and the individual, the historical and the biographical ; and on the

¹ In spite of all the misery, all the dark shades that we perceive when we look closely at the details of the picture, Justinian's reign will give many the pleasant impression that it gave to

Bekker, the impression of a fortunate island in the midst of a raging sea—*"quod tamquam insula fortunata in mari infesto enitit"* (Preface to ed. of John Lydus).

principle of good coming out of evil, many condemn the great man, while they are forced to praise his works, both in themselves and in their historical results. History or providence, it may be said, fully justifies present evils by their effects in the future; those effects may be considered equivalent to the historical *motive*; but this avails not the individual at whose door those evils lie; the instrument of history is condemned.

But this theory is cancelled by a rejoinder, which is at least equally valid. Instead of attributing the good results to "providence" and blaming Justinian for the present evils, one might reply, should we not credit Justinian with elevated and far-seeing purposes, and ascribe the miseries of his subjects to the defective economical conditions of the age?

Perhaps the only value of either of these views is to cancel the other; the antinomy teaches us to refrain from introducing the biographical point of view into history, from taking the individual out of his environment and passing irrelevant moral judgments. The motives of all the actions of individuals are more or less personal, and those of prominent men are generally more or less tinged with the desire of fame. This feeling doubtless gave animation to the activity of Justinian, and it would be an anachronism to judge him by the canons of modern philanthropy. To praise Justinian's absolutism in the sixth century is not to praise absolutism. Dante, looking upon the desire of fame as a celestial quality, attributed it to Justinian, and placed him as a revolving light in the planet of Mercury. "Fui Cesare e sono Giustiniano," he says to Dante—words which we might apply in a different sense to signify that the imperial administration and its evils were transient things, now dead, a sort of accident not really appertaining to the glorified Justinian.

There was naturally a strong and virulent party of opposition to the Emperor's government, consisting of monophysites, the green faction, and others who felt the touch of his stern hand. They were interested in putting the most unfavourable construction on all imperial acts, in representing the court as a hotbed of corruption, in aspersing the ministers of the crown. The essence of this virulence has survived in the *Secret History* attributed to the historian Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius.¹

¹ See the Appendix to this chapter.

There are two distinct questions connected with this curious book: (1) Was Procopius of Caesarea the author? (2) Are its statements trustworthy, wholly or partially, or not at all?

We cannot, I think, answer either of these questions with a simple yes or no. The details of both problems are reserved for an appendix; but conclusions may be stated here. In regard to the first, I agree in the main with the opinion of Ranke, that Procopius is not the author, but that the work was nevertheless founded on a diary or ephemeris of that historian; that a member of the opposition, probably of the green faction, having obtained possession of the diary or a copy of it, worked it up into the form of the *Secret History*, incorporating all the calumnies which were afloat about the Emperor and the Empress.

In regard to the second question, it seems plain that, on the one hand, a historian is not entitled to make use of any particular statement resting on the unconfirmed authority of this document; but that, on the other hand, there was method in the author's madness, and there were underlying facts which gave relevancy to the inventions. We can hardly doubt that Theodora before her marriage appeared on the stage, for the author's picture of her career would otherwise have no point; and there is some method apparent in the circumstance that he does not charge her with licentiousness after her marriage.

But setting aside these vexed questions, on which we can but barely touch here, and for the present rejecting the evidence of the *Secret History* on matters of fact, we must observe that the work has a considerable value not only as a product of the age, in which regard it will be spoken of in another place, but also as expressing the feelings of bitterness which the government of Justinian excited.

This book of pain and horror leaves upon the mind the impression that the enlightened spirit of Justinian, his notable projects, his high thoughts, lived in the shadow of some malignant presence; that cowering by the throne of the Emperor, lurking in the gallery of the palace where he walked in meditation at night, ever attending his steps, moved some inhuman horror, some unutterable "Dweller by the Threshold," through whose fatal power the destinies of himself and Theodora, Belisarius and Antonina, John the Cappadocian,

and many other victims, were entangled in an inextricable mesh of hates and lusts and bloodshed.

That pasquinades and scandalous stories were in circulation about himself and his wife cannot have escaped the knowledge of the watchful Emperor; and, if I may make a conjecture, he caused a sort of apology to be written before he died, of which a portion is still extant. The treatise on the civil service of John the Lydian bears many traces of having been written with the purpose of defending Justinian; and the introduction of such apologies by the way would make it far more weighty and effectual than a formal panegyric. That Justinian might have employed John the Lydian in the matter may be concluded from the fact that he did at an earlier date employ him to write a panegyric of himself and a history of the Persian war. The circumstance that John was a disappointed civil servant and makes no concealment of the degeneration of the service, may be appealed to in support of the theory that he had some special inducement to speak diligently on every opportunity of Justinian's personal blamelessness.

The Empress Theodora has become, chiefly through Gibbon's reproduction of the portrait in the *Secret History*, a typical example of those fascinating and voluptuous women, who in their own day exercise a baleful influence in the world, and in after times allure the imagination. When we turn from the *Secret History*, to which this effect is due, and read what trustworthy authorities tell us of the Empress, we do not meet a tigress or a malicious demon in woman's form, but a bold and able woman with enough of the *diablesse* in her to explain how she might be traduced. The bold effective speech which she made on the occasion of the Nika sedition is one of the most engaging episodes in history; she was ready to stake everything for empire; and she won.

Her intervention on that occasion, her scheme to overthrow the oppressor John the Cappadocian, her interference for the wife of Artabanes, her active interest in supporting the monophysites and their doctrines, her solicitude for reclaiming abandoned women, her charity and almsgiving, are the only facts of importance that we really know about the Empress. Of these,

the fact that damned her most in the eyes of Baronius and Alemannus,¹ and made them ready to believe of her any enormity, her religious faith that Christ's nature was not dual, will certainly in the present day do her memory little harm. Had she believed in the two natures, she might have been more extravagant in lusts even than she is said to have been, and no member of the orthodox Church would have cast a stone. Her enthusiasm for religion when she was an Empress is put on a level with her alleged profligacy as a girl. She is said to have fed the geese of the devil when she was on the stage, she fed the sheep of Christ when she sat on the throne; and in the eyes of orthodox Chalcedonians the second pasture was far more offensive than the first.

John the Lydian speaks of her in high terms, when he describes how she informed her husband of the misdeeds of John the Cappadocian; a woman, he calls her, "superior in intelligence, and in sympathy for the oppressed always awake"; and the remark of Procopius, the historian, that she could not withstand the supplications of the unhappy accords with this; and the two remarks together establish the fact that she was a sympathetic and compassionate lady.

Gibbon's remark that Justinian "was never young" aptly conveys the sort of impression he gives us. There is a cold atmosphere about him—the atmosphere of inexorable Roman logic, afraid of no consequences—which is tinged also with a certain mysticism. His mode of life was severely abstemious and ascetic, his days and nights laborious. He was a man of wide education, learned in philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, music, and architecture, and a friend of his said that the time despaired of by Plato had come, when a philosopher should reign and a king philosophise. The remark suggests the reflection, how different he was from the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, of whom the same had been said before.

But if Justinian were never young, it cannot be said that he did not grow old. There is an unmistakable difference between the first part and the last part of his reign, unequally divided

¹ Liberatus and Victor are severe on Theodora for her heresy. Zonaras says that she was avaricious; yet we know from earlier sources that she was charitable.

by the Great Plague. His great ideas were accomplished or undertaken in the earlier period, when he was, if not young, vigorous and hopeful. The plague not only injures the body but paralyses the spirit; a man or a nation that lives through such a visitation is not the same after it. We can hardly, I think, lay too much stress on its moral as well as physical effects. It was after the Plague that Justinian devoted all his energies to theological points of subordinate importance, sat without guards at the dead of night, deep in discussions with very ancient priests, and almost lost his interest in the conquest of Italy. We may say, I think, that he was touched with dispiritedness, or with the malady of the Middle Ages.

His ascetic mode of life and nocturnal studies seemed to lend the Emperor an almost inhuman character; which, combined with his cold Roman spirit, prepared to carry out his plans at all costs, suggested to his enemies the theory that he was really an incarnate demon who took a delight in death and ruin for their own sake.¹ This notion, it may be observed, is a curious, and perhaps one of the earliest, instances of the idea of *Schadenfreude*, delight in mischief for its own mere sake.

The conception of Justinian as a malicious demon, or the conception of him and Theodora as a pair of vampires sucking the blood of the Empire or fiends feasting on the misery of men, may be taken as the outcry of a sacrificed generation—sacrificed without being consulted to the realisation of an idea. But such outcries do not affect the position which Justinian must always hold. The epithet "great" was not indeed permanently bestowed upon him by posterity²; but then it was not bestowed on Julius Caesar nor on Augustus, and it was bestowed on Leo I. As of that Caesar who fulminated at the deep Euphrates, so it may be said of the Caesar who reconquered Italy and Africa,

per populos dat jura viamque affectat Olympo.

¹ The *Secret History* is full of tales of this kind. Vigilantia, Justinian's mother, is said to have confessed that his father was a demon, and the Em-

peror was seen walking in his palace without his head.

² Greek writers, however, often speak of ὁ μέγας Ἰουστινιανός.

APPENDIX

ON THE "SECRET HISTORY" ATTRIBUTED TO PROCOPIUS

One of the most interesting and difficult problems in history is the *Arcana Historia*, also called the *Anecdota*, attributed to Procopius. It was discovered in the Vatican by Alemannus, who edited it with a learned commentary. Gibbon, and most historians, including F. Dahn the author of *Procopius von Cäsaräa*, follow Alemannus in accepting the statements of the *chronique scandaleuse*, in their general tenor, if not in detail. M. Debidour, in his *L'Impératrice Théodora* (1885), discredits the veracity of the anecdotes, and is followed by Mr. Mallet in his clever essay on "The Empress Theodora" in the *English Historical Review*, January 1887. But neither M. Debidour nor Mr. Mallet call the authorship of the document in question, nor do they refer to the suggestive essay of Leopold von Ranke on Procopius,¹ where the problem is discussed. It is convenient to deal with the two questions, the credibility and the authorship, separately.

(1.) In the first place, the *Secret History* is not consistent in two of its allegations with statements of Procopius in his *Gothic War*, and in one case its statement is intrinsically less credible. According to the *Gothic War*, Theodahad murdered Amalasuntha on his own account, and he had an intelligible motive to do so; according to the *Anecdota*, Theodora devised the murder, and suborned the ambassador Peter to compass its perpetration. But Peter did not arrive in Italy till after the deed was done; nor does an obscure passage in a fragment of a letter from Gundelina to Theodora, preserved in the *Var. Epist.* of Cassiodorus (x. 20), afford even the shadow of a foundation for suspecting the Empress. The only motive assigned for the alleged design of Theodora is jealousy. The other case is that of the death of Constantinus, who, according to the *Gothic War* (ii. 8), tried to stab Belisarius, and was executed on that account. The execution is said by Procopius to be due to "the

¹ *Weltgeschichte*, iv. 2, p. 300 seq.

envy of Tyche." In the *Secret History* Constantinus is said to have been killed by Belisarius, at the instigation of Antonina, for a private grudge.

To these two cases of divergence as to facts from public history we may doubtfully add that of Pope Sylverius, whose death is perhaps ascribed by the *Anecdota* (cap. 1) to Antonina; whereas, according to Liberatus, he was banished to the island of Palms, and perished there of hunger (*qui in Palmarium insulam adductus sub eorum custodia defecit inedia*, cap. 22). Procopius states that Sylverius was deposed for suspected intrigues with the Goths. This case, however, is not clear, for the words of the *Anecdota* need not necessarily imply that Sylverius was murdered or his death caused by Antonina—
 ὃ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐς Σιλβέριον εἰργασται μίσωμα.

The statement that the 320,000 lbs. of gold saved by Anastasius were spent by Justinian in the lifetime of Justin (cap. 19) is at variance with a passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus, where it is stated that, after Justinian's death, the fund of Anastasius was still extant. As far as I know, critics have not called attention to this contradiction.

If these inconsistencies of the *Secret History* with public accredited history were the only objections which could be brought against the credibility of the suspected book, they might be sufficient to raise a presumption against it, they would induce us to infuse the judicious *granum salis*, but they would not go very far towards condemning it, whether its authorship by Procopius were proved or disproved. Secret history must know many things to which public history must close its eyes. The inconsistencies that really shake our faith and damage the book irretrievably are the internal inconsistencies. Throughout the work Justinian is spoken of as deceased, as a king of a past age; in the last words of the last chapter his death is referred to as an event in the future. Again, in the preface, the author, whether Procopius himself or another *sub persona Procopii*, says that his treatise is intended to supplement the eight books of the public history, in which he was obliged to leave out many details, because the actors were still alive. The dilemma, which Ranke pointed out, is obvious. The treatise was written either before or after the death of Justinian. If it was written before his death, then the same reason which prevented Procopius from publishing the scandals in his earlier works would have operated still and prevented him from publishing the *Secret History*; and Belisarius, Antonina, and many minor personages survived Justinian, so that the Emperor himself would not have been the only individual to be feared. If it was written after his death, it is in open contradiction with the last words of cap. 30 : ὁπνίκα οὖν ἡ ἀνθρωπος ὢν Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀπέλθῃ τοῦ βίου ἢ ἄτε τῶν δαιμόνων ἀρχῶν ἀπολύσει τὸν βίον, οὗτοι τῆνικαδὲ περιόντες τύχῳσι τάληθες εἴσονται.

It will be observed that this inconsistency tells both against the credibility of the *Anecdota* and against its ascription to Procopius. Another contradiction has been noticed by Ranke, which has also this double bearing. In cap. 16 we are told by the *ἐγώ*, professing to be Procopius, that he did not tell the full truth in his earlier work "for fear of the Empress" Theodora. But Theodora died in 548, and the history was not published before 550.

Other inconsistencies within the *Secret History* have been pointed out by Mr. Mallet in the article already mentioned (p. 7):—

"In one place Justinian is described as a wonderfully silly man, and yet, as Alemannus observes, Procopius elsewhere remarks on his keen intellect and constant attendance to business. In another place Theodora is blamed for sleeping all day till nightfall, and all night till daybreak; and yet the author of the *Anecdotes* is constantly reproaching her for thrusting herself into every department of public affairs. Again we are told that the opposition in the imperial family to Justinian's marriage was so strong that, while the empress Euphemia lived, Justinian could never prevail on his uncle to consent. And yet he had sufficient influence to induce his uncle to confer on this abandoned woman, whom the emperor entirely refused to countenance, the lofty title of patrician. But the most striking inconsistency of all is to be found in the account of Theodora's elevation. If the judgment of the *Anecdotes* is to count for anything, we must believe that, at the time of her marriage to Justinian, Theodora was, by common consent, the most profligate woman of her age. The *Anecdotes* inform us that Justinian was equally remarkable for the self-restraint and austerity of his life. The time of his marriage was a time when he was bent upon conciliating all parties, so as to secure the succession to the throne. He had reached an age when he might well be supposed to have outgrown the passions of his youth. His ambitious calculating temperament would be the least likely to imperil substantial advantages by an act of the grossest imprudence. And yet Procopius tells us that he chose this time to deliberately select for his bride the most infamous woman in Constantinople."

Another feature of the *Secret History*, which decidedly damages its testimony, is the really serious exaggeration in its language concerning the Emperor and the Empress. The description of them as demons of murder, preying upon humanity, demons in no figurative sense of the word, indicates either a malignity or a fatuity on the part of the writer, which discredits his statements, as far as their historical truth is concerned.

It may not be amiss to remind the reader of what is often forgotten. Even if these inconsistencies and childish exaggerations did not appear in the suspected document, it would be incumbent on the student of history to look on every statement contained in it with antecedent suspicion, just because it is a book written with a pronounced tendency strongly antagonistic to the imperial government. The principle is that the admissions and not the

pleas of an advocate are to be received when we have no corroborative testimony.

Having seen that the *Secret History* cannot be accepted as a whole, we are met with the question whether it must be entirely rejected and ignored by the historian, or admits of a sifting process.

The principle of Gibbon was as follows: "Of these strange anecdotes a part may be true because probable, and a part true because improbable. Procopius must have known the former, and the latter he could scarcely invent." This is plainly untenable, and has been rightly censured by Mr. Mallet. There is no reason why the author should not have invented; and deliberate invention on the part of *one* man is not the only alternative to the truth of the charges.

But Mr. Mallet's own principle—"That these scandals must be either substantially true or wholly false"—seems to me to be equally untenable. He is indeed right in condemning with Gibbon the pernicious maxim "that where much is alleged something must be true"; but there is another quite different reason for admitting the necessity—necessity is hardly too strong a word—of drawing certain inferences from the statements in the *Anecdota*.

The author of the book, whoever he was, was a contemporary of Justinian; the venomous animosity of his tone is too sincere to admit of the supposition that he did not feel strongly against the object of his maledictions, and wish to poison men's minds against him; it is impossible to suppose that he was a writer in subsequent ages who invented for the sake of invention and got his stories from the air. Even those who may question the correctness of the attribution of the *Anecdota* to Procopius will hardly refuse to admit that it was written by a contemporary of Justinian. This being granted, it will be also admitted that if the writer wished to slander and prejudice men against the Emperor and the Empress he would invent calumnies which were *prima facie* probable, and not calumnies which were evidently improbable. In other words, his statements would have no point except they had some foundation in fact; and they would be improbable if they contradicted some fact generally known about the person traduced. If Theodora had been the daughter of a Teutonic king, a writer who wished to calumniate her and connect scandalous stories with her name would not be likely to choose stories which implied that she was the daughter of a Greek peasant. If her youth had been spent in a monastery in Italy he would hardly represent her as an actress in a theatre at Antioch. We may therefore be sure that, unless the writer, who was evidently a man of brains, intended to discredit his own inventions by making them *prima facie* improbable, and so to stultify his work, the scandals which he records of Theodora must have been consistent, not necessarily with her character, but with some circumstances of her external life

before she wedded Justinian. It seems to me that all the anecdotes which the author relates of her early career would have been pointless if she had not at one time been an actress, *scenica*¹; and the author was far too clever to write pointless stories. The details given concerning the oppression and extortion practised by Justinian and his ministers in taxation, etc., are sufficiently consistent with the actual state of things, as we know it from other writers, to have carried a very sharp sting. The low origin of Justin's family in Dardania gives point to the things that are said about Justinian's uncle; if he had been one of the Anician family of the Olybrii such things would not have been stated.

While I reject, then, the damaging scandals themselves as incredible, or at least improbable, and as insufficiently vouched for by an enemy who discredits himself, I hold that they rested on some basis of fact which prevented them from falling to the ground as *prima facie* absurd.

(2.) As to the authorship of the *Secret History*, both Professor Dahn, who accepts its statements, and Mr. Mallet, who rejects them, unhesitatingly attribute it to Procopius. Ranke considers it not to be genuine, and I believe he is right.

The inconsistencies already mentioned as affecting its credibility tell equally against Procopian authorship. But the very first words of the treatise are alone sufficient to condemn that hypothesis. They are almost identical with the opening words of the fourth book of the *Gothic War*, to which they formed a suitable introduction; but as an introduction to the *Secret History* they are quite irrelevant.

ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων τῷ γένει ἐν τε πόλεμοις ἄχρι δεῦρο ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, τῇδὲ μοι δεδιίγγεται, ἥπερ δυνατόν ἐγεγόνει τῶν πράξεων τὰς δηλώσεις ἀπάσας ἐπὶ [καιρῶν τε καὶ] χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ἀρμοσαμένῳ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἔτι μοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ συγκεῖσται· ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα γεγράφεται πάντα, ὅποσα δὴ τετύχηκε γενέσθαι πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. The words in brackets are added in the *Anecdota* and do not occur in the eighth book of the *Ἱστορίαι*.

In the eighth book Procopius deserted his system of geographical division and included in it narrations both of events in Italy and events in the East, and this introduction is an apology for changing his plan. But in the *Secret History*, where there is no question of geographical division, the introduction is quite inappropriate. And, asks Ranke, "wie hätte es überhaupt einem Autor einfallen sollen zwei verschiedene Werke mit denselben Worten einzuführen?"

Again, the preface awakens expectations which the work does not

¹ It is worth noticing that Komito, who is mentioned as one of Theodora's sisters in the *Secret History*, is also mentioned by John Malalas and Theophanes (6020 A.M.), who record that she married Sittas, the general of Ar-

menia. This is a confirmation of my position; it proves that the author built on facts; he did not invent the name Komito. The other sister was Anastasia.

fulfil. "I have been compelled," says the writer, "to conceal the cause of many things which I recorded in my former books. It will therefore be my duty in this work to publish both facts hitherto suppressed, and the causes of occurrences already recounted." Now the *Anecdota* supply new stories, but do not explain the causes of events related in the public history.

It is, further, almost impossible to believe that Procopius, the author of the *Isotopíai*, would have ever used the exaggerated language in which the writer of the *Secret History* pours out the vials of his wrath upon Justinian.

Combining the inappropriate character of the preface with the abruptness with which the first chapter commences, Ranke holds that the *Secret History* is to some extent a compilation rather than an independent work. He holds that a member of the opposition party got possession of a manuscript of fragmentary jottings written by the true Procopius, that he worked up these into the form of the *Secret History*, adding and interweaving figments which reveal the most acrid venom and the grossest superstition. "Nach meinem Dafürhalten sind die Anekdoten eine Verquickung echter procopischer Nachrichten mit den oppositionellen Manifestationen einer Partei, welche bei der Thronbesteigung Justinians durch die Besiegung der Nika niedergeworfen, aber keineswegs vollständig unterdrückt worden war." The history of Antonina's adultery, for example, is singled out by Ranke as an "ächte procopische Nachricht" (p. 303).

CHAPTER III

THE LEGAL WORKS OF JUSTINIAN

EVERY government, whether democratical, oligarchical, or monarchical, has two duties to perform; and it must up to a certain point perform them, if it is to exist. It may perform them very badly, but its existence ultimately depends upon their performance. These duties are to protect the community against other communities without, and to protect it against its own individual members within; and the means by which such protection is secured are arms and laws. The efficacy of each of these two instruments depends upon the other; the maintenance of the laws depends on arms, and successful warfare on the maintenance of the laws.

With this general reflection Justinian introduced to the world the first of the great legal monuments, which have immortalised his name and contributed to the welfare and progress of mankind. He states that he has kept both duties clearly before his eyes; that he has provided for the improvement both of the military defences and legal securities of the Empire,—of the latter by preserving old and passing new laws, but chiefly by his collection of the imperial constitutions into a code, called after the fortunate name of Justinian.

Written law was of two kinds, the imperial constitutions or *placita*, and the opinions or answers of recognised—we may say licensed—lawyers, *responsa prudentium*.

(1.) As the Emperor stepped into the place of the sovereign people of the republic, it was logical that the *leges* passed by the people in the *comitia* should be superseded by imperial constitutions. This process of supersession took place in the first

century of the Empire; the last *lex* we hear of was an agrarian law of Nerva. There were collections of the constitutions before the time of Justinian; his code was not a novelty. The Gregorian and Hermogenian codes of the fourth century were supplemented by the Theodosian code published in 438, which contained all the constitutions from the time of Constantine. There were two causes which rendered a new code desirable in the reign of Justinian. In the first place, owing to lack of copies, the bulky Theodosian collection could not be always consulted in courts, and therefore the actual practice often failed to conform to the written law; in the second place, a very large number of constitutions had been issued subsequently to the Theodosian code, both by Theodosius II and by his successors, which were not collected in a convenient form, and often seriously modified the law as stated in that code.

A new collection of the constitutions, edited up to date, with the contradictions carefully eliminated, the obsolete laws expunged, superfluous preambles or explanations omitted, words altered, erased, or added for the sake of clearness, was determined on by Justinian (13th February 528), and a commission of ten men, including Tribonian and Theophilus, was appointed to execute it. Clearness, completeness, and brevity were aimed at, and we may say attained, in the Justinianean Code which was published on the 7th April 529.

(2.) Justinian's next undertaking was more difficult, more ambitious, and more novel than the code. No one had ever arranged in an official and accessible volume the *responsa prudentium*, or answers given by lawyers recognised as authorities, in regard to special cases and legal points, which served as precedents for future decisions. These answers were scattered about in many treatises, and not a few difficulties arose in their application, to meet which some attempts had been already made. On many points antagonists might produce two opposite opinions, and on almost any the judge was sure to be perplexed by a large number of inconsistent citations. Hadrian left the choice to the judges' own discretion, and a feeling that certain writers were entitled to precedence in authority gradually established itself without special enactment, to which feeling the choice of authors in the course of jurisprudence for law

students considerably contributed. Gaius, and the commentaries of Ulpian and Paulus on the perpetual Edict, Papinian and Modestinus, obtained paramount authority. This inconvenience led Constantine to discredit the notes of Paulus and Ulpian on Papinian, as they frequently differed from the opinions they annotated; but this only lessened, it did not abolish, the evil. Theodosius II passed a very important measure—which may be considered the precursor of the Digest just as his Codex was the precursor of the *Codex Justinianus*—called the Law of Citations, which ordained that the majority of opinions should determine the decision, and that in cases where the opinions were equally divided that of Papinian should prevail.

There was such a mass of legal responses that the field seemed limitless and beyond all human capacity. But it was not too great for the enterprise of Justinian, who conceived the idea of “enucleating the old law.”

On the 15th December 530 he appointed a new commission, under the direction of Tribonian the quaestor, who had assisted in compiling the code, for the purpose of reading the books pertaining to Roman law, written by those lawyers who had been licensed by imperial authority to “interpret” the law. They were to eliminate all contradictions and omit all repetitions,¹ and when they had thus won the nucleus of the vast material, they were to arrange it in one fair work, as it were, a holy temple of justice, which was to be divided into 50 books, containing all the law of 1300 years, purged of superfluities. The undertaking was so immense that it seemed almost impossible, but the commission of seventeen specialists worked so diligently that they completed it in exactly three years.² The entire work was called the Digest or Pandects, and henceforward it only was to be consulted. According to Roby's computation, a law library of 106 volumes was compressed to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.

(3.) Justinian's third, slightest, and best known work, was a manual of the principles of Roman law, intended for students,

¹ Dante makes Justinian say (*Parad.* canto vi.), D'entro alle leggi trassi il troppo e vano. The constitution *Deo auctore* (Cod. i. 17, 1) is well worth reading. The constitution *Tanta* (i. 17, 2) accompanied the publication of the Digest (16th December 533), and

contains an account of the arrangement of the material.

² Tribonian divided his committee into three parts, and the material to be digested likewise into three parts—the Sabinian school, the commentaries on the Edict, and the works of Papinian.

in 4 books,—the Institutions. It is really a reproduction, with numerous additions, omissions, and changes, of the commentaries of Gaius.¹ At the same time the Emperor made alterations in the course of legal studies to be pursued at the schools of Constantinople and Berytus.

The Digest was a more satisfactory as well as a more stupendous work than the Code, because it could be looked upon as final. The licensed lawyers, *prudentes*, who created the mass of case-law, had long ago ceased to exist, and thus their answers were a given quantity, which no new opinions would supersede. For Constantine had abolished the practice of the *prudentes* and arrogated to the Emperor alone the right of deciding between the letter of the law and the dictates of equity. The Emperor's decisions were constitutions, not responses. The Code, on the other hand, could not be final, as was patent; it must be continually re-edited up to date, and five years after its first publication, Justinian issued a new edition, containing the constitutions passed in the interval; and it is this second edition that has come down to us. But nothing could be more absurd than to insinuate that Justinian spoiled his Code by passing a large number of laws after its publication. A final code in a defective and changing world would be really undesirable; a code in its very nature cannot be final, it can only be "up to date"; and Justinian was not so impractical as not to apprehend this patent fact. If a code were to prevent all future legislation it would be the reverse of beneficial.

It is a point of special interest, as indicating the spirit of the time, that the Pythagorean theories of number were applied to the arrangement of the Digest, which was determined on *a priori* principles, independently of the nature of the material.² In the constitution of 530 A.D. (17th December), which appointed the commission, it is decreed that the work shall consist of 50 books. These were divided into 7 parts, and the divisions were defined by mystic principles: $50 = 7 \times 7 + 1$. The first part³ consists of 4 books in imitation of the Pytha-

¹ Gaius and the Institutes can be most conveniently compared in the parallel-column edition of R. Gneist.

² This discovery was made by Friedrich Bluhme in 1820. See Preface to Roby's "Introduct. to the Digest." Jerome

and Cassiodorus in the same way attached importance to numbers.

³ The remaining six parts fall into two groups, each of which consists of twenty-three books.

gorean tetractys, which also determined the number of books in the Institutions. Students¹ were instructed in 36 of the 50 books, "in order that by reading 36 books they should become perfect youths." The charm of perfection in the number 36 consists in the fact that it is the sum of the first 8, that is, of the first 4 odd and the first 4 even, numbers. The remaining 14 books (2×7) they could study afterwards by themselves.

Whether this application of Pythagorean canons to fix the dimensions of the "most holy temple of Justice" was suggested by Justinian himself or by his quaestor Tribonian, we do not know; but it seems more natural to attribute it to the latter, who was a pagan, and doubtless imbued with Greek philosophy.² It is characteristic that the orthodox Emperor should have adopted the mystic numbers of the heathen philosopher. And it is characteristic of the Graeco-Roman time that a thorough mastery of the hard science of Roman jurisprudence should be combined with, or set in a frame of, Greek mysticism. Roman law, taken in doses determined by a Greek philosophy, was to make "most perfect youths."

The course of history modified Roman law considerably. Roman law consisted of two portions, the *jus civile*, which rested on the Twelve Tables, and the *jus gentium*. The latter was formed by the sentences of the *praetor peregrinus* in disputes between Roman citizens and foreigners or subject peoples not governed by the *jus civile*, and consisted of the "perpetual Edict," to which Hadrian gave the shape of an unalterable code. As Rome passed from the humble position of a town in Italy to that of mistress of the world, the importance of the second constituent, "the law of nations," increased. It attained greater dignity—the dignity of priority and universality—through the spread of the Stoic philosophy, which at the end of the second century B.C. began to influence Rome. The Stoic law of nature was identified with the *jus gentium*. As

¹ First-year students were called Dupondii, and studied the Institutes and first four books of Digest. Second-year students were Edictales; third-year students Papinianistae, fourth-year students Δόται, and fifth-year students Προλόται. See the constitution *Omnem*

(16th December 533), in which the new course of law for the universities of Constantinople and Berytus is defined. The name for professors was *antecessores*.

² Hesychius' notice of Tribonian is curious; he remarks that he was Ἑλληνας καὶ ἄθεος.

the Roman spirit became cosmopolitan, Roman law tended to become cosmopolitan too ; and in the third century A.D. the Edict of Caracalla, which made all free subjects of the Empire Roman citizens, and consequently rendered the civil law universally applicable, tended not only to widen the range of the old civil law and its peculiar distinctions, but to modify it. For example's sake, *cives*, *peregrini*, and *Latini* ceased to be a serious distinction. But when the Empire was divided, and a separate seat of rule existed at Constantinople, it was natural that in the eastern provinces, the natural and universal law, the *jus gentium*, should almost completely set aside the old civil law of the Romans. Such forms as *mancipatio* and *in jure cessio* were superseded. But the Twelve Tables continued to enjoy a formal authority until Justinian finally abolished it ; and this among other things indicates that his reign marks the furthest limit of the old Roman world, and therefore would be a most suitable point from which to date the so-called Byzantine period. Again, among the distinctions of Roman law, one of the most venerable and fundamental was that of *res Mancipi* and *res nec Mancipi* ; this also Justinian set aside.

As well as by the centralisation of the Roman Empire in lands not Roman, the law was influenced by the spirit of the new religion. Offences before considered only moral came to be considered legal also ; and on the other hand the harshness of the cold *jura Romana* was modified by considerations of humanity and equity. Christian influences might easily be, and often are, exaggerated. The disuse of the slave system is often attributed to it ; but while we cannot deny that Christianity tended to discourage slavery, and to lessen the evils of slavery by humanising the relations with masters, it is certain that the economical conditions which changed the slave system into the colonate and serf system were the chief cause. Beliefs and sentiments generally adapt themselves to facts, and facts are in turn modified by beliefs. It would be a mistake to say that the religious sentiment adapted itself to circumstances ; it would be equally a mistake to say that the circumstances adapted themselves to the sentiment. The course of things is generally a simultaneous and reciprocal process of adaptation of fact to sentiment and sentiment to fact.

We can perceive that between the age of Gaius and the

age of Justinian the feeling that man is naturally free has become stronger, and this feeling was in the spirit of Christianity. Florentinus said that liberty was a natural faculty, whereas servitude was a constitution contrary to nature; and this view is adopted by Justinian in his Institutes.¹ The ways in which a slave might be manumitted were increased in number by the Emperor²; and he speaks of himself as the protector of liberty.³

It is interesting to observe the criticism which has been made on the legal work of Justinian by one of the greatest German writers on Roman law, Rudolf von Jhering, in his *Geist des römischen Rechts*.⁴ Until Justinian's time, he says, Roman legislation cannot be reproached with invading the dominion of theoretical science; but Justinian's work is altogether conditioned by the principle of blending theory with practical legislation. The Digest and the Institutions are intended to be at once compendia and lawbooks. The disastrous result of such a proceeding is that science is influenced by authority; Justinian's authority tended to cow the theorist. "The example of the schoolmaster on the throne, or the legislator on the cathedra, which Justinian set, has been only too readily imitated in modern legislation. Science should leave to Caesar the things that are the Caesar's, but he should leave to science the things that are hers."

¹ See Ulpian, quoted by Gneist on *Inst. i. v.* (p. 11).

² *Inst. i. v. 2.*

³ "Pro libertate quam et fovere et tueri Romanis legibus et praeceptis nostro numini peculiare est." Slavery, however, was still recognised by the laws, and punishments were inflicted in the case of unions between freewomen

and slaves, and between freemen and the *servae* of others.

⁴ See Theil ii., Abtheilung, 2, p. 372. As an example of what he calls *legal constructions*, Jhering mentions a law of Zeno, in which he puts forward the dependent character of emphyteutic contract. See *Cod. Just. iv. 66.*

CHAPTER IV

FIRST PERSIAN WAR (528-532 A.D.)

THE Emperor Justin adopted the policy of conciliating minor peoples who, dwelling on the borders of the Roman and Persian realms, were ready to sell or change their friendship or allegiance. Among others the Lazic prince Tzath, who had been the vassal of Persia, visited Constantinople, and became the vassal of New Rome. But Kobad was old, and he did not immediately declare war against the successor of Anastasius. On the contrary, he made the strange proposal—which recalls Arcadius' relations with Isdigerd—that Justin should adopt his son Chosroes. The request was refused, through the influence of the minister Proclus, who pointed out that by Roman law the adopted son would have a legal right to the father's inheritance, and that Persia might claim the Roman Empire. This literal deduction may strike us as amusingly far-fetched, but it is an instance of the ancient habit of pushing things to their extreme logical consequences. The refusal was resented by Kobad, but hostilities did not begin in Justin's lifetime, as a conspiracy of the Mazdakites, which led to their massacre, and an Iberian war occupied Kobad's attention.

When Justinian came to the throne he determined to found a new fortress close to Nisibis, and gave Belisarius, commandant in Daras,¹ directions to that effect. As the building operations were progressing, a Persian army, 30,000 strong, under the command of Prince Xerxes, invaded Mesopotamia. The

¹ Belisarius was appointed to this post in the last year of Justin, as successor to Licelarius of Thrace, who had shown his incompetence by an un-

successful invasion of the territory of Nisibis. Procopius was at the same time chosen by Belisarius as his secretary.

Romans, under several commanders who had joined forces, advanced against them, and were defeated in a disastrous battle. Tapharas, the commander of the Saracen auxiliaries, and Proclianus, duke of Phoenicia, were slain; Sebastian, the general of the Isaurian troops, Kutzis, the duke of Damascus, and the Count Basilius, were taken prisoners.¹ Belisarius escaped, and the beginnings of the new fortress were left in the hands of the enemy. The victors had themselves experienced grievous losses, and soon retreated into their own territory; while Justinian, undismayed, sent garrisons and new captains to the fortresses of Amida, Constantina, Edessa, Suron, and Berrhoea. A new army was formed, consisting of Illyrians and Thracians, Scythians and Isaurians, and entrusted to Pompeius, perhaps the nephew of Anastasius. But nothing more occurred in the year 528, which closed with a severe winter.

The hostilities of 529 began in March with a plundering expedition of Persian and Saracen forces combined, under the guidance of the Saracen king Alamundar, who penetrated into Syria, almost to the walls of Antioch, and retreated so swiftly that the Romans could not reach him and force him to disgorge his booty. The only thing that was left for them to do was to make reprisals, and in the following month a corps of Phrygians plundered in the territories of the Persians and their Saracen allies.² Belisarius was appointed at this time master of soldiers in the East³ (instead of Hypatius), but the rest of the year was drawn out in ineffectual negotiations.

The following year (530) was a year of glory for the Roman name, and for the general Belisarius, who, at the early age of twenty-five, won his first laurels by a victory at Daras. There was much talk of peace, but the great king did not really desire it, and the ambassador Rufinus waited in vain at Hierapolis. Belisarius, with the help of Hermogenes,⁴ who

¹ For these events we must combine the slight account of Procopius with the more detailed narrative of Malalas. Procopius exhibits a tendency throughout to colour events or curtail them, so as to reflect favourably on Belisarius. Malalas renders their dues to other commanders. The accounts of the two historians are carefully compared by G. Sotiriadis in his important critical essay on *Johannes von Antiochia* (1887), pp. 114 sq.

² The hostilities of 529 are altogether omitted by Procopius.

³ ἑξαρχος Ῥωμαίων (Malalas), στρατηγὸν τῆς ἑω (Procopius). Gibbon was misled by Procopius' conventional term for *mag. mil. per or.* into supposing that Justinian introduced a new title, "general of the East."

⁴ Hermogenes had held the post of a *magister*, and was one of the supporters of Vitalian in his revolt.

acted as a sort of informal coadjutor, collected at Daras an army of 25,000 mixed and undisciplined troops, largely consisting of Huns and Heruls; while Perozes, who had been appointed the *mirran*, or sole commander of the Persian army, arrived at Nisibis in June¹ at the head of 40,000 soldiers, confident of victory. They advanced within twenty stadia of Daras, and the *mirran* sent to Belisarius a message redolent of oriental insolence—that, as he intended to bathe in the city on the morrow, a bath should be prepared for his pleasure.

The Romans did not intend to submit to the indignity or tediousness of a siege; they made preparations for battle, just outside the walls of the town. The Persians arrived punctually as their general signified, and stood for a whole day in line of battle without venturing to attack the Romans, who were drawn up in carefully arranged positions. In the evening they retired to their camp,² but returned next morning, resolved not to let another day pass without a decisive action, and found their enemy occupying the same positions as on the preceding day. For the apprehension of the details of the battle, the dispositions which the inventive genius of Belisarius had adopted must be explained.

About a stone's throw from the gate of Daras that looks toward Nisibis a deep trench was dug, interrupted by frequent ways for crossing. This trench, however, was not in a continuous right line; in fact, we may say that it consisted of five separate trenches. At either end of the central trench, which was parallel to the opposite wall of the city, a trench ran outwards almost at right angles; and where each of these perpendicular trenches or "horns" terminated, two other trenches were dug in opposite directions at right angles, and consequently almost parallel to the first trench.³ Between the central trench and the town Belisarius and Hermogenes were posted with the main body of their troops. On the left, behind the main ditch and near the left "horn," a regiment of cavalry under Buzes, and 300 Heruls under their leader Pharas, were stationed close to a rising ground, which the

¹ Theophanes supplies the date.

² During the afternoon the armies were diverted by two single combats, in which a Byzantine professor of gymnastics, who had accompanied the

army unofficially, slew two Persian champions.

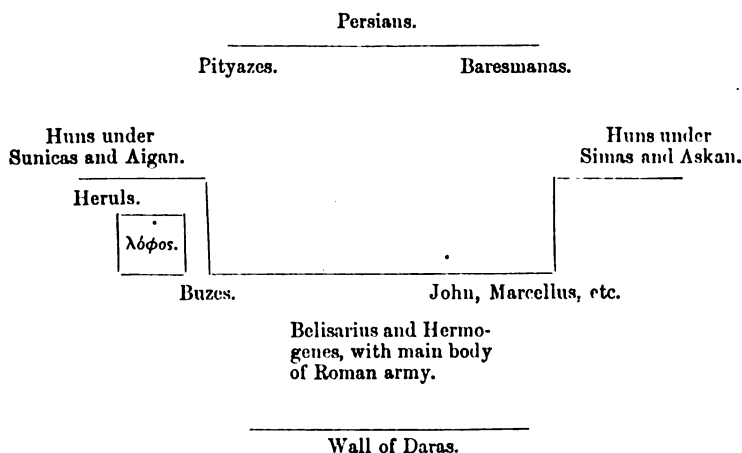
³ Such, it appears to me, is the evident meaning of the description of Procopius, and thus I believe it was

Heruls occupied in the morning, at the suggestion of Pharas and with the approval of Belisarius. Outside the angle made by the outermost ditch and the horn were placed 600 Hunnic cavalry, under the Huns Sunicas and Aigan. The disposition on the right wing was exactly symmetrical. Troops under John (the son of Nicetas), Cyril, and Marcellus occupied the position corresponding to that occupied by Buzes on the left, while other squadrons of Hunnic cavalry, led by Simas and Askan, were posted on the extreme right.

Half of the Persian forces stood in a long line opposite to the Roman dispositions, the other half was kept in reserve at some distance in the rear, to replace the soldiers in front when they felt weary. Two generals, subordinate to the mirran, commanded the Persians, Baresmanas on the left wing and Pityazes on the right. The corps of Immortals, the flower of the army, was reserved for a supreme occasion. The details of the battle have been described so lucidly by a competent eye-witness that I cannot do better than reproduce the account of the secretary of Belisarius in a loose translation :—

“Neither began the battle till mid-day. As soon as noon was past the barbarians began the action. They had reserved the engagement for this hour of the day because they were themselves in the habit of eating only in the evening, while the Romans ate at noontide, so that they counted

interpreted by Gibbon. I cannot agree with the construction put upon Procopius by Mr. Hodgkin, who has given a far fuller account of the battle than Gibbon, and illustrated it by a diagram; his explanation hardly does justice to *ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ*.



on their offering a less vigorous resistance if they were attacked fasting. At first each side discharged volleys of arrows and the air was obscured with them ; the barbarians shot more darts, but a great number of soldiers fell on both sides. Fresh relays of the barbarians were always coming up to the front, unperceived by their adversaries ; yet the Romans had by no means the worst of it. For a wind blew in the faces of the Persians and hindered to a considerable degree their missiles from operating with effect. When both sides had expended all their arrows, they used their spears, hand to hand. The left wing of the Romans was pressed most hardily. For the Cadisenes, who fought on the Persian right with Pityazes, had advanced suddenly in large numbers, and having routed their opponents, pressed on them valiantly as they fled, and slew many. When Sunicas and Aigan with their Huns saw this they rushed on the Cadisenes at full gallop. But Pharas and his Heruls, who were posted on the hill, were before them (the Huns) in falling on the rear of the enemy and performing marvellous exploits against the Cadisenes and the other troops. But when the Cadisenes saw the cavalry of Sunicas also coming against them from the side, they turned and fled. When the rout was conspicuous the Romans joined together and inflicted a great slaughter on the enemy.

"The mirran [meanwhile] secretly sent the Immortals with other regiments to the left wing. When Belisarius and Hermogenes saw them, they commanded Sunicas, Aigan, and their Huns, to go to the angle on the right where Sinas and Askan were stationed, and placed behind them many of the troops that were under Belisarius' special command. Then the left wing of the Persians, led by Baresmanas, along with the Immortals, attacked the Roman right wing at full speed. And the Romans, unable to withstand the onset, fled. Then those who were stationed in the angle (the Huns, etc.) attacked the pursuers with great ardour. And coming athwart the side of the Persians they cleft their line in two unequal portions, the larger number on the right and a few on the left. Among the latter was the standard-bearer of Baresmanas, whom Sunicas killed with his lance. The foremost of the Persian pursuers, apprehending their danger, turned from their pursuit of the fugitives to oppose the attackers. But this movement placed them between enemies on both sides, for the fugitive party perceived what was occurring and rallied. Then the other Persians and the corps of the Immortals, seeing their standard lowered and on the ground, rushed with Baresmanas against the Romans in that quarter. The Romans met them, and Sunicas slew Baresmanas, hurling him to earth from his horse. Hence the barbarians fell into great panic, and forgot their valour, and fled in utter disorder. And the Romans closed them in and slew about five thousand. And thus both armies were entirely set in motion ; that of the Persians for retreat and that of the Romans for pursuit. All the infantry of the defeated army threw away their shields, and were caught and slain pell-mell. Yet the Romans pursued only for a short distance, for Belisarius and Hermogenes would not permit them to go further, lest the Persians, compelled by necessity, should turn and rout them if they followed rashly ; and they deemed it sufficient to keep the victory untarnished, this being the first defeat experienced by the Persians for a long time past."

About the same time the Roman arms were also successful in Persarmenia, where a victory was gained over an army of Persarmenians and Huns, which, if it had not been overshadowed by the success of Daras, would have probably been made more of by Byzantine historians.¹

After the conspicuous defeat which his army had experienced, Kobad was not disinclined to negotiate a peace, and embassies passed between the Persian and Roman courts²; but at the last moment the persuasions and promises of fifty thousand Samaritans induced him to break off the negotiations on a trifling pretext. The Samaritans had revolted in 529, and the fifty thousand, who had escaped the massacre which attended the suppression of the rebellion, actuated by the desire of revenge, engaged to betray Jerusalem and Palestine to the foe of the Empire. Accordingly, in the year 531 hostilities were resumed, and at the suggestion of the Saracen Alamundar³ fifteen thousand Persian cavalry under Azareth, instead of invading Mesopotamia, crossed the Euphrates at Circesium, with a view to invading Syria. They proceeded along the banks of the river in a north-westerly direction to Callinicum, and, pitching their camp near Gabbulon, harried the surrounding districts.

Meanwhile Belisarius arrived from Daras with eight thousand men and took up his position at Chalcis, but did not attempt to hinder the devastations of the enemy. One of his captains, the Hun Sunicas, ventured to evade the general's orders, and attacking a party of Persians, not only defeated them, but learned from the prisoners whom he took the Persian plan of campaign, and the intention of the foe to strike a blow at Antioch itself. Yet the success of Sunicas did not in the eyes of Belisarius atone for his disobedience, and Hermogenes, who arrived at this moment on the scene of action from Constantinople,

¹ At this time Dorotheus, a brave and judicious man, was acting general in Armenia. The nominal command of the Armenian army was invested in Sittas, the *magister militum* of Armenia, a new office created by Justinian; see Theophanes, *Chron.* 6020 A.M., *προεβόλετο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατηλάτην Ἀρμενίας Τζίταν* . . . ; he adds that before this Armenia had counts and dukes. Cf. Malalas, p. 429, ed. Bonn. *στρατη-*

λάτης is the technical Greek term for *mag. mil.*

² See Malalas, p. 454, ed. Bonn. Sotiriadis (*op. cit.* p. 119) points out the difficulties in the text and gives a probable solution.

³ The plot of the Samaritans had been discovered and forestalled, so that it was not the prospect of their co-operation that determined the invasion of Syria.

arranged with difficulty the quarrel between the general and the captain. At length Belisarius ordered an advance against the enemy, who had meanwhile taken the fortress of Gabbulon and other places in the neighbourhood. Laden with booty, the Persians retreated and reached the point of the right Euphrates bank opposite to the city of Callinicum, where they were overtaken by the Romans. A battle was unavoidable, and on the 19th of April the armies engaged. What really took place on this unfortunate day was a matter of doubt even for contemporaries; some cast the blame on Belisarius, others accused the subordinate commanders of cowardice.¹

At Callinicum the course of the Euphrates is from west to east. The battle took place on the bank of the river, and as the Persians were stationed to the east of the Romans, their right wing and the Roman left were on the river. Belisarius and his cavalry occupied the centre; on the left were the infantry and the Hunnic cavalry under Sunicas and Simas; on the right were Phrygians and Isaurians and the Saracen auxiliaries under their king Arethas.² The Persians began the action by a feigned retreat, which had the effect of drawing from their position the Hunnic cavalry on the left wing; they then attacked the Roman infantry, left unprotected, and tried to ride them down and press them into the river. But they were not as successful as they hoped, and on this side the battle was drawn. On the right Roman wing the fall of Apskal, the captain of the Phrygian troops, was followed by the flight of his soldiers; a panic ensued, and the Saracens acted like the Phrygians; then the Isaurians made for the river and swam over to an opposite island. How Belisarius acted, and what the Hun leaders Sunicas and Simas were doing in the meantime, we cannot determine. It was said, on the one hand, that

¹ Compare the conflicting accounts of Procopius, the secretary and partisan of Belisarius, and J. Malalas. We have no means of determining the source of the latter, but in many cases he furnishes a number of details omitted by the former, and his narrative has a more genuine ring.

² I cannot agree with the plan of the battle implied in Sotiriadis' interpretation of Malalas (p. 123), which

would place the Persians *west* of the Romans. I adopt the reverse position, and thus bring the statements of Malalas into accordance with those of Procopius. In the mere fact of the position of troops there is no reason why the two accounts should differ. According to Sotiriadis, "the northern part" (τὸ ἀρκτικὸν μέρος) of the Roman army was the right wing; according to my explanation, it was the left.

Belisarius dismounted from his horse, rallied his soldiers, and made for a long time a brave stand against the charges of the Persian cavalry. On the other hand, this valiant behaviour was attributed to Sunicas and Simas, and the general himself was accused of fleeing with the cowards and crossing to Callinicum. There is no sure evidence to make it probable that the defeat was due to Belisarius; it was hardly possible for him to cope against vastly greater numbers in a field where he had no natural or artificial defences to support the bravery of his soldiers or his own skill; and perhaps an over-confident spirit in his army prevailed on him to risk a battle against his better judgment. But the rights and wrongs of the case are enveloped in obscurity, because the facts are known to us from writers whom we cannot acquit of the opposite tendencies to exonerate and inculpate Belisarius; yet it must be confessed that the adverse witness seems the more credible and is generally the more trustworthy of the two.

The Persians retreated, and the remnant of the Roman army was conveyed across the river to Callinicum. Hermogenes¹ sent the news of the defeat to Justinian without delay, and the Emperor despatched Constantiolus to investigate the details of the battle and discover on whom the blame, if any, rested. The conclusions at which Constantiolus arrived resulted in the recall of Belisarius and the appointment of Mundus to the command of the eastern armies.² During the interval of delay, Sittas, the general who was commanding in Armenia, provisionally commanded in Mesopotamia.

The arms of Mundus were attended with success. Two attempts of the Persians to take Martyropolis were thwarted, and they experienced a considerable defeat. But the death of the old king Kobad and the accession of his son Chosroes

¹ It may be suspected that Hermogenes presented the behaviour of Belisarius in a suspicious light.

² We cannot, I think, infer from the recall of Belisarius that the result of Constantiolus' investigation was adverse to him; on the contrary, if it had been adverse to him, the historian who furnished Malalas with his narrative, and who was evidently antagonistic to Belisarius, would have certainly stated

the fact in distinct terms. I conjecture that the reason of Belisarius' recall was the circumstance that a bad feeling prevailed between him and the subordinate commanders; and Justinian saw that this feeling was a sure obstacle to success. The investigation of Constantiolus must necessarily have brought out these jealousies and quarrels in the clearest light.

(September 531) led to the conclusion of "the endless peace," which was finally ratified in spring 532. The provisions were that New Rome should pay 11,000 lbs. of gold for the defence of the Caucasian passes; that the Roman headquarters were no longer to be at Daras but at Constantina, and that certain places were to be restored.

CHAPTER V

THE RECONQUEST OF AFRICA AND ITALY

JUSTINIAN'S ideal, we are told by a contemporary, was to restore the grandeur of the old Roman Empire, and accordingly he formed the project of reconquering the western lands, Africa and Italy, which had passed into the hands of German kings; a reconquest of Gaul can hardly have been thought of. The kingdom of Africa and the kingdom of Italy did not bear by any means the same relation to the Empire. The former was openly hostile, and connected by no tie, while the latter was nominally dependent. Before we give a brief account of the campaigns in which the Emperor's generals recovered Africa and made Italy really as well as nominally part of the Empire, we must take a glance at the condition of the Ostrogothic kingdom.

The whole policy of Theodoric was marked by a peculiar deference to things Roman; he combined the independence of a German king with a love of Roman civilisation, and we can see this twofold spirit reflected in the letters written by his secretary Cassiodorus. He said in so many words to Anastasius that his kingdom was an imitation of the Roman polity,¹ and his treatment of the Italians was a strong contrast to the conduct of the Vandals in Africa; it was a contrast even to that of the Visigoths in Spain. The Vandals took possession of all the land, the Visigoths seized two-thirds, the Ostrogoths reserved only one-third. Theodoric published an Edict (like the Breviarium of Alaric II), which

¹ *Regnum nostrum imitatio vestri* (Cassiodorus, l'ar. i. 1).

was to determine the legal affairs of Roman subjects.¹ His attitude to the Church was in the highest degree conciliatory. He did not, like Odovacar, attempt to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, but left to the Church the things of the Church. The schism that existed during the greater part of his reign between the bishops of Rome and the patriarchs of Constantinople rendered this policy successful; the Arian Theodoric's abstention from interference contrasted with the ecclesiastical dictation of the Emperors, and the western Church was well contented with Ostrogothic rule. Here again Italy differed from Africa, where conflicts raged between the Catholics and their Arian conquerors. Theodoric's league with the Church favoured both those tendencies, which we pointed out as characterising his policy; it brought him into friendly relation with the most enlightened and "civil" portions of his community, and it promoted the security and independence of his German kingdom. During his reign Italy enjoyed peace. He executed works for the material good of the country, repaired the Via Appia, drained the Pontine Marshes, and restored the walls of Rome.

His position really assumed a European importance. He not only conceived the idea of a Romano-German civilisation in an independent Italy, but he conceived the idea of a system of German states in the West.² He was connected by marriage with the royal houses of the Vandals, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Thuringians, and the Franks³; he watched diligently the course of their mutual relations, and made it his object to preserve a balance of power. His judgment carried great weight at all the Teutonic courts, and he used to intervene to prevent the encroachments of the aggressive Franks. "He was an excellent observer of justice," says Procopius, "and asserted the authority of the laws. He secured his provinces

¹ For this edict, see Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, iii. 342. Dahn's researches show that it is based on the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Sententiae* of Paulus. No historical connection can be proved between the Breviarium of Alaric and the Edict of Theodoric.

² This has been often noticed. See Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iv. i. 443-445, and cf. Hodgkin, iii. 355.

³ He was brother-in-law of Thra-

sumund, king of the Vandals (who married his sister Amalafrida). He married Augolleda, the daughter of Chlodwig, king of the Franks. Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and Sigismund, who became king of the Burgundians (524), were his sons-in-law. Hermanfrid, king of the Thuringians, married his niece Amalaberga. His own daughter by Augolleda, the queen Amalasuntha, was the wife of Eutharic, an Ostrogoth.

from the attacks of neighbouring barbarians, and achieved the culmination not only of prudence, but of bravery. He inflicted no injury on his subjects himself, and allowed no other to do so with impunity. In name Theodoric was a tyrant, in reality a true Emperor, second to none who shone in that position since the beginning of the Empire. Italians and Goths alike had the greatest affection for him."¹

But everything depended on the personal ascendancy of Theodoric, not only peace with foreign powers, but harmonious unity within the limits of Italy. The Roman and Gothic spirits were, as we have seen, united in the king himself, and his study was to impress this unity on his kingdom, to blend Gothic vigour with Roman culture, combining, in Platonic phrase, the gymnastical and musical elements which the two nations represented. But this process of amalgamation would have required a longer time than Theodoric could expect to live, and while it was yet in its initial stage an external force was necessary to prevent the yet unharmonised elements from violently conflicting. The will of Theodoric was such a force. But after his death, in 526, there was no adequate successor. His daughter Amalasuntha assumed the government as regent for her son Athalaric, and we soon behold the discordant elements flying asunder.

Amalasuntha, a woman of remarkable vigour and intelligence, was thoroughly Roman in her ideas and sympathies, and she displayed these tendencies both in political administration and in the education of the young prince, whom she caused to be carefully trained in mental studies.² On the other hand, the Gothic nobles were exceedingly discontented; they wished their future king to be a true Goth like themselves, one who would not constrain them to act with over-punctilious justice towards their Roman fellow-subjects, and they despised the effeminate education chosen by his mother for Athalaric. They regarded gymnastic and music as inconsistent, freedom and civilisation as discordant, and were able to appeal to the fact that Theodoric himself had never been educated. Amalasuntha was obliged to yield

¹ Procopius, i. 1.

² Cassiodorus compares her education of Athalaric with Placidia's educa-

tion of Valentinian III, unfavourably to Placidia.

to their clamour, and Athalaric, glad to be freed from the restraints of school discipline, soon became devoted to the pleasures of sensuality. The position of Amalasuntha was critical, and although she steered her course through the perils that beset her with great dexterity, she was soon obliged to beg the Emperor Justinian to grant her a refuge at Constantinople, in case it should become necessary for her safety to leave Italy (533 A.D.)

From the position of affairs in 527 A.D. it might have seemed that no occasion would have been likely to arise for the serious interference of the Emperor in the affairs of the West, for Hilderic, a Catholic Christian and a friend of Justinian, with the blood of the Theodosian family in his veins, sat on the throne of Africa, and Amalasuntha governed Italy with marked favour to her Roman subjects. But this was only the external and momentary aspect of affairs. In Africa the Arian Vandals were not content with their king, and in Italy the barbarian nobles were not content with their queen. The Catholics in Africa, who had long suffered from the persecution of their Arian conquerors, would have been ready to embrace with open arms the protection of eastern Rome; and in Italy the conclusion of the schism between the Churches of the East and the West, which was brought about by the accession of the orthodox Justin, created a new element of danger to the Ostrogothic kingdom, as Theodoric soon became aware. This schism had been a sort of security that the Roman Church and the Italian subjects would not incline to desert their allegiance to Ostrogothic sovereigns and place themselves again under the Roman Emperor. Justin subjected to persecutions the Arian community in the East, which had strong Gothic proclivities, and Theodoric sent Pope John to Constantinople on a mission of threatening remonstrance. The embassy proved unsuccessful, and the Pope, when he returned to Ravenna, was cast into prison.

There was another element in the situation which must not be forgotten,—an element which is a more efficient cause in producing wars than any superficial dispute. The Empire was not the same as it had been in the days of Zeno. Then it was involved in financial difficulties, which were increased by the ravages of the Ostrogoths; but through the prudent policy of the wise Anastasius it had recovered wealth, the sinews of power in a large empire. It was now in a position to assert

in the West those rights which it had been obliged to waive in 476, and at the same time a sovereign acceded with the courage and ability to make the attempt.

All things instinctively tended to bring about the restoration of the Empire in the western Mediterranean. Justinian was to do for the German nations what the German nations had done for the Roman Empire; he was to abolish those who were least fitted to survive, the Vandals and Ostrogoths, just as the Germans had reduced the extent of the Empire to those countries where it was best fitted to survive.

VANDALIC WAR.¹—The crisis which led to Justinian's first westward step occurred in 531 A.D., when the throne of the unwarlike Hilderic² was usurped by the warrior Gelimer, and Hilderic himself cast into prison. The Emperor addressed to Gelimer a letter of remonstrance on this act, appealing to the testament of Gaiseric, but Gelimer returned an insulting reply. Justinian was at this time engaged in a war with Persia, but peace was made before the end of the year, and the general Belisarius was recalled from Mesopotamia for the purpose of leading an expedition against the Vandals. The opposition of ministers, who enlarged on the dangers of the design,—they had not forgotten the disastrous enterprise of Leo I.,—delayed the undertaking, and it was not until June 533 A.D. that a fleet of five hundred ships set sail for Africa. The army consisted of 10,000 foot-soldiers and 5000 horse-soldiers, of whom many were federate barbarians. Belisarius was accompanied by his wife Antonina; and Procopius, his secretary, who kept a diary of his experiences, commemorates her foresight in storing a large number of jars of water, covered with sand, in the hold of the general's ship, and tells how this provision stood them in good stead in the long voyage from Zacynthus to Catania.³

¹ The source is the *Bellum Vandalicum*, in Two Books, of Procopius. The most recent account is that of Mr. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iii.

² *Gaiseric* had three sons—Huneric, Genzo, and Theodoric. *Huneric*, who married the daughter of Valentinian III, succeeded his father (477-484), and was succeeded by his nephew *Gunthamund*, the son of Genzo. *Gunthamund* was succeeded (496) by his brother

Thrasamund, the husband of *Amalafida*. *Thrasamund* had no children, and the succession went to the family of *Huneric*, whose son *Hilderic* succeeded in 523. *Gelimer*, who usurped the throne, was a nephew of *Gunthamund* and *Thrasamund*, being the son of a brother named *Gelaris*.

³ The progress of the fleet was impeded by a disagreeable delay at Methone. John of Cappadocia, for the sake of economy, by which he doubtless

The Vandalic war was brief, and can be briefly related. It was decided by two battles, both of which were fought before the end of the year. Amalasuntha assisted the expedition by granting harbourage in Sicily to the fleet on its outward journey. Tripolis revolted on the arrival of the Romans, and Gelimer was completely unprepared for the attack. The power of the Vandals had waned since the days of Gaiseric, and they possessed no naval forces to annihilate the armament of Justinian, as they had once destroyed the doubly great fleet of Leo. Belisarius having landed at Caputvada, advanced slowly by land to Carthage, without opposition, taking care to maintain the strictest discipline in his army, while Gelimer, as soon as he heard of the proximity of the enemy, hastened to put Hilderic to death. The first battle was fought at ten miles from Carthage (Ad Decimum) in September, and it might have proved a defeat for the invaders but for the amiable imprudence of the Vandal king. Ammatas, the brother of Gelimer, was slain, and Gelimer's affectionate grief made him forget the duties of a commander while he lamented and buried his brother. Belisarius took advantage of the delay, and the Vandals were put to rout. Two days later he entered Carthage, and his prudent discipline so strictly prohibited all pillage and violence that the city presented the same appearance as on an ordinary day.

Another brother of Gelimer, named Tzazo, had been sent some time previously to Sardinia, which had revolted from the Vandals. Gelimer, who had retreated to Bulla Regia, west of Carthage, now recalled him, and the letter of the king shows the despondent mood into which he had fallen: "All the old valour of the Vandals seems to have vanished, and all our old luck therewith. . . . Our only hope is you. . . . It will be some consolation at least in our misfortunes to feel that we endure them together." The brothers marched towards Carthage together, and at Tricameron, not far from the city, the decisive battle was fought. Gelimer lost a second brother, and the Vandals were utterly defeated. The king fled to the Numidian highlands and found refuge in a cave among the filthy Moors, where he remained with sorry cheer for a while,¹ but soon

profited himself, had supplied the army with bread only once, and that ill-baked. Five hundred soldiers fell

victims to a disease caused by the indigestible dough.

¹ The story of Gelimer's request for

surrendered at discretion and adorned the triumph of Belisarius at Constantinople. When he beheld the splendour of the imperial court he merely said, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," a remark which, as Ranke notices, had a sort of historical signification. For along with Gelimer, Belisarius brought to Constantinople those vessels of gold of which Gaiseric had robbed Rome, and of which Titus had despoiled Jerusalem. They were part of the riches of the king to whom the words "Vanity of vanities" are traditionally attributed.

EVENTS IN AFRICA AFTER THE IMPERIAL RESTORATION.—It will be convenient to add here a short account of the troubles which agitated Africa after the re-establishment of Roman rule.² The eunuch Solomon, who had been left as general by Belisarius to keep the Moors in check, was embarrassed not only by these troublesome invaders, whom he defeated in the battles of Mammias and Burgam, but by the mutinous behaviour of the Roman soldiers, who, dissatisfied with their condition in the newly conquered provinces where they had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals, and intolerant of the burdens of taxation which Justinian imposed upon them, conspired to murder Solomon. The plot failed, but the mutiny continued, and Solomon was obliged to flee to Sicily and seek the assistance of Belisarius, who had just completed the conquest of that island (March 536).³

When Belisarius arrived at Carthage it was beleaguered by the rebels, who were led by Stutzas, and numbered 9000 in all, 1000 of these being Vandals. A few hundred Vandals seem to have escaped the sword and chains of the Romans in the year of the conquest; and four hundred, who were being shipped to Syria for military duty there, succeeded in obtaining possession of a ship at Lesbos and returned to Africa, where they found circumstances in a favourable con-

three things, a lyre (to accompany a poem he had composed on his misfortunes), a loaf (the Moorish fare was so intolerable), and a sponge (to wipe away his tears), is well known. Tzetzes describes it in the following lines—

κινύραν, Βελισάριε, στείλῃς μοι σπόγγον, ἄρτον,
τῇ μὲν ὡς τραγυδῆσαιμι τὸ βαρυσύμφορόν μου,

σπόγγον δ' ὡς ἀπομόργνυμι δακρύων
τὰς πλημμύρας,
ἄρτον δ' ὡς ἂν κατῖδοιμι κἄν μόνην
τούτου θέαν.

(*Chiliads*, 3, 85.)

² The regulations for the administration of Africa will be noticed in chapter xiii. below.

³ Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, was in Africa at the time, and sailed with Solomon to Syracuse.

dition for adventurers. The arrival of Belisarius struck terror into the besiegers. They retired from the walls, and were pursued by the Roman general, who overtook them beyond the river Bagradas. A battle was fought in which the rebels were utterly defeated, and Belisarius, deeming his presence no longer necessary, returned to Sicily. But the rebellion was not extinguished, and soon after his departure five Roman generals were treacherously murdered by Stutzas. It was reserved for Germanus, the nephew of Justinian, to quell the revolt by the decisive victory of Scalae Veteres. From this time until the death of Solomon¹ in 543, the African provinces, delivered from the presence of the Moors, who during the insurrection had taken up their abode in the land, were tolerably prosperous. During the prefecture of Sergius, who succeeded Solomon, the extinct rebellion came to life again under the old leader Stutzas, and was supported by the Moors; and this revival seems to have been chiefly due to the incompetence of the prefect. Areobindus, the husband of Promota, Justinian's niece, and John, the son of Sisiuniolus, commanded the imperial army, and the rebels were routed at Sicca Venerea, Stutzas himself being slain by John (545). In the same year Areobindus succeeded Sergius as prefect, and was slain by Gontharis, the Roman duke of Numidia, who made himself tyrant of Africa. The death of Areobindus was avenged by the Armenian Artabanes, who was then appointed governor, but soon returned to Constantinople, with the hope of marrying Promota, his predecessor's widow, as will be related in another place.

GOthic WAR.²—In countenancing and assisting the overthrow of the Vandals, Amalasuntha was really smoothing the way for the conquest of Sicily and Italy. Africa was the natural basis of operations for an Italian war, and the troubled course of events in Italy soon gave Justinian a good opportunity of beginning it. Amalasuntha had a cousin Theo-

¹ Solomon resumed the government in 539. He seems to have held the office of praetorian prefect with military powers. The original intention was to keep the military and civil powers separate, but the disturbed state of the prefecture seems to have led to their union.

² The *Bellum Gothicum* of Procopius in Four Books is our source for both the

first and the second Italian wars of Justinian. I have not given full details, which will be found in the elaborate and picturesque history of Mr. Hodgkin, vol. iv. *The Imperial Restoration*; a less full relation will be found in Gibbon. I have aimed at giving a succinct account of the chief moments of the war.

dahad, a man of liberal education but of avaricious character, who owned large estates in Etruria and regarded his neighbours' possession of land as a personal injury to himself. He hated Queen Amalasuntha for keeping his greed within limits, and she entertained no high opinion of him, but a circumstance soon occurred which induced her to adopt the course of sharing with him the royal prerogative. This circumstance was the death of her son Athalaric. Such a division of power, which in the language of Cassiodorus was to be "a perfect harmony," meant conflict and could not endure; in April 535 the queen was imprisoned by her colleague in an island of Lake Bolsena and soon afterwards murdered. As she was the friend and ally of Justinian, the moment for decisive action seemed to have come, and the Emperor's envoy Peter declared against Theodahad a war without truce.

In the summer of 535 A.D. an army of 7500 men, under the command of Belisarius, sole consul for the year, to whom the fullest powers were committed, set sail from Constantinople for Sicily. Of this army three thousand, that is two-fifths, were Isaurians. The towns in Sicily, to the great chagrin of the Goths, joyfully opened their gates to the imperialists, with the exception of Palermo, which was besieged and taken, so that by the end of the year the island was entirely in the hands of the Romaioi—the Romans, or, as their enemies called them, the Greeks. Theodahad was so impressed with these successes that he opened negotiations with Justinian, which were conducted by the ambassador Peter, who was still at the court of Ravenna. The king undertook to abdicate the crown if landed property, producing a certain annual revenue, were secured to him, and this offer, we need hardly say, Justinian gladly accepted. In these negotiations Theodahad adopted the part of a philosopher who deemed royalty of little worth, and who desired to avoid the loss of human life which a war would involve, while Justinian assumed the attitude of an emperor claiming his own. But the negotiations came to nothing, for while the envoys were at Constantinople, the Roman general Mundus, who had occupied Dalmatia and taken Salona, was defeated and slain¹ in a disastrous battle with an invading army of

¹ Maurice, Mundus' son, also perished. Hence an old Sibylline oracle of terrifying import was supposed to have found its fulfilment. The scribe of our text

Goths, who retook the city of the Jader. This success renewed the confidence and changed the plans of Theodahad. When the envoys arrived in Ravenna, the king, supported by his Gothic nobles, drew back from his engagements, and the war began in earnest (536 A.D.) As for Dalmatia, its position was soon reversed again; Salona, the city of Diocletian, which had passed from the Romans in the days of Odovacar, was recovered by them, and the province became permanently part of the Empire.

Belisarius took Rhegium and marched on Naples. When that city refused to surrender, he might have been tempted to leave it for a time in order to advance to Rome, but an Isaurian discovered an unguarded ingress through an aqueduct, which rendered it possible to surprise the garrison by night. This success was of the utmost importance, and has even been considered by some historians to have decided the result of the whole undertaking. Belisarius was now master of southern Italy.

Having placed a garrison in Naples, he proceeded without delay to Rome, which he entered unopposed in December; though the inhabitants were too content with the Gothic rule, under which they had suffered little or no religious persecution, to give the newcomers a very enthusiastic welcome.

Theodahad had shown no activity, he had made no attempt to save Neapolis, so that the Goths were highly discontented with him; and when Witigis, whom he had appointed general, joined the army, the soldiers insisted that their leader should be also their king. Witigis was not unwilling. He was proclaimed *thiudans*, and his first act was to put Theodahad to death. In this election the principle of heredity, which the incapacity of Theodahad seemed to discredit, was disregarded by the soldiers, who declared that Theodoric's true kinsman

of Procopius transliterated some of the Latin words of the oracle into Greek, and expressed the others in curiously contorted characters. If we reflect that a Greek would take Latin F for E, P for Ro, C for Z, the first words AFRICA CAPTA (*depras apra*) present no difficulty. Of the strange characters the third suggests D, the fifth is clearly S, the sixth probably C, the ninth plainly N. The first is the same as the eighth, and suggests a half-inverted M. The second, fourth, and

seventh are the same letter, which we may assume to be U; the tenth letter suggests A. Thus we obtain MÜDUS CUM NA. The remaining Greek letters (*τρεπισρασι*; but *apud* Joan. Opsopoeum, *Sib. or. τρεπισρασι*) seem partially corrupt. *τς* may represent *tis*, and in the rest some part of *perire* may be contained. *Africa capta mundus cum natis peribit* (or *perit statim*!) is identical with Procopius' Greek explanation.

was he who could imitate his deeds; but Witigis took the precaution of confirming his position by coercing Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasuntha, to marry him, thereby connecting himself with the royal family. The new king was an elderly man, and would have made a good sergeant; but he was destitute of originality, destitute of genius. As the historian of *Italy and her Invaders* has well remarked, his election was due to the error of supposing "that respectability will serve instead of genius."¹

At this time (the beginning of the war) the position of the Goths was complicated by the attitude of the Franks, who threatened to invade the northern provinces of the peninsula; and the presence of a part of the Gothic army was required to defend Provincia. Witigis made up his mind to avert the danger in the north first, and then devote all his resources to the war with the Roman invaders. Leaving Leudaris with 4000 soldiers to hold Rome, he marched with the main body of the army to Ravenna. There he married Matasuntha, he sent to Justinian an embassy treating for peace, and he arranged matters with the Franks by ceding the Ostrogothic possessions in southern Gaul (Provence and Dauphiné) and paying the sum of £80,000. It was evident that the new king was guilty of a most imprudent surrender of opportunity by his expedition to Ravenna. This movement involved the loss of Rome, and we cannot perceive what compensatory advantage he gained thereby. It was not necessary for the army, or even for Witigis himself, to be present at Ravenna, either for the settlement with the Franks, or for the embassy to New Rome, or for his marriage.² As far as we can judge of the situation, the thing that Witigis ought to have done was to make the defences of Rome sure.

Belisarius entered the city on the Tiber by one gate (porta Asinaria) on the 10th December, as the Goths of Leudaris went out by another (porta Flaminia); Leudaris himself remained and was taken prisoner. The evacuation by the Goths, without opposition to the Roman occupation, was due to two causes: the prestige which Belisarius had won by his former successes, and the fact that the Pope Silverius had invited him to Rome.

¹ *Italy and her Invaders*, iv. 79.

² Mr. Hodgkin's remarks on this subject are fully justified.

The second cause depended on the first, for it was not with any warm enthusiasm that the "Romans" (*Romani*), who had never suffered religious persecution from the Goths, welcomed the "Greeks" (*Ῥωμαῖοι*), but rather from fear. In spite of their veneration for the Roman Emperor, they looked upon his subjects rather as Greeks than as Romans, and the Goths were careful to speak of them as "Greeks." The "Greeks," on the other hand, called the Romans of Italy "Italians."

Belisarius garrisoned three towns to the north of Rome, Narnia, Spolegium, and Perusia, and prepared Rome herself to sustain a siege. In this siege, which began in March 537 and lasted for a year and nine days, two circumstances stood him in good stead,—the strength of the Aurelian wall and his command of Sicily, the granary of Italy. The garrison amounted to five thousand men; the army of Witigis numbered fifteen thousand, and was divided in seven camps around the city. The first act of the besiegers was to cut off the city's supply of water by destroying all the aqueducts, eleven (according to Procopius, fourteen) in number. This was one of the greatest disasters that the Ostrogothic war brought upon Rome, which from having been one of the best supplied cities in the world, became one of the worst supplied, until, in the sixteenth century, Sixtus V provided for the convenience and health of Rome by renewing the aqueducts.

When the aqueducts were cut, there was no water to turn the corn mills which supplied the garrison with food. The inventive brain of Belisarius devised a curious and effective expedient. Close to a bridge (probably the Pons Aelius¹) through whose arch the stream bore down with considerable force, he stretched across the river tense ropes to which he attached two boats, separated by a space of two feet. Two mills were placed on each boat, and between the skiffs was suspended the water-wheel, which the current easily turned. A line of such boats was formed and a series of water-mills in the bed of the Tiber ground all the corn that was required. The endeavours of the Goths to disconcert this ingenious device and break the machines by throwing trees and corpses

¹ Cp. Hodgkin, iv. 182. The account of the water-mills will be found in Procopius, *B. G.* i. 19. As to the line of

mills, I cannot agree with Mr. Hodgkin (p. 183) that the language of Procopius is deficient in clearness.

into the river were easily thwarted by Belisarius ; he stretched across the stream chains of iron which formed an impassable barrier to all dangerous obstacles that might harm his boats or wheels.

In their first assaults the Goths were defeated with great loss,¹ and in April a reinforcement of 1600 Slaves and Huns, who arrived from Constantinople, encouraged the defenders to organise a series of sallies. But after some successes they experienced a signal defeat, and acted thenceforth chiefly on the defensive. During the long blockade that followed, the Romans suffered from famine, and both parties from pestilence. The siege was varied by a truce of three months, and the inexplicable negligence of the Goths enabled the garrison to introduce provisions into the city.

At length, in March 538, the Goths raised the siege, and as they departed were pursued by the soldiers of Belisarius and utterly defeated at the Milvian bridge. The cause of the departure of the Goths was the capture of Rimini by John, the nephew of Vitalian, who had arrived four months before with troops from Byzantium, and had succeeded in entering Rome. During the truce Belisarius despatched him to Alba in the Apennines, whence, if the truce were broken, he was ordered to ravage the land and assault the cities of Picenum. The Goths violated the truce by forming two unsuccessful schemes to capture the city. The light of their torches as they attempted to penetrate the Aqua Virgo was observed by a watchful sentinel, and a Roman whom they hired to drug the sentries at the Flaminian Gate with a sleeping potion revealed the treachery to Belisarius. The operations of John in Picenum were a reply to this Gothic perfidy. It is interesting to note that, when he took Rimini, Matasuntha, the wife of Witigis, opened treasonable communications with him. Her sympathies, like her mother's, were more with the Romans than with the Goths ; they were least of all with her husband, who, although he had slain Theodahad, represented his policy.

The siege and relief of Ariminum (Rimini) may be con-

¹ Mounted archers (*ἰπποτοξόται*) were a feature of Belisarius' army, and the general himself ascribed to them the superiority of the Romans to the Goths (Proc. *B. G.* i. 27).

sidered the third scene of the war, the sieges of Naples and Rome being the first and second. Belisarius sent two officers¹ to John bearing the mandate that he was to withdraw with his band of two thousand Isaurians from Ariminum, and leave in it a nominal garrison taken from Ancona. John refused to obey, and Witigis soon afterwards appeared before the walls.

At this juncture a new element, of which John's insubordinate refusal had been a sign, was introduced into the situation. Fresh troops arrived from Constantinople under the command of Narses the eunuch, a person of great ability and large influence at the Byzantine court. His instructions were to obey Belisarius in all things, so far as seemed consistent with the public weal. The exception, though it might read as a mere formality, was practically as comprehensive as an exception could be, and was an undisguised expression of doubt or mistrust in Belisarius' conduct of the war. The meaning of Narses' appointment was that the Emperor desired to have in Italy a check on Belisarius; the accrediting formula of Narses' papers was an ingenious but patent way of putting it; the eunuch was really independent.

The affair of Ariminum offered to Narses an occasion to assert himself. Owing to want of provisions, John must soon surrender to the besiegers, and the question for Belisarius was whether he should relieve the place or not. An immediate march to Ariminum, while Auximum (Osimo) was still in the hands of the Goths, was a hazardous enterprise, and John's insubordination was not calculated to hasten the steps of the general. Belisarius and Narses met at Firmum, where Narses convinced the council of officers that circumstances demanded the relief of Ariminum, his chief argument being that the reduction of that important town would have a vast effect on the temper of the Goths, who were now thoroughly dispirited.

Belisarius, by adroit movements, succeeded in dispersing the Gothic beleaguers and saving the city; but the affair had

¹ One of Mr. Hodgkin's most interesting chapters describes the ride of Ildiger and Martin from Rome to Rimini along the Flaminian way (vol. iv. cap. 10). At this juncture the Goths held the following places between Ravenna and Rome: Cesena, Monte-

Feltro, Urbino, Chiusi, Todi, Orvieto (Urbs Vetus); while the Romans held Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona, Nuceria, Foligno (Fulginium), Spoleto, Narnia, Firmo. Todi and Chiusi surrendered to Belisarius in 538.

a prejudicial effect on the imperialists themselves. John said pointedly to Belisarius that he thanked Narses for the deliverance—an expression of the discord that divided the camp.

The result of this discord was the loss of Milan and the massacre of its inhabitants by the Goths. At the request of Datius, bishop of Mediolanum, who visited Rome during the last month of the siege, Belisarius had sent Mundilas to Liguria, and that officer had occupied Mediolanum and other cities with small garrisons. The Goths and a large body of Burgundians, sent by Theudibert, king of the Franks of Austrasia, invested Milan. Belisarius ordered John to relieve it, but John refused to move without the order of Narses, and Narses gave the order too late. Milan and Liguria were lost to the Goths in the early months of 539 A.D.

Justinian was wise enough to see the disadvantages that were involved in the independent and antagonistic position of Narses, and to apprehend that the conquest of Italy depended on his placing implicit confidence in Belisarius. He remedied the mistake that he had committed, and recalled Narses; we may say that this step decided the result of the undertaking.

The latter part of the year 539 was marked by the sieges of Faesulæ (Fiesolæ) and Auximum, and by the sanguinary invasion of the Franks, who were supposed to be at peace with both parties, but now, under King Theudibert, inflicted terrible slaughter on the Goths, and put the Romans to rout. A disease broke out in their army, and this, joined with the menaces and remonstrances of Belisarius, induced them to retire. Italy had long presented the appearance of a wilderness, waste and uncultivated in consequence of the war, and famine was decimating the Goths. Witigis began to look for foreign assistance. He not only entered into communication with Wacis, king of the Lombards, but sent two Ligurians to Chosroes Nushirvan to induce him to vex the eastern frontier of the Empire; for the Goths saw that the effectiveness of Justinian's operations in the West was conditioned by the maintenance of peaceful relations in the East, as arranged by the treaty of 532. This attempt to negotiate with Persia, and the menace of hostility in that quarter, had the effect of disposing Justinian to conclude the war in Italy as speedily as possible.

The surrender of *Faesulae* and *Auximum* at the close of 539 prepared the way for the fall of *Ravenna*, which *Belisarius* immediately invested. At this juncture the situation at *Ravenna* was complicated, though not really determined, by various other interests in distant places. The first problem was whether Italy should be divided between Franks and Goths or between Goths and Romans. An embassy of the Franks waited on *Witigis*, making the former proposal; but this was counteracted by an embassy from *Belisarius*, to whose offer *Witigis* inclined. In the second place, the attitude of *Chosroes*, who was preparing to invade Syria, and the dangers of the *Haemus* peninsula, which was threatened by Hunnic inroads, affected the disposition of the Emperor, who proposed to *Witigis* the very moderate terms that he should reign as king in trans-*Padane* Italy, that the rest of the peninsula should be Roman, and that the royal treasure of the Goths should be equally divided. But *Belisarius* was dissatisfied with these terms, which seemed disproportionate to his success. A remarkable proposal of the Goths themselves made it possible for him to set them aside and convert the entire land of Italy into an imperial prefecture. This proposal was that *Belisarius* should himself assume the dignity of Emperor, and govern both the Goths and Romans. He did not reject the proposal, and the Goths surrendered on that understanding (spring 540). But the general's acquiescence was only a ruse to obtain unconditional mastery of the king and the capital of the Goths, and the idea of a revival of a separate dynasty in western Europe was not carried out. *Witigis*, the second king who had been vanquished by *Belisarius*, was conducted in triumph to Constantinople, and the treasures of the Ostrogothic palace were laid at the feet of Justinian.

We have seen that the attitude of the Franks was an element in Italian politics, and it seems desirable to say something in this place of the relations of the Franks and their Merovingian kings to the Empire. Though Gaul was really independent of the Empire in all respects, there were still theoretical ties which bound her to New Rome, and these theoretical ties influenced to some extent practical politics. *Chlodwig*, as we saw, was created honorary consul, and prob-

ably Patrician¹; he thus held a place in the hierarchy of the Empire, and one might almost look on him as the Catholic champion of Anastasius in the West against Arian Theodoric.² The Merovingian sovereigns placed the word *Vir inluster* after their names,³ thus acknowledging that they belonged to the Roman system. Theudibert, the grandson of Chlodwig, was adopted by Justinian, and addresses him as father in two extant letters,⁴ just as Childebert in later days was the *son* of Maurice. In a contemporary Life of a certain Saint Trevirius we read of Gaul as "under the legal sway of the Empire" (*sub imperii jure*) in the consulship of Justin (519 or 524)⁵; the theory of imperial Gaul was not yet a thing of the past.

From the consulate of Chlodwig until the year 539 the relations of the Empire with Gaul were friendly, but in that year Theudibert, the lord of Austrasia,⁶ and "son" of the Emperor, assumed a hostile attitude. He seems to have formed the idea of a confederacy of Teutonic nations against the Empire, but the execution of his plans was cut short by his death in 547. But neither the action of Theudibert nor that of his son Theudibald some years later (*see* below, cap. vii.) dissolved the ties of theoretical connection which bound the Frankish kingdoms of Gaul with the Roman Empire.

SAINT BENEDICT.⁷—It is appropriate to mention here that while Justinian and Belisarius were carrying on a war in Italy which was to affect profoundly the future of that country, Saint Benedict was founding his monastery at Monte Cassino,

¹ Bouquet, ii. 538: "Patricius magno sublimis fulsit honore."

² Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin*, p. 133: "Il était en Occident le soldat d'Anastase."

³ *Ib.* pp. 135-140. On the subject of this title there is great difference of opinion among French scholars.

⁴ Bouquet, iv. epp. 14, 15.

⁵ Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin*, p. 168. For Vita S. Trevirii, *see* Bouquet, iii. 411.

⁶ On Chlodwig's death, 511 A.D., his kingdom was divided among his four sons. The eldest, Theuderic, received the eastern lands on the Rhine and Moselle, which became subsequently known as Austrasia, and a considerable region in Aquitaine, including Auvergne. The western provinces (which

were to receive the conjugate name of Neustria or Neustrasia) fell to the share of Childebert. Chlodomer received the provinces south of the Loire (chief towns, Orleans, Tours, Poitiers), while to the youngest, Chlothachar, were assigned the districts of the Salian Franks in the north-east (capital Soissons). Theudibert succeeded his father Theuderic.

⁷ A picturesque chapter on St. Benedict has been written by Mr. Hodgkin, vol. iv. cap. 16. I have consulted the article of A. Vogel in Herzog and Pflitt, *Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie*. The life and teaching of St. Benedict do not strictly come within the province of my work; he did not perceptibly affect the Roman Empire.

which in the Middle Ages was to be an important factor in medieval civilisation. Benedict was born at Nursia, in the province of Valeria. Sent as a boy to study at Rome, he found his school companions sunk in corruption, and was so deeply disgusted at the presence and prevalence of vice that he fled from the world, at the age of fourteen. He went eastward, accompanied by his nurse, to the lakes at the sources of the Anio. Near Subiaco, having obtained a monk's garment from a holy man, he set up his abode in a cave at the foot of a mountain. The temptations which he underwent, the perils which he escaped, his conflicts with the Ancient Enemy, *antiquus hostis*, and the legends which in the course of a few years had encompassed his name, may be read in the biography which was written of him by his admirer Pope Gregory the Great. In 510 he was made abbot of Vicovano, but the monks could not endure his severe principle of obedience; in other matters he was not over strict. In 528 he went southwards to Campania, and founded the cloister of Monte Cassino, midway between Rome and Naples. He died on 21st March 543. His monastic *regula*, supported by the authority of Pope Gregory the Great, ultimately became the recognised rule of all monastic institutions. This, however, did not immediately come to pass. It appears that it was in the pontificate of Gregory II, in the beginning of the eighth century, that it decidedly obtained the ascendancy over the rules of other monastic reformers. For there were other monastic reformers even in the time of Benedict himself, for example, Aurelian and Caesarius at Arelate. The movement which Benedict represented in Italy was general and widespread, but the rules which he prescribed were more reasonable, mild, and moderate, notwithstanding his excessive personal austerity, than those of others.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT PLAGUE

AT various periods of the world's history mankind has been visited by plagues on a great scale. It is noteworthy that they generally attend some moral change in the races which they visit,—that they generally mark roughly a historical period. Thus the pestilence in the reign of Marcus Aurelius may be said to have accompanied the inauguration of a new epoch of the Roman Empire. The continuity of history is not broken, but in the last years of the second as in the third century we feel that we have passed into an atmosphere totally different from that of the earlier Empire. The Black Death of 1346 accompanied the inauguration of the Renaissance, and if a single date is desirable to mark the close of the Middle Ages, perhaps 1346 is the most suitable. The great pestilence of 747 A.D. was the concomitant of an important transition from the early semi - antique medievalism to medievalism proper in the Roman Empire, as I hope to show in its due place. The plague at Athens in the fifth century B.C. likewise accompanied the change from an old to a new spirit, from the old spirit which Aristophanes praises to the new spirit which he ridicules and breathes, from the old spirit of Herodotus, Aeschylus, and Pindar to the new spirit of Thucydides, Euripides, and Agathon.

The great plague of 542 A.D. similarly defines the beginning of a new period. If we may speak of watersheds in history, this plague marks the watershed of what we call the ancient and what we call the medieval age. The whole period from Constantine to Justinian was a preparation for the Middle Ages,

but its character was more ancient than medieval; the period from Justinian to Constantine V was also a preparation for the Middle Ages, but it was far more medieval than ancient. The four centuries elapsing between Constantine I. and Constantine V might be well considered a separate period, neither the ancient nor the medieval, and yet partaking of both characters, the twilight between the day and the night. But it is more convenient to divide it, and assign part of it to ancient history and part of it to medieval history. The question being at what point we are to divide it, I venture to say that the most natural point of division is the great plague in the sixth century.

For really nothing is more striking than the difference between the first half and the latter half of Justinian's reign. We feel in 550 that we are moving in a completely other world than that of 540. The hope and cheerfulness with which his reign opened have vanished, and though the tasks willed in hours of insight are not surrendered, it is veritably in hours of gloom that they are fulfilled, and the Emperor himself, quite a changed man, seems to have forgotten his interest in them. Contemporaries noticed this change that had come upon Justinian, and it has been mentioned in a previous chapter.

The peculiarity of great plagues—that they are concomitants of moral or psychical changes—naturally suggests a problem, the data necessary for whose solution are veiled in obscurity. Are these pestilences to be placed in the same category as earthquakes, for example, which may destroy a city and thereby modify history, although there is no conceivable intrinsic connection between their own causes and the societies which they affect? In this case two alternatives are possible. Either the moral and spiritual change is in the first instance quite independent of the plague, and the synchronism is a pure accident, though when the plague has set in it may facilitate the changes by removing the old generation and transforming the population; or else the plague is the cause of the moral and spiritual revolution. The second alternative must be rejected, because in all cases we see the change at work before the appearance of the disease; and perhaps the first theory will recommend itself as reasonable.

Yet we must not ignore another possibility, which cannot be proved, but does not seem improbable, the possibility that the rise and spread of the plague may be intrinsically connected with the moral and spiritual changes which it so often accompanies. In the present century it is not necessary to remind the reader that, though we reject the unreasonable formula that mind is a mere function of matter, we cannot reject the physiological fact that all processes of the individual consciousness are accompanied by corresponding physical processes of cerebration, and that there is a continual action and reaction between the psychical and physical operations. We can hardly help concluding from this that great psychological—moral and spiritual—changes which transmute societies must be accompanied by biological changes, modifications in the adjustments of the functions of the various parts of the brain, and morphological changes in its configuration. Such cerebral modifications would be naturally and necessarily attended by changes of an imperceptible but actual kind in the whole organism. Now, as the spread of a disease must depend on the state of each patient's organism as well as on the germs which are propagated in the atmosphere, it is quite conceivable that the circumstance that the organisms of a people were undergoing a process of transformation might condition and determine the diffusion, if not the appearance, of a pestilence.

The great plague ravaged the Empire for four years. It began at Pelusium, whence it spread in two directions, throughout Egypt and into Palestine. Its presence in Persia caused Chosroes to retire prematurely from his campaign in 542, and in the spring of the same year it reached Constantinople, where it raged for four months. Procopius, the historian, an eyewitness of its course, has left us an account of it, which one sets beside the description of the plague at Athens by Thucydides, or that of the Black Death by Boccaccio. Procopius does not hesitate to reject all attempts to account for it by natural causes and to attribute its origin directly to the Deity. His reason for this scepticism or faith was that the visitation was universal, and therefore excluded a special cause. This circumstance especially impressed Procopius; the plague did not assail

any particular race or class of men,¹ nor prevail in any particular region, nor at any particular season of the year. Summer or winter, north or south, Greek or Arabian, washed or unwashed — of these distinctions the plague took no account; it pervaded the whole world. A man might climb to the top of a hill, it was there; or retire to the depth of a cavern, it was there also. If it passed by a spot, it was sure to return there again; and one condition at least it seemed to obey in the line of its route, for Procopius tells us that it spread from the coast inlandwards. The chief symptom of the disease was the swelling of the groin, whence it is called by Gregory of Tours *lues inguinaria*. Some of those who were attacked were warned by the sight of demon spectres in human forms and by a feeling as if they were struck by an invisible hand. This feature was also characteristic of the plague of 747; it is a medieval trait. The plague of the age of Pericles was not accompanied by spectral apparitions, or at least the rational Thucydides does not condescend to record such puerilities. When the plague reached its height, 5000, it is said, perished daily, sometimes even 10,000. Justinian himself caught the infection, but recovered. Constantinople was in a pitiable condition. In many houses none remained to bury the dead, and Justinian appointed Theodorus, a referendarius, to provide for the interment of the neglected corpses. The feuds of the Blues and Greens were quenched in the common woe. The attitude of the light and dissolute to religion deserves mention. With the prospect of death before them, they cleansed their ways and piously frequented churches; but when they recovered and felt secure, they plunged headlong into their old amusements, and their last state was worse than the first. Procopius made the generalisation that "this pestilence, whether by chance or providential design, strictly spared the most wicked."

The plague aggravated the disastrous condition of the population, which had suffered from the pressure of taxation. It produced a stagnation of trade and a cessation of work. All customary occupations were broken off, and the market-places were empty save of corpse-bearers. The consequence was that

¹ Females, however, were said to be less susceptible than males. Procopius' description will be found in *Bell. Pers.* ii. 22, 23, 30.

Constantinople, always richly supplied, was in a state of famine, and bread was a great luxury.

In 558 there was another outbreak of this pestilential scourge in the East; it lurked and lingered in Europe long after the first grand visitation. In the last years of Justinian it produced a desolation in Liguria which was graphically described by Paul, the historian of the Lombards. "Videres," he writes,¹ "saeculum in antiquum redactum silentium"; the country seemed plunged in a "primeval silence."

¹ Paul Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii. 4.

CHAPTER VII

THE FINAL CONQUEST OF ITALY AND THE CONQUEST OF SOUTH-EASTERN SPAIN

By the fall of Witigis and the capture of Ravenna the conquest of Italy was not completed. There were still germs of patriotism among the Ostrogoths, which the hasty departure of Belisarius left unstifled, to revive and cause many more years of labour to the Roman armies.

The town of Ticinum (Pavia) was still in the possession of the Goths, being held by Ildibad,¹ whom they elected as their new king. The Roman command was divided among several generals, whom Belisarius, destined himself to conduct the Persian war, had left behind. A third factor in the situation was the introduction of the stringent financial system of the Empire, under the direction of a *logothete*. It cannot be said that annexation to the Empire was a blessing to the inhabitants of Italy; it entailed the desolations and miseries of five years of war, followed by the imposition of grinding taxes.² These two circumstances, the divided command and the financial system, combined with the dissatisfaction of the Roman soldiers at not receiving the promotions and higher pay to which they were entitled, rendered a revival of Gothic hopes far from

¹ I suspect that Ildibad is for Ildibald (on the principle that one of two l's in the same word has a tendency to drop out), and that thus the termination is the same as in Ethelbald, Theudibald, Willibald. For the first part of the word, compare Ildiger (= Hildi-ger, "eager for battle," compare Frithigern); it is the same as

Childi, or Hildi, in Frankish and Vandalic names. Hildi-bald = "bold in battle."

² The most unseasonable and imprudent claim was the requisition of accounts for moneys paid under Gothic kings. Compare Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, iv. 431.

impossible. Alexander, the first logothete, who was called "Scissors" from his practice of clipping coins, "alienated the minds of the Italians from Justinian Augustus; and none of the soldiers were willing to undergo the hazard of war, but they advanced the cause of the enemy by intentional laziness."¹ The attitude of the soldiers led to the inactivity of the generals; and in the meantime the power of Ildibad, who had been collecting the relics of the Goths and enlisting many dissatisfied Italians, was extending over Liguria and Venetia. The only general who tried to oppose him suffered a severe defeat.

In the following year Ildibad was murdered on account of a private quarrel, and after the short reign of a Rugian, named Eraric, who entered into negotiations with Justinian and dissatisfied his subjects, the hero of the second part of the Gothic war, Baduila or Totila,² a nephew of Ildibad, was elected king of the Goths. In the history of this war the names of Witigis and Totila stand out, while that of Ildibad remains in obscurity—is read, and forgotten; but it should be remembered that at a critical juncture he sustained the life of the Ostrogothic nationality and energetically took advantage of the circumstances which favoured such a hope, to revive the cause of his people.

Within a year of Totila's accession the position of Romans and Goths in Italy was reversed. An unsuccessful attempt to take Verona, made by the Roman generals, whom the rebukes of Justinian had stimulated to action, was followed by a Roman defeat in the battle of Faenza, in which a remarkable single combat is said to have taken place between a gigantic Goth and Artabazes, a Persian conspicuous for bravery. Another victory, achieved at Mugillo over John the nephew of Vitalian, laid the centre and south of Italy open to Totila's attack. By the middle of 542 A.D. he had reduced and imposed taxes on Bruttii, Calabria, Apulia, Lucania, and he had begun the siege of Naples. That city surrendered in 543, and was treated with a spirit of humanity which Totila adopted as a principle of warfare. He put to death one of his prae-

¹ Procopius, *B. G.* iii. 1.

² Totila, and afterwards his successor Teias, minted coins with the image and legends of the Emperor Anastasius. We may compare the coins of the Suevians which continued in the sixth

century to bear the types of Avitus and Honorius. The coinage of Totila, as M. Gasquet neatly puts it (*L'empire byzantin*, p. 176), represented at once fidelity to the Empire and revolt against the Emperor.

torian guards (for the Goths had "praetorians") who had violated the daughter of a Calabrian. The criminal was a brave and popular man, and a number of distinguished Goths pleaded with Totila to save his life; but the king answered the deputation in a speech in which he laid down that the general policy and principles whereon the Gothic cause depended were involved in this particular case.¹ The behaviour of Totila was all the more conspicuous, as it contrasted with the rapacity and incontinence in which the Roman leaders were at this time indulging.

After his success at Naples Totila undertook the siege of Hydruntum, or Otranto, and prepared also to besiege John, who had shut himself up in Rome. He addressed a sort of manifesto to the Roman senate, in which he appealed to the actual contrast between the government of Theodoric and Amalasuntha and that of the Greek logothetes; copies of this were posted up in Rome, and in consequence thereof John expelled the Arian clergy from the city.

The hold of the Empire on Italy had thus become extremely precarious. Totila's star was in the ascendant. There was no ability, no energy, no unity on the side of the imperialists. Constantine, the commander at Ravenna, wrote to the Emperor a letter representing the situation, and it was resolved to permit Belisarius to return to the scene of his successes. But Belisarius had changed as well as the situation in Italy. It seems that he had fallen into disgrace at court, and had been saved from punishment by the influence of his wife Antonina with the Empress; but for these transactions we have only the dubious authority of the *Secret History*. A cloud at all events had fallen over him; he was not allowed to command in the Persian war, as he would have chosen.² This personal experience had probably a considerable effect on his spirits; but we must chiefly notice that Justinian did not support him when he set out. The army, including his own special troops, were in Asia, and not permitted to accompany him; he was obliged to scour Thrace to collect, at his own expense, soldiers, whom he afterwards described as a "miserable squad."

¹ Proc. B. G. iii. 8. He attributed the ill success of the Goths, who were really well equipped, at the beginning of the war to their failure in these

respects. Compare Hodgkin, iv. 523.

² Ranke accepts the main features of this story as genuine history, *Weltgeschichte*, iv. 2, 85.

When we start with Belisarius on his second expedition to the West, the brightness of his day seems to have gone; in fact, after his departure from Ravenna in 540 we feel that the darkness is upon us, and that the Middle Ages have begun. Belisarius, in the period of his glory, as the champion of the Roman Empire, threw a light as of the ancient world on the scene; but the gloom of his return to Italy, the appearance of Totila, who was a sort of "knight," that king's visit to Benedict, bringing us into contact with the saint whose shadow dominates the medieval centuries—all this gives the impression that the dim ages are beginning.

Belisarius was not invested with the highest rank; he was only *comes stabuli*, count of the stable. He arrived in Italy in the middle of 544, along with Vitalian, the master of soldiers in Illyricum, and took up his quarters at Ravenna. This was a mistake. Everything was adverse to him, and he did not possess his old energy. In May 545—during the whole intervening year all that had been done was to relieve the besieged garrisons of Hydruntum and Auximum, and to fortify Pisaurum (Pesaro)—he was obliged to write to Justinian. His letter is a model of conciseness and directness, with a certain tinge of irony.¹ He asked for three things, if the Emperor wished to affirm Roman dominion in Italy, (1) his own mounted lancers and foot-guards; (2) a large body of Huns and other barbarians; (3) money to pay the troops.

He sent John, the nephew of Vitalian, with this letter, binding him by solemn oath to hasten his return. It will be remembered that John had disobeyed Belisarius in the affair of Ariminum, and had acted on the side of Narses; he is a man who cannot be neglected in the history of the time, for he played a considerable though subordinate part. On this occasion his visit to Byzantium brought him again into close connection with a party politically opposed to Belisarius. He married the daughter of the Emperor's nephew Germanus, and thus allied himself to the interests of the kin of Justinian. Belisarius, on the other hand, had attached himself to the directly opposed interests of Theodora and her relations by the arrangement of a marriage between his daughter Joannina and Anastasius, the grandson of the Empress.

¹ Proc. B. G. iii. 12.

Towards the end of the year, Totila, having taken several important towns in central Italy, including Spolegium, invested Rome, where Bessas was in command, and in the course of a few months reduced it to such extremities of hunger that the chief food of the inhabitants was cooked nettles. At last Bessas, after much importunity, allowed those inhabitants who were useless for fighting to depart.

Meanwhile John had returned from his nuptial festivities with a considerable army and joined Belisarius at Dyrrhachium. The new marriage connection emphasised the opposition of the generals, which was immediately displayed in diverging plans of warfare. The question at issue was the relief of Rome, Belisarius urging immediate action, and John insisting on the preliminary reduction of Calabria and Lucania. A compromise was made; each was to execute his own plan. John recovered the southern provinces without much difficulty, but the undertaking of Belisarius was more difficult, and proved unsuccessful.

The town of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber, situated on the right bank and facing the fort of Ostia, was occupied by Belisarius, who was accompanied by his wife Antonina. It was all-important to supply the distressed garrison with food as soon as possible, and for this purpose it was necessary to break the boom which Totila had thrown across the Tiber. This boom consisted of long beams connecting, like a bridge, the two banks of the river at a narrow part of the stream. On each bank a wooden tower, manned with brave warriors, was erected to defend the boom. To overcome this obstacle Belisarius invented the following device. Two wide boats were firmly joined together and surmounted by a wooden tower considerably higher than those which dominated Totila's fortification. On the top of the tower was placed a boat filled with pitch, sulphur, rosin, and other combustible substances. Two hundred fast vessels (*dromones*), protected by plank-walls pierced with holes for the discharge of missiles, were laden with corn and manned with brave men. Belisarius embarked himself in one of the vessels, having committed the care of Portus and his wife Antonina to his captain Isaac of Ameria, whom he enjoined not to stir from the place on any pretext. Portus was the only friendly position, on which, in case of need, he

could fall back. The Roman ships, tugging the tower with them, sailed up the Tiber without opposition, until, not far from the bridge, they were met by an iron chain, which spanned the river, and some Goths set there to defend it. The Goths were easily scattered and the chain was removed. A firmer resistance was offered at the bridge, but the boat of inflammable materials was dexterously dropped on the tower of the right bank; the structure was enveloped in flames and almost 200 Goths were burnt alive. The arrows of the Romans completed the discomfiture of the enemy.

But the envy of fortune did not permit to Belisarius the success which seemed within his grasp. As he prepared to break the boom, the alarming news arrived that Isaac was taken. It appears that Isaac, hearing a rumour of the success of Belisarius, and desirous of emulating his glory, had disobeyed his orders, attacked Ostia, and been taken prisoner. Belisarius "thinking that all was over with Portus, his wife, and his cause, and that no place of refuge was left to fall back on, lost his presence of mind, a thing which had never befallen him before."¹ He issued orders for a hasty retreat, and when he reached Portus was relieved and exasperated to find that it was a false alarm. The excitement led to a fever which proved almost fatal to the disappointed general.

The blame of the capture of the city, which was achieved through the treachery of some Isaurian soldiers, seems partly to rest with the commandant Bessas, who was so avaricious as to enrich himself by trading in corn with the famished garrison and, engrossed in these practices, forgot his duty.² Totila took Rome in the last month of 546 A.D.

The behaviour of the Gothic soldiers in the captured city is a curious illustration of the nascent medieval feelings of the time. They were allowed by their king to plunder property and massacre men, but they were strictly prohibited from ravishing women. This prohibition did not rest on feelings of humanity, which would have prevented the worse evil of butchery, it rested on a religious feeling which regarded the interests of the Goths themselves and not those of the possible victims.

¹ Procopius, *B. G.* iii. 19.

² Bessas afterwards displayed the same tendencies in Lazica and Armenia.

The speeches attributed to Totila on the occasion are also noteworthy. In his address to the Goths he repeats a point which he had insisted on before, the contrast between their present position and their position at the beginning of the war; then the Ostrogoths were numerous and rich, now they are few and poor; but then they suffered disaster on disaster, now they gain success after success. The cause of this contrast is that then they had acted unrighteously, while now their conduct is void of reproach; hence a change has taken place in the regard of the Deity. In his address to the Roman senators Totila contrasted in the usual manner the oppression of the "Greeks" with the mild government of the Goths, and doomed them to slavery in return for their deafness to his appeals.

Another notable feature in connection with this capture of Rome was Totila's intention to destroy it, and the argument by which Belisarius, who was then lying ill at Portus, dissuaded him from his design. Belisarius appealed to the judgment that posterity and mankind would pass on the destruction of the Eternal City. He also urged the alternative: if you conquer, Rome preserved will be your best possession; if you are conquered, by the destruction of Rome your claims to clemency will be forfeited.

Totila and all his troops went southward to Lucania, and for forty days Rome was uninhabited. Then the Roman general re-occupied it and repaired the walls and fortifications, which Totila had partially dismantled. Totila had not anticipated this movement, and when he heard the news returned to retake the city. His attack, however, was unsuccessful, and he was obliged to withdraw to the citadel of Tibur.

But the position of Belisarius became untenable, and he was unable to cope with the Goths in the open field. He sailed to Tarentum, and made one last attempt to unite his forces with those of John in order to make a joint attack on the foe, but the attempt miscarried, and Belisarius desired nothing better than to be recalled to Constantinople. He had sent thither his wife, Antonina, to beg for further assistance in men and money; but on the 1st July 548 she lost an advocate by the death of Theodora, and then she requested that her husband should be recalled. Although Belisarius had

not been able to conquer Totila, he was, nevertheless, a check on the Gothic operations; and after his recall the power of the Goths began to rise to its highest point. Totila besieged Rome again, and it was again delivered to him by Isaurian treachery; this was the third siege during the war. He occupied and ravaged Sicily, and built a large fleet with which he pillaged the coasts of Sardinia and Epirus. Thus he was now undisputed king of Italy, and possessed a naval power.

During the preceding years Justinian's heart had not been centred on the conquest of Italy; all his thoughts and attention were engrossed in the theological controversy of the "three articles." Nothing was done in 549 and 550, but in 550 an idea was conceived which, if it had been carried out, might have altered to some extent Italian history. Justinian surrendered the design, which Belisarius had momentarily accomplished, of making Italy a province or prefecture governed from New Rome, and formed a new plan—a sort of compromise—to unite the house of Theodoric with his own, so that Gotho-Roman Italy should be governed by a Gotho-Roman line. He appointed his nephew Germanus, who, now that Theodora was no longer alive, was in higher favour, general commander of the Italian armies, with full powers; and Germanus married Matasuntha, the widow of Witigis, and granddaughter of Theodoric. Great enthusiasm prevailed for the expedition of Germanus. The news thereof made the Goths waver in their allegiance to Totila, and the Italians were prepared to welcome him cordially. Numbers of recruits flocked to his standard.

But Germanus was not destined to rule in Italy as a colleague of Justinian. Efficient action in the Italian war was at this time seriously impeded by the ruinous invasions of Slaves and Huns, who depopulated the provinces of Illyricum and threatened the capital. In the early part of 550, while Germanus was making preparations for his Italian expedition, one of these incursions took place, and he received orders to turn aside to protect Thessalonica. He caught fever, and died; and with him perished the prospects of a restoration of the Amal line. After his death a son was born to Matasuntha, Germanus Posthumus, on whom Romanising Goths seem to have built hopes for the future; at least the Gothic history of

Jordanes must be placed in the year 551, and it has been most plausibly argued by Schirren that it is a work with a tendency, written to induce Justinian to recognise the infant Germanus as Emperor and ruler of Italy.

In the same year Justinian decided to make a great final effort to reduce Italy and exterminate the Goths, whose very name, we are told, he hated. The problem was to find a general whom all would obey, and Justinian solved it well by the strange choice of a eunuch, seventy-five years old, his grand-chamberlain Narses, the same whose presence in Italy had sown dissensions among Belisarius' officers in 538. By his high position at court and his influence with the Emperor he had immense authority, whereby he could secure united action in the warfare, and he was not stinted, as Belisarius had been, in the matter of funds.

Before Narses arrived two blows had been dealt to Totila, which so damped his spirits that he treated for peace. The Romans held only four places on the eastern coast of Italy, Ravenna, Ancona, Hydruntum, and Crotona. The Goths were besieging Ancona, but when it was already hard pressed, John, the son of Vitalian, and Valerian forced them to raise the siege by completely defeating the Gothic fleet off Sinigaglia. This was a severe blow to the naval power of the Goths, the deficiencies of whose sea craft were evident in the battle. The second misfortune was the loss of Sicily, from which they were driven by the Persarmenian Artabanes, and this was followed by the relief of Crotona early in the following year (552). Justinian would not listen to the Gothic proposals for peace. The situation was further perplexed by the attitude of the Franks, who held nearly all northern Italy, and invariably considered the difficulty of the Goths their own opportunity.

Narses' army was chiefly composed of barbarians—Heruls, Lombards, Gepids, Huns, and Persians.¹ His march into Italy, along the coast of Venetia, was opposed by both the Franks, who hated Lombards, and a band of Gothic troops under Teias; but it was successfully accomplished with the

¹ Dagisthaeus and other Persian captives were sent to fight in Italy. Kobad, the nephew of King Chosroes, who had fled to the Empire to avoid

his uncle's hate, commanded Persian deserters. The Romans of Narses' army were led by John the Glutton.

help of the ships which coasted slowly round, attending the progress of the army. Narses marched southward without delay, and Totila marched northward to meet him. The scene of the final battle (July or August 552) which decided the fate of Italy is disputed, some placing it near Sassoferrato, on the east side of the Via Flaminia, others near Scheggia, on the west side. Procopius, who was not present, is not sufficiently precise. Two circumstances may be noticed which helped to determine the result. The Romans anticipated the Goths in occupying a small hill which commanded the battlefield, and Totila, who trusted to his cavalry chiefly, made the mistake of enjoining on them to use no weapons but spears. Narses' tactics consisted in strengthening his wings, on which he relied for the victory. The Gothic army was routed, and Totila received a mortal wound, from which he expired at about thirteen miles from the field. In the month of August the bloodstained garments of Totila arrived at New Rome, as a trophy of Narses' success.¹

After the victory the Lombard auxiliaries displayed their nature by acts of barbarous violence and licence, and it was found necessary to pay them their hire and conduct them out of Italy.

This victory decided the war, but Narses' position was not yet firm. The imperialists in the meantime had taken Rome, and almost all the fortresses had been surrendered by the Gothic commandants. But the remnant of those who were defeated in the battle reunited under the general Teias. Him they elected king, and Narses was forced to fight once more near the Draco, in south Italy. Teias was slain (553),² but the battle did not end with his death; it was renewed on the following day. Finally, however, the Goths proposed to conclude the war on condition that they should be allowed to leave Italy, and the proposal was agreed to. A thousand of the vanquished escaped to Pavia.

At this point the Ostrogothic war and the history of Pro-

¹ Theoph. 6044 A.M. The date (August) is important, for Procopius gives no date for the battle, and I can find no indication in Mr. Hodgkin's work more precise than the *implication* that it was fought after the early part of spring and before the winter months of 552.

We are justified in determining the date as July or August.

² The battlefield was determined by the siege of Cumae, and the siege of Cumae was pressed because a large treasure had been hoarded there by Totila.

copious come to an end; but opposition was raised to the establishment of the imperial authority in Italy from another quarter.

Teias had in vain begged the king of the Franks, Theudibald, for assistance in the death-conflict, and had tried to bribe him by presenting him with a large part of the Gothic treasures; but Theudibald had given no succour. Now, however, he intervened, though not directly, by countenancing the Italian expedition of Leutharis and Bucelin, two Alemanni who were at his court. They entered Italy with 75,000 men to oppose the arms of Narses, and many Goths throughout Italy regarded them as deliverers. But others deemed the Romans preferable, as masters, to the Franks, and among those who held this view was Aligern, Teias' brother, who was commander of the still uncaptured fortress of Cumae. He presented the keys of that town to Narses, who had withdrawn to Ravenna. Leutharis and his army were destroyed by a disease due to the climate, and Bucelin was completely defeated near Capua in an engagement, remarkable for a curious incident which threatened Narses with defeat, and, as it turned out, led to his victory. The eunuch punished with death a noble Herul for killing one of his own servants, and the act inflamed all the Heruls with indignation, as they claimed the right of dealing with their servants as they thought fit, without interference. They announced that they would take no part in the battle. This report induced the enemy, feeling assured of an easy victory, to attack their opponents with a careless and imprudent haste. But when Narses, who was quite prepared, called his troops to battle, the Heruls could not bring themselves to persist in executing their threat, and the strong-minded independence of Narses signally triumphed.

Thus the whole land of Italy,¹ including the islands and the Istrian and Illyrian regions, which were connected with it under the old imperial administration, became once more part of the Roman Empire; and Narses was the first *exarch* or governor of the reconquered peninsula.

¹ Verona and Brixia were not taken till 562, Theoph. *Βηρωταν και Βριγκας*. The "names were corrupted by the ignorance or vanity of the Greeks" (Gibbon). Narses' restoration of the Salarian bridge, which Totila had de-

stroyed, is commemorated in an inscription of eight Latin verses (*C. I. L.* vi. tit. 1199, p. 250).

qui potuit rigidas Gothorum subdere mœtes,
hic docuit durum flumina ferri jugum.

CONQUEST OF SOUTH - EASTERN SPAIN. — When he had conquered the Ostrogoths, Justinian proceeded to undertake hostilities against the Visigoths, and attempt to win back Spain as he had won back Italy. Theodoric, the king of the Visigoths, had held aloof from the struggle in the neighbouring peninsula, and lent no aid to the East Goths, but Theudis, his successor, supported his nephew Ildibad, the Ostrogothic king, and fomented a rising against the Romans in Africa. He saw that the Teutonic kingdoms of the West were threatened by the reviving power of the Empire.

Of the operations of the Romans in Spain we have un- luckily no consecutive account; we have only the scattered notices in the Chronicles of Isidore of Seville and John of Biclaro. It seems that, as in the case of the war in Africa and as in the case of the war in Italy, internal dissensions afforded a pretext for Roman interference. Athanagild headed a party which was opposed to King Agila, and this party called in the aid of the Patrician Liberius from Africa.¹ Liberius crossed the straits and subdued the coast of Spain, as the Carthaginians had done in ancient times, and as the Saracens were to do at a later period. Corduba, Spanish Carthage — New Carthage, Carthagena, or Carthago Spartaria, as it was variously called,—Malaga, and Assidonia, with many places on the coast, passed once more into the hands of the Romans.

But the Goths were alarmed at the advance of the Romans in the south; the adherents of Agila patriotically slew him and joined the abler Athanagild, to make common cause against the invader.² It was a somewhat parallel case to that of the Romans themselves in Africa in the year 429: there were then two parties in Africa, the party of Boniface and the party of Sigisvult, the general of Placidia; one or both of them called in the Vandal, and then they joined together to make common cause against the stranger. But the stand of the Goths against the Romans was more effectual than that of the Romans against the Vandals. After their first successes the imperialists do not seem to have acquired much more territory; they never

¹ Jordanes, *Get.* 58.

² Isidorus, *de regibus Gothorum*, 46 (ed. Migne, p. 1070): "ne Hispaniam milites Romani auxilii occasione invaderent."

penetrated really into the centre of Spain ; and the reason was that the Roman Spaniards found the yoke of the Teuton king lighter than the yoke of the Roman Emperor had formerly been. The heavy taxation, which was always imposed by New Rome, had given her a bad name among the provincials who had passed from under imperial domination and become subjects of Teutonic rulers.

When sixteen years, during which we lose the Spanish provinces from sight, had passed away, and when Justinian no longer reigned, there arose a great king among the Visigoths, by name Leovigild. He set it before him to drive the Romans from the Iberian peninsula, and, though he did not entirely succeed, he materially weakened their power. He recovered Malaga, Assidonia, and even Corduba.

The struggles of the Arian with the Catholic party in the Visigothic kingdom, the discord of Arian Leovigild with his Catholic son Hermenigild, the husband of the Frankish princess Ingundis, led to new hostilities with the Romans ; for, even as Athanagild had called in the help of Liberius, Hermenigild called in the help of "the Greeks," as the historian of the Franks calls them.¹ Leovigild, however, paralysed this combination ; Hermenigild surrendered, and was sent in exile to Valentia. This happened in 584 ; and in the same year the arms of the Visigoths were successful against the third power in the Peninsula, that of the Suevians, whose kingdom embraced Lusitania and Galicia. Suevia was made a province of the Gothic kingdom.

I am here anticipating the chronological order of events ; but our knowledge of this chapter of Roman or Spanish history—for it has the two sides—is so small, and the events in this corner are so far removed from the general current of the history of the Empire, that I think it will be more convenient for

¹ Gregory of Tours, v. 38 : "Hermenigildis vero vocatis Grecis contra patrem egreditur, relicta in urbe conjugis sua. Cumque Leuvichildus ex adverso veniret, relictus a solatio, cum viderit nihil se praevalere posse, ecclesiam qui erat propinquam [quae erat propinqua] expetiit," etc. The natural conclusion from the words *relictus a solatio* is that no battle was fought but that the "Greeks" did not venture to face the army of the king. An ex-

cellent account of the reign of Leovigild by Mrs. Humphry Ward will be found (*sub voce*) in the *Dict. of Christ. Biography*. The same writer has contributed to the same work a useful summary of the results of Dr. H. Hertzberg's important monograph on the writings and sources of Isidore of Seville. For the history of the Visigoths, the fifth volume of Dahn's *Kön. der Germ.* may be considered the standard work.

the reader to have this episode of Baetica presented to him in continuity than in disconnected parcels.

At the beginning of the seventh century King Witterich,¹ "a man strenuous in the art of arms, but nevertheless generally unsuccessful," renewed the policy of Leovigild and the war against the Romans, with whom his predecessor, Reccared, famous in ecclesiastical history, had for the most part preserved peace.² Witterich recovered Segontia, a town a little to the west of Gades; and Sisibut³ fought successfully against the Patrician Caesarius. All the towns which the Romans held to the east of the straits were recovered by the Goths, and the fact was recognised by Heraclius (615). Svinthila completed the work of Leovigild, Witterich, and Sisibut; all the other cities which were still imperial were taken (623), and thus the whole peninsula for the first time became Visigothic, for before Baetica was lost the existence of the Suevian kingdom curtailed the dominion of the Goths in Spain.

¹ Isidoro, *de regibus Gothorum*, 58. Gundemar was Witterich's immediate successor, 59.

² *Ib.* 52: *hic fide pius et pace praeclarus*; 54, *saepe etiam contra*

Romanorum insolentias et irruptiones Vascorum movit.

³ *Sisibut de Romanis bis feliciter triumphavit.*

CHAPTER VIII

SECOND PERSIAN WAR (540-545 A.D.)

WHEN Chosroes Nushirvan, after his accession to the Persian throne, contracted the "endless peace" with Justinian, he had little idea what manner of man the Emperor was soon to prove himself to be. Within seven years from that time (532-539) Justinian had overthrown the Vandal kingdom of Africa, he had reduced the Moors, the subjection of the Ostrogothic lords of Italy was in prospect, Bosphorus and the Crimean Goths were included in the circle of Roman sway, while the Homerites of southern Arabia acknowledged the supremacy of New Rome. Both his friends and his enemies said, with hate or admiration, "The whole earth cannot contain him; he is already scrutinising the aether and the retreats beyond the ocean, if he may win some new world." The eastern potentate might well apprehend danger to his own kingdom in the expansion of the Roman Empire by the reconquest of its lost provinces; and the interests of the German kings in the west and the Persian king in the east coincided, in so far as the aggrandisement of the Empire was inexpedient for both. We can consider it only natural that Chosroes should have seized or invented a pretext to renew hostilities, when it seemed but too possible that if Justinian were allowed to continue his career of conquest undisturbed the Romans might come with larger armies and increased might to extend their dominions in the East at the expense of the Sassanid empire.

Hostilities between the Persian Saracens of Hirah and the Roman Saracens of Ghassan supplied the desired pretext; it may be that Chosroes himself instigated the hostilities. The

cause of contention between the Saracen tribes was a tract of land called Strata, to the south of Palmyra, a region barren of trees and fruit, scorched dry by the sun, and used as a pasture for sheep. Arethas¹ the Ghassanide could appeal to the fact that the name *Strata* was Latin, and could adduce the testimony of the most venerable elders that the sheep-walk belonged to his tribe. Alamundar, the rival sheikh, contented himself with the more practical argument that for years back the shepherds had paid him tribute. Two arbitrators were sent by the Emperor, Strategius, minister of finances, and Summus, the duke of Palestine. This arbitration supplied Chosroes with a pretext, true or false, for breaking the peace. He alleged that Summus made treasonable offers to Alamundar, attempting to shake his allegiance to Persia; and he also professed to have in his possession a letter of Justinian to the Huns, urging them to invade his dominions.²

About the same time pressure from without confirmed the thoughts of Chosroes in the direction which they had already taken. An embassy arrived from Witigis, king of the Goths, now hard pressed by Belisarius, and pleaded with Chosroes to act against the common enemy. The embassy consisted not of Goths, but of two Ligurians, one of whom pretended to be a bishop; they obtained an interpreter in Thrace, and succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the Romans on the frontiers.³ Another embassy arrived from Armenia making similar representations, deploring and execrating the Endless Peace, and denouncing the tyranny and exactions of Justinian, against whom they had revolted. The history of Armenia had been certainly unfortunate during the years that followed the peace. The first governor, Amazaspes, was accused by one Acacius of treachery, and, with the Emperor's consent, was slain by the accuser, who was himself appointed to succeed his victim.

¹ The proper form of the name is Harith. This king reigned from 530 to 572. Justinian conferred on him the title of Patrician, and the Arabs called him the "Magnificent."

² Procopius says that he does not know whether these allegations were true or false (*B. P.* ii. 1). The second Book of the *de Bello Persico* of Procopius is our main source for this Persian war until the end of 549 A.D.

³ The reader may ask how the details of this embassy were known. Procopius tells us in another place (*B. P.* ii. 14) that the interpreter, returning from Persia, was captured near Constantina by John, duke of Mesopotamia, and gave an account of the embassy. The pseudo-bishop and his attendant remained in Persia.

Acacius was relentless in exacting a tribute of unprecedented magnitude (£18,000); and some Armenians, intolerant of his cruelty, slew him, and fled, when they had committed the deed, to a fortress called Pharangion. The Emperor immediately despatched Sittas, the master of soldiers *per Armeniam*, to recall the Armenians to a sense of obedience, and, when Sittas showed himself inclined to use the softer methods of persuasion, insisted that he should act with sterner vigour. A numerous tribe of the Armenians, called Apetiani, professed themselves ready to submit, if the safety of their property were guaranteed, and Sittas sent them a promise to that effect in writing. But unluckily the letter-carrier, not knowing the exact position of the territory of the Apetiani, lost his way in the intricate Armenian highlands; and while Sittas advanced with his troops to receive their submission, the Apetiani were ignorant that their proposal had been accepted, and looked with suspicion on the approaching army. Some of their number fell in by chance with Roman soldiers and were treated as enemies. Sittas, unaware that his communication had miscarried, was indignant that the promised submission was delayed; the Apetiani were put to the sword and their wives and children were slain in a cave. This severity, which might seem almost a breach of faith, exasperated the other tribes and confirmed them in their recalcitrant temper. But though Sittas was accidentally killed in an engagement soon afterwards, they found themselves unequal to cope with the Roman forces, which were then placed under the command of Buzes, and they decided to appeal to the Persian monarch. The servitude of their neighbours the Tzani and the imposition of a Roman duke over the Lazi of Colchis seemed to stamp the policy of Justinian as one of odious enormity.

Accordingly Chosroes, in the autumn of 539, decided to begin hostilities in the following spring, and did not deign to answer a pacific letter from the Roman Emperor, conveyed by the hand of a certain Anastasius, whom he retained an unwilling guest at the Persian court. The war which thus began lasted five years (540-545), and in each year the king himself took the field. He invaded Syria in 540, Colchis in 541, Commagene in 542; in 543 he began but did not carry out an expedition against the northern provinces; in

544 he invaded Mesopotamia; in 545 a peace for five years was concluded.

I. *Chosroes' Invasion of Syria, 540 A.D.*

Avoiding Mesopotamia, Chosroes advanced northwards with a large army along the left bank of the Euphrates. He passed the triangle-shaped city of Circesium, but did not care to assault it, because it was too strong; while he disdained to delay at the town of Zenobia, named after the queen of Palmyra, because it was too insignificant. But when he approached Sura or Suron, situated on the Euphrates in that part of its course which flows from west to east, his horse neighed and stamped the ground; and the magi, who attended the credulous king, seized the incident as an omen that the city would be taken. On the first day of the siege the governor was slain, and on the second the bishop of the place visited the Persian camp in the name of the dispirited inhabitants, and implored Chosroes with tears to spare the town. He tried to appease the implacable foe with an offering of birds, wine, and bread, and engaged that the men of Sura would pay a sufficient ransom. Chosroes dissimulated the wrath he felt against the Surenes because they had not submitted immediately; he received the gifts and said that he would consult with the Persian nobles regarding the ransom; and he dismissed the bishop, who was well pleased with the interview, under the honourable escort of Persian notables, to whom the monarch had given secret instructions.¹

“Having given his directions to the escort, Chosroes ordered his army to stand in readiness, and to run at full speed to the city when he gave the signal. When they reached the walls the Persians saluted the bishop and stood outside; but the men of Sura, seeing him in high spirits and observing how he was escorted with great honour by the Persians, put aside all thoughts of suspicion, and, opening the gate wide, received their priest with clapping of hands and acclamation. And when all had passed within, the porters pushed the gate to shut it, but the Persians placed a stone, which they had provided, between the threshold and the gate. The porters pushed

¹ See Proc. D. P. ii. 5.

harder, but for all their violent exertions they could not succeed in forcing the gate into the threshold-groove. And they did not venture to throw it open again, as they apprehended that it was held by the enemy. Some say that it was a log of wood, not a stone, that was inserted by the Persians. The men of Sura had hardly discovered the guile, ere Chosroes had come with all his army and the Persians had forced open the gate. In a few moments the city was in the power of the enemy." The houses were plundered; many of the inhabitants were slain, the rest were carried into slavery, and the city was burnt down to the ground. Then the Persian king dismissed Anastasius, bidding him inform the Emperor in what place he had left Chosroes the son of Kobad.

Perhaps it was merely avarice, perhaps it was the prayers of a captive named Euphemia, whose beauty attracted the desires of the conqueror, that induced Chosroes to treat with unexpected leniency the prisoners of Sura. He sent a message to Candidus, the bishop of Sergiopolis, suggesting that he should ransom the 12,000 captives for 200 lbs. of gold (15s. a head). As Candidus had not, and could not immediately obtain, the sum, he was allowed to stipulate in writing that he would pay it within a year's time, under penalty of paying double and resigning his bishopric. Few of the redeemed prisoners survived long the agitations and tortures they had undergone.

Meanwhile the Roman general Buzes was at Hierapolis. Nominally the command in the East was divided between Buzes and Belisarius; the Roman provinces beyond the Euphrates being assigned to the former, Syria and Asia Minor to the latter. But as Belisarius had not yet returned from Italy, the entire army was at the disposal of Buzes, the *magister militum per Armeniam*.¹

If we are to believe the account of a writer who was probably prejudiced,² this general behaved in the most extraordinary manner. He collected the chief citizens of Hierapolis and

¹ The fact that Theophanes calls Buzes "general of the East" (*ad* 6033 A.M.) does not count for much; he probably made a wrong inference from Procopius' language. We learn from Malalas and Theophanes that in 528 Justinian created a new office, that of a

magister militum in Armenia, and conferred it upon Tzitas (Mal. Ztittas), presumably Sittas, who married Theodora's sister Komito. Buzes was the successor of Sittas.

² Procopius, *B. P.* ii. 6.

pointed out to them that in case of a siege, which seemed imminent, the city would be less efficiently protected if all the forces remained within the walls, than if a small garrison defended it, and the main body of the troops, posted on the neighbouring heights, harassed the besiegers. Following up this plausible counsel, Buzes took the larger part of the army with him and vanished; and neither the inhabitants of Hierapolis nor the enemy could divine where he had hidden himself.

Informed of the presence of Chosroes in the Roman provinces, Justinian despatched Germanus to Antioch, at the head of a small body of three hundred soldiers. The fortifications of the "Queen of the East" did not satisfy the careful inspection of Germanus, for although the lower parts of the city were adequately protected by the Orontes, which washed the bases of the houses, and the higher regions seemed secure on impregnable heights, there rose outside the walls adjacent to the citadel a broad rock, almost as lofty as the wall, which would inevitably present to the besiegers a fatal point of vantage. Competent engineers said that there would not be sufficient time before Chosroes' arrival to remedy this defect by removing the rock or enclosing it within the walls. Accordingly Germanus, despairing of resistance, sent Megas, the bishop of Beroea, to divert the advance of Chosroes from Antioch by the influence of money or entreaties. Megas reached the Persian army as it was approaching Hierapolis, the city abandoned by Buzes, and was informed by the great king that it was his unalterable intention to subdue Syria and Cilicia. The bishop was constrained or induced to accompany the army to Hierapolis, which was strong enough to defy a siege, and was content to purchase immunity from the attempt by a payment equivalent to £90,000. Chosroes then consented to retire without assaulting Antioch on the receipt of 1000 lbs. of gold (£45,000), and Megas returned speedily with the good news, while the enemy proceeded more leisurely to Beroea. From this city the avarice of the Sassanid demanded double the amount he had exacted at Hierapolis; the Beroeans gave him half the sum, affirming that it was all they had; but the extortioner refused to be satisfied, and proceeded to demolish the city.

From Beroea he advanced to Antioch, and demanded the

1000 lbs. with which Megas had undertaken to redeem that city ; and it is said that he would have been contented to receive a smaller sum. All the Antiochenes would probably have followed the example of a few prudent or timid persons, who left the city in good time, taking their belongings with them, had not the arrival of six thousand soldiers from Lebanon, led by Theoctistus and Molatzes, infused into their hearts a rash and unfortunate confidence. Julian, the private secretary of the Emperor, who had arrived at Antioch, bade the inhabitants resist the extortion ; and Paul, the interpreter of Chosroes, who with friendly intentions counselled them to pay the money, was almost slain. Not content with defying the enemy by a refusal, the men of Antioch stood on their walls and loaded Chosroes with torrents of scurrilous abuse, which would have inflamed less intolerant monarchs than he.

The siege which ensued was short, but the defence at first was brave. Between the towers, which crowned the walls at intervals, platforms of wooden beams were suspended by ropes attached to the towers, that a greater number of defenders might man the walls at once. But during the fighting the ropes gave way and the suspended soldiers were precipitated, some without, some within the walls ; the men in the towers were seized with panic and left their posts ; and the defence of the city was abandoned except by a few young men, whom an honourable rivalry in the hippodrome had trained in vigour and bravery. The confusion was increased by a rush made to the gates, occasioned by a false report that Buzes was coming to the rescue ; and a multitude of women and children were crushed or trampled to death. But the gate leading to the remote suburb of Daphne was purposely left unblocked by the Persians ; it was Chosroes' prudent desire that the Roman soldiers and their officers should be allowed to leave the city unmolested ; and some of the inhabitants escaped with the departing army. But the young men of the Circus factions made a valiant and hopeless stand against superior numbers ; and the city was not entered without a considerable loss of life, which Chosroes pretended to deplore. It is said that two illustrious ladies cast themselves into the Orontes, to escape the cruelties of oriental licentiousness.

It was nearly three hundred years since Antioch had ex-

perienced the presence of a human foe, though it suffered frequently and grievously from the malignity of nature. The Sassanid Sapor had taken the city in the ill-starred reign of Valerian, but it was kindly dealt with then in comparison with its treatment by Chosroes. The cathedral was stripped of its wealth in gold and silver and its splendid marbles; all the other churches, many richly endowed, met the same fate, except that of St. Julian, which was exempted owing to the accident that it was honoured by the proximity of the ambassadors' residences. Orders were given that the whole town should be burnt, and the sentence of the relentless conqueror was executed as far as was practicable.

While the work of demolition was being carried out, Chosroes was treating with the ambassadors of Justinian, and expressed himself ready to make peace, on condition that he received 5000 lbs. of gold, paid immediately, and an annual sum of 500 lbs. for the defence of the Caspian gates. While the ambassadors returned with this answer to Byzantium, Chosroes advanced to Seleucia, the port of Antioch, and looked upon the waters of the Mediterranean; it is related that he took a solitary bath in the sea and sacrificed to the sun. In returning he visited Daphne, which was not included in the fate of Antioch, and thence proceeded to Apamea, whose gates he was invited to enter with a guard of 200 soldiers. All the gold and silver in the town was collected to satisfy his greed, even to the jewelled case in which a piece of the true cross was reverently preserved. He was clement enough to spare the precious relic itself, which for him was devoid of value. The city of Chalcis purchased its safety by a sum of 200 lbs. of gold; and having exhausted the provinces to the west of the Euphrates, Chosroes decided to continue his campaign of extortion in Mesopotamia, and crossed the river at Obbane by a bridge of boats. Edessa, the great stronghold of western Mesopotamia, was too secure itself to fear a siege, but paid 200 lbs. of gold for the immunity of the surrounding territory from devastation.¹ At Edessa, ambassadors arrived from Justinian, bearing his con-

¹ The people of Edessa were generous enough to subscribe to ransom the Antiochene captives; farmers who had no money gave a sheep or an ass, prostitutes stripped off their ornaments.

But, according to Procopius, Buzes, who happened to be there, seized the money that was collected and allowed the captives to be carried off to Persia.

sent to the terms proposed by Chosroes; but, in spite of this, according to the Roman historian, the unscrupulous Persian did not shrink from making an attempt to take Daras on his homeward march.

The fortress of Daras, which Anastasius had erected to replace the long-lost Nisibis as an outpost in eastern Mesopotamia, was girt with two walls, between which stretched a space of fifty feet, devoted by the inhabitants to the pasture of domestic animals. The inner wall reached the marvellous¹ elevation of sixty feet, while the towers superimposed at intervals were forty feet higher. A river, descending in a winding and rocky bed, and exempted by nature from all danger of diversion, flowed into the city; and not long before the arrival of Chosroes some physical disturbance of the ground had concealed its point of egress in a newly-formed whirlpool and buried its waters in the mazes of a subterranean passage. Thus, in case of a siege, while the beleaguered were well supplied, the beleaguers stood in sore need of water.

Chosroes attacked the city on the western side, and burned the gates of the outer wall, but no Persian was bold enough to enter the interspace. He then began operations on the eastern side, the only side of the rock-bound city where digging was possible, and ran a mine under the outer wall. The vigilance of the besiegers was baffled until the subterranean passage had reached the foundations of the outer wall; but then, according to the story—which we must relegate to that region of history to which the visions of Alaric at Athens belong—a human or superhuman form in the guise of a Persian soldier advanced near the wall under the pretext of collecting discharged missiles, and while to the besiegers he seemed to be mocking the men on the battlements, he was really informing the besieged of the danger that was creeping upon them unawares. The Romans then, by the counsel of Theodorus, a clever engineer,² dug a deep transverse trench between the two walls so as to intersect the line of the enemy's excavation; the Persian burrowers suddenly ran or fell into the Roman pit; those in front were slain, and the rest fled back unpur-

¹ Procopius calls it ἀξιοθέατον.

² ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ suggests that the word μηχανικὴ was popularly (though not in very strict prose) used in the modern sense.

sued through the dark passage. Disgusted at this failure, Chosroes raised the siege on receiving from the men of Daras 1000 lbs. of silver.

When he returned to Ctesiphon the victorious monarch erected a new city near his capital, on the model of Antioch, with whose spoils it was beautified, and settled therein the captive inhabitants of the original city, the remainder of whose days was perhaps more happily spent than if the generosity of the Edessenes had achieved its intention. The name of the new town, according to Persian authorities,¹ was Rumia (Rome); according to Procopius it was called by the joint names of Chosroes and Antioch (Chosro-Antiocheia).

II. *Chosroes' invasion of Colchis, and Belisarius' campaign in Mesopotamia, 541 A.D.*

From this time forth the kingdom of Lazica or Colchis was destined to play an important and tedious part in the wars between the Romans and Persians. This country seems to have been in those days far poorer than it is at present; the Lazi depended for corn, salt, and other necessary articles of consumption on Roman merchants, and gave in exchange skins and slaves; while "at present Mingrelia, though wretchedly cultivated, produces maize, millet, and barley in abundance; the trees are everywhere festooned with vines, which grow naturally, and yield a very tolerable wine; while salt is one of the main products of the neighbouring Georgia."² The Lazi were dependent on the Roman Empire, but the dependence consisted not in paying tribute but in committing the choice of their kings to the wisdom of the Roman Emperor. The nobles were in the habit of choosing wives among the Romans; Gobazes, the sovereign who invited Chosroes to enter his country, was the son of a Roman lady, and had served as a

¹ Mirkhond and Tabari; see Rawlinson, *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 395. The new Antioch had one remarkable privilege; slaves who fled thither, if acknowledged by its citizens as kinsmen, were exempted from the pursuit of their masters.

² Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 406, where the facts are quoted from Haxthausen's

Transcaucasia. Procopius himself mentions (*B. G.* iv. 14) that the district of Muchiresis in Colchis was very fertile, producing wine and various kinds of corn. For the languages spoken by the various Caucasian peoples, see an article by Mr. R. N. Cust, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* vol. xvii. p. 154 sqq. (1885).

silentiary in the Byzantine palace. The Lazic kingdom was a useful barrier against the trans-Caucasian Scythian races, and the inhabitants defended the mountain passes without causing any outlay of men or money to the Empire.

But when the Persians seized Iberia it was considered necessary to secure the country which barred them from the sea by the protection of Roman soldiers, and the unpopular general Peter, originally a Persian slave, was not one to make the natives rejoice at the presence of their defenders. Peter's successor was Johannes Tzibos, a man of obscure station, whose unprincipled skill in raising money made him a useful tool to the Emperor. He was certainly an able man, for it was by his advice that Justinian built the maritime town of Petra, at a point of the Colchian coast considerably to the south of the mouth of the Phasis. Here he established a monopoly and oppressed the natives. It was no longer possible for the Lazi to deal directly with the traders and buy their corn and salt at a reasonable price; John Tzibos, perched in the fortress of Petra, acted as a sort of retail dealer, to whom both buyers and sellers were obliged to resort, and pay the highest or receive the lowest prices. In justification of this monopoly it may be remarked that it was the only practicable way of imposing a tax on the Lazi; and the imposition of a tax might have been deemed a necessary and just compensation for the defence of the country, notwithstanding the facts that it was garrisoned solely in Roman interests, and that the garrison itself was unwelcome to the natives.

Exasperated by these grievances, Gobazes, the king of Lazica, sent an embassy to Chosroes, inviting him to recover a venerable kingdom, and pointing out that if he expelled the Romans from Lazica he would have access to the Euxine, whose waters could convey his forces against the palace at Byzantium, while he would have an opportunity of establishing a connection with those other enemies of Rome, the Huns of Europe.¹ Chosroes consented to the proposals of the ambassadors; and keeping his real intention secret, pretended that pressing affairs required his presence in Iberia.

¹ Another element in Chosroes' Colchian policy was the circumstance that the Iberians did not obey the Persians with a good will. If Lazica

were Persian, they would have no power in the rear to support them if they revolted. Compare Procopius, *B. P.* ii. 28.

Under the guidance of the envoys, Chosroes and his army passed into the devious woods and difficult hill-passes of Colchis, cutting down as they went lofty and leafy trees, which hung in dense array on the steep acclivities, and using the trunks to smooth or render passable rugged or dangerous places. When they had penetrated to the middle of the country, they were met by Gobazes, who paid oriental homage to the great king. The chief object was to capture Petra, the stronghold of Roman power, and dislodge the retail dealer, as Chosroes contemptuously termed the monopolist, Johannes Tzibos. A detachment of the army under Aniabedes was sent on in advance to attack the fortress; and when this officer arrived before the walls he found indeed the gates shut, but the place seemed totally deserted, and not a trace of an inhabitant was visible. A messenger was sent to inform Chosroes of this surprise; the rest of the army hastened to the spot; a battering-ram was applied to the gate, while the monarch watched the proceedings from the top of an adjacent hill. Suddenly the gate flew open, and a multitude of Roman soldiers rushing forth overwhelmed those Persians who were applying the engine, and, having killed many others who were drawn up hard by, speedily retreated and closed the gate. The unfortunate Aniabedes (according to others, the officer who was charged with the operation of the battering-ram) was crucified for the crime of being vanquished by a retail dealer.

A regular siege now began. It was inevitable that Petra should be captured, says our historian Procopius, displaying a curious idea of causes and effects,¹ and therefore Johannes, the governor, was slain by an accidental missile, and the garrison, deprived of their commander, became careless and lax. On one side Petra is protected by the sea, landwards inaccessible cliffs defy the skill or bravery of an assailant, save only where one narrow entrance divides the line of steep cliffs and admits of access from the plain. This gap between the rocks was filled by a long wall, the ends of which were dominated by towers constructed in an unusual manner, for instead of being hollow all the way up, they were made of solid stone to a considerable height, so that they could not be shaken by the most

¹ καὶ γὰρ εἶδει Πέτραν Χόσρωι ἀλῶναι.

powerful engine. But oriental inventiveness undermined these wonders of solidity. A mine was bored under the base of one of the towers, the lower stones were removed and replaced by wood, the demolishing force of fire loosened the upper layers of stones, and the tower fell, the Romans stationed in it escaping just in time. This success was decisive, as the besieged recognised; they readily capitulated, and the victors did not lay hands on any property in the fortress save the possessions of the defunct governor. Having placed a Persian garrison in Petra, Chosroes remained no longer in Lazica, for the news had reached him that Belisarius was about to invade Assyria, and he hurried back to defend his dominions.

Belisarius, accompanied by all the Goths whom he had led in triumph from Italy, except the Gothic king himself, had proceeded in the spring to take command of the eastern army in Mesopotamia.¹ Having found out by spies that no invasion was meditated by Chosroes, whose presence was demanded in Iberia—the design on Lazica was kept effectually concealed—the Roman general determined to lead the whole army, along with the auxiliary Saracens of Arethas, into the confines of Persian territory. What strikes us about the campaign is that although Belisarius was chief in command he never seems to have ventured or cared to execute his strategic plans without consulting the advice of the other officers. It is difficult to say whether this was due to distrust of his own judgment and the reflection that many of the subordinate generals were more experienced in Mesopotamian geography and Persian warfare than himself;² or to a fear that some of the leaders in an army composed of soldiers of many races might prove refractory and impatient of too peremptory orders. At Daras a council of war was held; all the officers declared for an immediate invasion except Theoctistus and Rhécithancus, the captains of contingents from Lebanon, who apprehended that the Saracen Alamundar might take advantage of their absence to invade Syria and Phœnicia; but when Belisarius reminded them that it was now the summer solstice, and that it was the

¹ The Italian generals accompanied Belisarius. One of them, Valerian, succeeded Martin as general in Armenia; Martin had been transferred

to Mesopotamia.

² This is dwelt on in one of the speeches which Procopius places in Belisarius' mouth.

Saracen custom to spend sixty days from that date in religious devotion, they withdrew their objection on condition that they were to return to Syria two months thence.

The army marched towards Nisibis, and some murmurs arose when Belisarius, instead of advancing to the walls, halted at a distance of about five miles away. Having justified his action in a speech, he sent forward Peter, and John the duke of Mesopotamia, ordering them to approach within about a mile of the city. He reminded them that the Persian garrison, commanded by the able general Nabedes, would be more likely to attack them at noonday than at any other hour, as the Romans were wont to dine then, and the Persians in the evening. But under the heat of the meridian sun, the soldiers of Peter, yielding to a natural lassitude, laid aside their arms and carelessly employed themselves in eating the cucumbers which grew around. The watchful garrison sallied forth from the city, but as there was more than a mile's distance to traverse, the Romans had time to assume their arms, though not to form in an orderly array. The Persian onslaught was successful, the standard of John was taken, and fifty Romans were slain. But all was not yet lost. Belisarius was hastening to the scene before Peter's messenger had time to reach him; the long lances of the Goths retrieved the slender loss, and 150 Persians strewed the ground. But Nisibis was too strong to be attacked, and the army moved forward to the fortress of Sisaurani, where its assault was at first repulsed with loss. Belisarius decided to invest the place, but as the Saracens were useless for siege warfare, he sent Arethas and his troops, accompanied by 1200 guardsmen, to invade and harry Assyria, intending to cross the Tigris himself when he had taken the fort. The siege was of short duration, for the garrison was not supplied with provisions, and soon consented to surrender; all the Christians were dismissed free, the fire-worshippers were sent to Byzantium¹ to await the Emperor's pleasure, and the fort was levelled to the ground.

Meanwhile the plundering expedition of Arethas was successful, but he played his allies false. Desiring to retain

¹ These Persians, with their leader Bleschanes, were afterwards sent to Italy against the Goths. It was

Roman policy to employ Persian captives against the Goths, Gothic captives against the Persians.

all the spoils for himself, he invented a story to rid himself of the Roman guardsmen who accompanied him,¹ and he sent no information to Belisarius. This was not the only cause of anxiety that vexed that general's mind. The Roman, especially the Thracian, soldiers were not inured to and could not endure the intense heat of the dry Mesopotamian climate in mid-summer, and disease broke out in the army, demoralised by physical exhaustion. All the soldiers were anxious to return to more clement districts, and as it was already August, the captains of the troops of Lebanon were uneasy, fancying that Alamundar might be advancing to plunder their homes. There was nothing to be done but yield to the prevailing wish, which was shared by all the generals. It cannot be said that the campaign of Belisarius accomplished much to set off against the acquisition of Petra by the Persians.

III. Chosroes' Invasion of Commagene, 542 A.D.

The first act of Chosroes when he crossed the Euphrates in spring was to send 6000 soldiers to besiege the town of Sergiopolis because the bishop Candidus, who had undertaken to pay the ransom of the Surene captives two years before, was unable to collect the amount, and found Justinian deaf to his appeals for aid. But the town lay in a desert, and the besiegers were soon obliged to abandon the attempt in consequence of the drought. It was not the Persian's intention to waste his time in despoiling the province Euphratensis or Commagene; he purposed to invade Palestine, and plunder the treasures of Jerusalem. But this exploit was reserved for his grandson of the same name, and the invader returned to his kingdom having accomplished almost nothing. This speedy retreat was probably due to the outbreak of the plague in Persia, though the Roman historian attributes it to the address of Belisarius.²

Belisarius travelled by post-horses (*veredi*) from Constantinople to the Euphratesian province, and taking up his quarters at Europus on the Euphrates, close to Carchemish, the ancient

¹ Trajan and John the Glutton were in command of these 1200 *παραιστὰς*. When they separated from Arethas they proceeded to Theodosiopolis, in order to avoid a hostile army which did not exist. ² See above, p. 401.

capital of the Hittites, he collected there the bulk of the troops who were dispersed throughout the province in its various cities. Chosroes was curious about the personality of Belisarius, of whom he had heard so much,—the conqueror of the Vandals, the conqueror of the Goths, who had led two fallen monarchs in triumph to the feet of Justinian. Accordingly he sent Abandanes¹ as an envoy to the Roman general, on the pretext of learning why Justinian had not sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace.

Belisarius did not mistake the true nature of Abandanes' mission, and determined to make an impression. Having sent a body of one thousand cavalry to the left bank of the river, to harass the enemy if they attempted to cross, he selected six thousand tall and comely men from his army and proceeded with them to a place at some distance from his camp, as if on a hunting expedition. He had constructed for himself a pavilion² of thick canvas, which he set up, as in a desert spot, and when he knew that the ambassador was approaching, he arranged his soldiers with careful negligence. On either side of him stood Thracians and Illyrians, a little farther off the Goths, then Heruls, Vandals, and Moors; all were arrayed in close-fitting linen tunics and drawers, without a cloak or *epomis* to disguise the symmetry of their forms, and, like hunters, each carried a whip as well as some weapon, a sword, an axe, or a bow. They did not stand still, as men on duty, but moved carelessly about, glancing idly and indifferently at the Persian envoy, who soon arrived and marvelled.

To Abandanes' complaint that "the Caesar" had not sent an embassy to his master, Belisarius answered, as one amused, "It is not the habit of men to transact their affairs as Chosroes has transacted his. Others, when aggrieved, send an embassy first, and if they fail in obtaining satisfaction, resort to war; but he attacks and then talks of peace." The presence and bearing of the Roman general, and the appearance of his followers, hunting indifferently at a short distance from the Persian camp without any precautions, made a profound impression on Abandanes, and he persuaded his master to abandon

¹ Theophanes calls him Abandazes, but his account tallies so closely (even in expression) with that of Procopius that he does not seem to have

had a second authority before him.

² *παυλεών*, which Procopius introduces with his usual apologetic formula. See below, Bk. iv. pt. ii. cap. viii.

the proposed expedition. Chosroes may have reflected that the triumph of a king over a general would be no humiliation for the general, while the triumph of a mere general over a king would be very humiliating for the king; such at least is the colouring that the general's historian put on the king's retreat. According to the same authority, Chosroes hesitated to risk the passage of the Euphrates while the enemy were so near, but Belisarius, with his smaller numbers, did not entertain the intention of obstructing him, and a truce was made, Johannes, son of Basil, being delivered, an unwilling hostage, to Chosroes. Having reached the other bank, the Persians turned aside to take and demolish Callinicum, the Coblenz of the Euphrates, which fell an easy prey to their assault, as the walls were in process of renovation at the time. This retreat of Chosroes, according to Procopius, procured for Belisarius greater glory than he had won by his victories in Africa and Italy.

But the account of Procopius, which coming from a less illustrious historian would be rejected on account of internal improbability, cannot be accepted with confidence. It displays such a marked tendency to glorify his favourite and friend Belisarius, that it can hardly be received as a candid unvarnished account of the actual transactions. Besides, there is a certain inconsistency. If Chosroes retired *for fear of* Belisarius, as Procopius would have us believe, why was it he who received the hostage, and how did he venture to take Callinicum? It might be said that these were devices, connived at by Belisarius, to keep up the dignity of a king; but as there actually existed a potent cause, unconnected with the Romans, to induce his return to Persia, namely the outbreak of the plague, we can hardly hesitate to assume that this was its true motive.¹

IV. *The Roman Invasion of Persarmenia, 543 A.D.*

In spite of the plague Chosroes set forth in the following spring to invade Roman Armenia. He advanced into the district of Azerbiyan (Atropatene), and halted at the great shrine of Persian fire-worship, where the *magi* kept alive an eternal

¹ So Rawlinson (*op. cit.* p. 401), who than he deserves. The plague broke out in Persia in the summer of 542. perhaps is more generous to Procopius

flame, which Procopius wishes to identify with the fire of Roman Vesta. Here the Persian monarch waited for some time, having received a message that two ambassadors¹ were on their way to him, with instructions from "the Caesar." But the ambassadors did not arrive, because one of them fell ill by the road; and Chosroes did not pursue his northward journey, because a plague broke out in his army. The Persian general Nabedes sent a christian bishop named Eudubius to Valerian, the Roman general in Armenia, with complaints that the expected embassy had not appeared. Eudubius was accompanied by his brother, who secretly communicated to Valerian the valuable information that Chosroes was just then encompassed by perplexities, the spread of the plague, and the revolt of one of his sons. It was a favourable opportunity for the Romans, and Justinian gave command that all the generals stationed in the East should combine to invade Persarmenia.

Martin was the master of soldiers in the East; he does not appear, however, to have possessed much actual authority over the other commanders. They at first encamped in the same district, but did not unite their forces, which in all amounted to about thirty thousand men. Martin himself, with Ildiger and Theoctistus, encamped at Kitharizon, about four days' march from Theodosiopolis; the troops of Peter and Adolios took up their quarters in the vicinity; while Valerian, the general of Armenia, stationed himself close to Theodosiopolis and was joined there by Narses and a regiment of Heruls and Armenians. The Emperor's nephew Justus and some other commanders remained during the campaign far to the south in the neighbourhood of Martyropolis, where they made incursions of no great importance.

At first the various generals made separate inroads, but they ultimately united their regiments in the spacious plain of Dubis, eight days from Theodosiopolis. This plain, well suited for equestrian exercise, and richly populated, was a famous rendezvous for traders of all nations, Indian, Iberian, Persian, and Roman.² About fifteen miles from Dubis there was a

¹ Constantianus, an Illyrian, and Sergius of Edessa, both rhetors and men of intellect.

² The Christians of these parts were subject to the spiritual government of a bishop called the *Catholicus*, a term which has survived to the present day.

steep mountain, on whose side was perched a village called Anglon, protected by a strong fortress. Here the Persian general Nabedes, with four thousand soldiers, had taken up an almost impregnable position, blocking the precipitous streets of the village with stones and waggons. The ranks of the Roman army, as it marched to Anglon, fell into disorder; the want of union among the generals, who acknowledged no supreme leader, led to confusion in the line of march; mixed bodies of soldiers and sutlers turned aside to plunder; and the security which they displayed might have warranted a spectator in prophesying a speedy reverse. As they drew near to the fortress, an attempt was made to marshal the somewhat demoralised troops in the form of two wings and a centre. The centre was commanded by the Master of Soldiers, the right wing by Peter, the left by Valerian; and all advanced in irregular and wavering line, on account of the roughness of the ground.¹ The best course for the Persians was obviously to act on the defensive. Narses and his Heruls, who were probably on the left wing with Valerian, were the first to attack the foes and to press them back into the fort. Drawn on by the retreating enemy through the narrow village streets, they were suddenly attacked on the flank and in the rear by an ambush of Persians who had concealed themselves in the houses. The valiant Narses was wounded in the temple; his brother succeeded in carrying him from the fray, but the wound proved mortal. This repulse of the foremost spread the alarm to the regiments that were coming up behind; Nabedes comprehended that the moment had arrived to take the offensive and let loose his soldiers on the panic-stricken ranks of the assailants; and all the Heruls, who fought according to their wont without helmets or breast-plates,² fell before the charge of the Persians. The Romans did not tarry; they cast their arms away and fled in wild confusion, and the mounted soldiers galloped so fast that few horses survived the flight; but the Persians, apprehensive of an ambush, did not pursue.

Never, says Procopius, did the Romans experience such a great disaster. This exaggeration makes us seriously inclined

¹ Procopius assigns as an additional cause the want of discipline or previous marshalling of the troops; but I feel some suspicions of the whole account of this campaign.

² The Herul's only armour was a shield and a cloak of thick stuff.

to suspect the accuracy of Procopius' account of this campaign. We can hardly avoid detecting in his narrative a desire to place the generals in as bad a light as possible, just as in his description of the hostilities of the preceding year he manifested a marked tendency to place the behaviour of his hero Belisarius in as fair a light as possible. In fact he seems to wish to draw a strong and striking contrast between a brilliant campaign in 542 and a miserable failure in 543. We have seen reason to doubt the exceptional brilliancy of Belisarius' achievement; and we may be disposed to question the statement that the defeat at Anglon was overwhelming, and the insinuation that the generals were incompetent.

*V. Chosroes' Invasion of Mesopotamia ; Siege of Edessa—
544 A.D.*

His failure at Edessa in 540 rankled in the mind of the Sassanid monarch; he determined to retrieve it in 544. The siege of this important fortress, the key to Roman Mesopotamia, is one of the most interesting in the siege warfare of the sixth century. The place was so strong that Chosroes would have been glad to avoid the risk of a second failure, and he proposed to the inhabitants that they should pay him an immense sum or allow him to take all the riches in the city. His proposal was refused, though if he had made a reasonable demand it would have been agreed to; and the Persian army encamped at somewhat less than a mile from the walls. Three experienced generals, Peter, Martin, and Peranius, were stationed in Edessa at this time.

On the eighth day from the beginning of the siege, Chosroes caused a large number of hewn trees to be strewn on the ground in the shape of an immense square, at about a stone's throw from the city; earth was heaped over the trees, so as to form a flat mound, and stones, not cut smooth and regular as for building, but rough hewn, were piled on the top, additional strength being secured by a layer of wooden beams placed between the stones and the earth. It required many days to raise this mound to a height sufficient to overtop the walls. At first the workmen were harassed by a sally of Huns, one of whom, named Argek, slew twenty-seven with his own

hand. This could not be repeated, as henceforward a guard of Persians stood by to protect the builders. As the work went on, the mound seems to have been extended in breadth as well as in height, and to have approached closer to the walls, so that the workmen came within range of the archers who manned the battlements, but they protected themselves by thick and long strips of canvas, woven of goat hair, which were hung on poles, and proved an adequate shield. Foiled in their attempts to obstruct the progress of the threatening pile, which they saw rising daily higher and higher, the besieged sent an embassy to Chosroes. The spokesman of the ambassadors was the physician Stephen, a native of Edessa, who had enjoyed the friendship and favour of Kobad, whom he had healed of a disease, and had superintended the education of Chosroes himself. But even he, influential though he was, could not obtain more than the choice of three alternatives—the surrender of Peter and Peranius, who, originally Persian subjects, had presumed to make war against their master's son; the payment of 50,000 lbs. of gold (two million and a quarter pounds sterling); or the reception of Persian deputies, who should ransack the city for treasures and bring all to the Persian camp. All these proposals were too extravagant to be entertained for an instant; the ambassadors returned in dejection, and the erection of the mound advanced. A new embassy was sent, but was not even admitted to an audience; and when the plan of raising the city wall was tried, the besiegers found no difficulty in elevating their construction also.

At length the Romans resorted to the plan of undermining the mound, but when their excavation had reached the middle of the pile the noise of the subterranean digging was heard by the Persian builders, who immediately dug or hewed a hole in their own structure in order to discover the miners. These, knowing that they were detected, filled up the remotest part of the excavated passage and adopted a new device. Beneath the end of the mound nearest to the city they formed a small subterranean chamber with stones, boards, and earth. Into this room they threw piles of wood of the most inflammable kind, which had been smeared over with sulphur, bitumen, and oil of cedar. As soon as the mound was com-

pleted, they kindled the logs, and kept the fire replenished with fresh fuel. A considerable time was required for the fire to penetrate the entire extent of the mound, and smoke began to issue prematurely from that part where the foundations were first inflamed. The besieged adopted a cunning device to mislead the besiegers. They cast burning arrows and hurled vessels filled with burning embers on various parts of the mound; the Persian soldiers ran to and fro to extinguish them, believing that the smoke, which really came from beneath, was caused by the flaming missiles; and some thus employed were pierced by arrows from the walls. Next morning Chosroes himself visited the mound and was the first to discover the true cause of the smoke, which now issued in denser volume. The whole army was summoned to the scene amid the jeers of the Romans, who surveyed from the walls the consternation of their foe. The torrents of water with which the stones were flooded increased the vapour instead of quenching it and caused the sulphurous flames to operate more violently. In the evening the volume of smoke was so immense that it could be seen as far away to the south as at the city of Carrhae¹; and the fire, which had been gradually working upwards as well as spreading beneath, at length gained the air and overtopped the surface. Then the Persians desisted from their futile endeavours.

Six days later an attack was made on the walls at early dawn, and but for a farmer who chanced to be awake and gave the alarm, the garrison might have been surprised. The assailants were repulsed; and another assault on the great gate at mid-day was likewise unsuccessful. One final effort was made by the baffled beleaguers. The ruins of the half-demolished mound were covered with a floor of bricks, and from this elevation a grand attack was made. At first the Persians seemed to be superior, but the enthusiasm which prevailed in the city was ultimately crowned with victory. The peasants, even the women and the children, ascended the walls and took a part in the combat; cauldrons of oil were kept continually boiling, that the burning liquid might be poured on the heads of the assailants; and the Persians, unable to endure the fury of their enemies, fell back and confessed to Chosroes that they

¹ The distance of Carrhae from Edessa was about thirty miles.

were vanquished. The enraged despot drove them back to the encounter ; they made yet one supreme effort, and were yet once more discomfited. Edessa was saved, and the siege unwillingly abandoned by the disappointed king, who, however, had the satisfaction of receiving 5000 lbs. of gold from the weary though victorious Edessenes.

In the following year, 545 A.D., a peace or truce¹ was concluded for five years, Justinian consenting to pay 2000 lbs. of gold and to permit a certain Greek physician, named Tribunus, to remain at the Persian court for a year. Tribunus of Palestine, the best medical doctor of the age, was, we are told, a man of distinguished virtue and piety, and highly valued by Chosroes, whose constitution was delicate and constantly required the services of a physician. At the end of the year the king permitted him to ask a boon, and instead of proposing remuneration for himself he begged for the freedom of some Roman prisoners. Chosroes not only liberated those whom he named, but others also to the number of three thousand, and Tribunus won the blessings of those whom his word had ransomed and great glory among men.

¹ No distinct mention of this truce is made by Gibbon, who passes over these campaigns with a vague sentence.

CHAPTER IX

THE LAZIC WAR (549-556 A.D.)

THE Lazi soon found that the despotism of the Persian fire-worshipper was less tolerable than the oppression of the christian monopolists, and repented that they had taught the armies of the great king to penetrate the defiles of Colchis. It was not long before the magi attempted to convert the new province to a faith which was odious to the christianised natives, and it became known that Chosroes entertained the intention of removing the inhabitants and colonising the land with Persians. Gobazes, who learned that Chosroes was plotting against his life, hastened to ask for the pardon and seek for the protection of Justinian, whose name seemed appropriate to his character when compared with a tyrant whose title, "the Just" (like that of Haroun *Al Raschid*), seemed the expression of a prudent irony. In 549 A.D. 7000 Romans were sent to Lazica, under the command of Dagisthaeus, to recover the fortress of Petra, which was the most important position in that country. Their forces were strengthened by the addition of a thousand Tzanic auxiliaries. Procopius has warned us against identifying the Tzani with the Colchians, apparently a common mistake in his time. The Tzani were an inland people living on the borders of Pontus and Armenia, and separated from the sea by precipitous mountains and vast solitudes, impassable torrent-beds and yawning chasms.¹

¹ Proc. *B. G.* iv. 1. At the beginning of 558 A.D. we find the Tzani plundering Armenia and Pontus. Theodorus subdued and rendered them tributary—a success of which Justinian

did not disdain to boast in one of his Novels (*Agathias*, v. 2). A good map of Colchis is much wanted. I have not found that in Spruner's *Historischer Atlas* satisfactory.

The acquisition of Colchis pleased Chosroes so highly, and the province appeared to him of such eminent importance, that he took every precaution to secure its retention.¹ A highway was constructed from the Iberian confines through the country's hilly and woody passes, so that not only cavalry but elephants could traverse it. The fortress of Petra was supplied with sufficient stores of provisions, consisting of salted meat and corn, to last for five years; no wine was provided, but vinegar and a sort of grain from which a spirituous liquor could be distilled. The armour and weapons which were stored in the magazines would, as was afterwards found, have accounted five times the number of the besiegers; and a cunning device was adopted to supply the city with water, while the enemy should delude themselves with the idea that they had cut off the supply.²

When Dagisthaeus laid siege to the town the garrison consisted of 1500 Persians. The besieging party numbered 7000 Roman soldiers and 1000 Tzani, who were assisted by the Colchians under Gobazes. Dagisthaeus committed the mistake of not occupying the clisuræ or passes from Iberia into Colchis, and thereby preventing the arrival of Persian reinforcements. The siege was protracted for a long time, and the small garrison was ultimately reduced to 150 men capable of fighting and 350 wounded or disabled. The Romans had dug a mine under the wall and loosened the foundations; a part of the wall actually collapsed, and John the Armenian with fifty men rushed through the breach, but when their leader received a wound they retired. It appears that nothing would have been easier than to enter the city and overpower the miserably small number of defenders, but Dagisthaeus purposely delayed, waiting for letters from Justinian. The commander of the garrison protracted the delay by promising to surrender in a few days, for he knew that Mermeroes was approaching to relieve him. Mermeroes, allowed to enter Colchis unopposed with large forces of cavalry and infantry, soon arrived at the pass which commands the plain of Petra. Here his progress was withstood by a hundred

¹ He tried to build a fleet in the Euxine, but the material was destroyed by lightning.

² The way in which this was effected will be described below, p. 449.

Romans, but after a long and bloody battle the weary guards gave way, and the Persians reached the summit. When Dagisthaeus learned this he raised the siege, and marched northwards to the Phasis.

Mermeroes left 3000 men in Petra and provisioned it for a short time. Directing the garrison to repair the walls, he departed himself with the rest of the army on a plundering expedition in order to obtain more supplies. He finally left 5000 men under Phabrigus in Colchis, instructing them to keep Petra supplied with food, and withdrew to Persarmenia. Disaster soon befell these 5000; they were surprised in their camp by Dagisthaeus and Gobazes in the early morning, and but few escaped. All the provisions brought from Iberia for the use of Petra were destroyed, and the passes which admitted the stranger to Colchis were garrisoned.¹

In the spring of 550 Chorianes entered Colchis with a Persian army, and encamped by the river Hippis, where a battle was fought in which the Romans, under Dagisthaeus, were triumphantly victorious, and Chorianes lost his life. The engagement was notable for the curious behaviour of the Lazi and the bravery of a Persarmenian who fought under the Roman standard. The Lazi protested against associating themselves with their allies in the battle, and insisted on facing the foe foremost and alone, on the ground that they had a greater stake in the event than their protectors, and perhaps thinking that the stress of a graver danger would increase their defective courage. They were allowed to have their way in so far that the Lazic cavalry led the van, but at the very sight of the enemy they turned and fled for refuge to those with whom they had disdained to march in company. The Persarmenian Artabanes, a deserter who had proved his fidelity to the Romans by slaying twenty Persians, exhibited his courage in a conspicuous place between the adverse armies by dismounting and despatching a mighty Persian. These single combats were perhaps a feature in many of the battles of the sixth century; they are certainly a feature in the pages of the historians.

¹ At this point the two books of Procopius known as *de Bello Persico* come to an end, but the thread of the narrative is resumed in the *de Bello Gothico*, Bk. iv., which was written

after the other books had been given to the world. Procopius apologises for the necessity which compels him to abandon his method of *geographical divisions* (*B. G.* iv. 1).

Meanwhile Dagisthaeus was accused of misconducting the siege of Petra, through disloyalty or culpable negligence. Justinian ordered that he should be arrested, and appointed Bessas, who had recently returned from Italy, in his stead. Men wondered at this appointment, and thought that the Emperor was foolish to entrust the command to a general who was far advanced in years, and whose career in the West had been inglorious; but the choice, as we shall see, was justified by the result. The subordinate commanders were Wilgang¹ a Herul, Benilus the brother of Buzes, Babas a Thracian, and Odonachus (all of whom preceded Bessas to Lazica); and John the Armenian, who had shown his valour at the battle of Hippis.

The first labour that devolved on Bessas was to suppress the revolt of the Abasgi. The territory of this nation extended along the lunated eastern coast of the Euxine, and was separated from Colchis by the country of the Apsilians, who inhabited that ambiguous district between the western spurs of Caucasus and the sea, a district which belongs to Asia, and might be claimed by Europe. The Apsilians had long been Christians, and submitted to the lordship of their Lazic neighbours, who had at one time also held sway over the Abasgi. Like the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, Abasgia was governed by two princes, of whom one ruled in the west and the other in the east. These potentates increased their revenue by the sale of beautiful boys, whom they tore in early childhood from the arms of their reluctant parents and made eunuchs; for in the Roman Empire these comely and useful slaves were in constant demand, and secured a high price from the opulent and luxurious nobles. It was the glory of Justinian to compass the abolition of this unnatural practice; the subjects supported the remonstrances which the Emperor's envoy, himself an Abasgian eunuch, made to their kings; the monarchy, or tyranny, was abolished, and a people which had worshipped trees embraced Christianity, to enjoy, as they thought, a long period of freedom under the protection of the Roman Augustus. But the mildest pro-

¹ Uligagus (Procopius), but Agathias first part compares *Wil*-helm, for the calls the same man Οὐλίγαγος. The second *Wolf-gang*. The name is evidently Wilgang: for the

tectorate tends insensibly to become domination. Roman soldiers entered the country, and taxes were imposed on the new friends of the Emperor. The Abasgi preferred being tyrannised over by men of their own blood to being the slaves of a foreign master, and accordingly they elected two new kings, Opsites in the east and Sceparnas in the west. But it would have been rash to brave the jealous anger of Justinian without the support of some stronger power, and when Nabedes, after the great defeat of the Persians at Hippis, visited Lazica, he received sixty noble hostages from the Abasgi, who craved the protection of Chosroes. They had not taken warning from the repentance of the Lazi, that it was a hazardous measure to invoke the Persian. The king, Sceparnas, was soon afterwards summoned to the Sassanid court, and his colleague Opsites prepared to resist the Roman forces which Bessas despatched against him under the command of Wilgang and John the Armenian.

In the southern borders of Abasgia, close to the Apsilian frontier, an extreme mountain of the Caucasian chain descends in the form of a staircase to the waters of the Euxine. Here, on one of the lower spurs, the Abasgi had built a strong and roomy fastness in which they hoped to defy the pursuit of an invader. A rough and difficult glen separated it from the sea, while the ingress was so narrow that two persons could not enter abreast, and so low that it was necessary to crawl. The Romans, who had sailed from the Phasis, or perhaps from Trapezus, landed on the Apsilian borders, and proceeded by land to Trachea, as the glen was appropriately called, where they found the whole Abasgic nation arrayed to defend a pass which it would have been easy to hold against far larger numbers. Wilgang remained with half the army at the foot of the glen, while John and the other half embarked in the boats which had accompanied the coast march of the soldiers. They landed at no great distance, and by a circuitous route were able to approach the unsuspecting foe in the rear. The Abasgi fled in consternation towards their fortress; fugitives and pursuers, mingled together, strove to penetrate the narrow aperture, and those inside could not prevent enemies from entering with friends. But the Romans when they were within the walls found a new labour awaiting them. The Abasgi fortified

themselves in their houses, and vexed their adversaries by showering missiles from above. At length the Romans conceived the idea of employing the aid of fire, and the dwellings were soon reduced to ashes. Some of the people were burnt, others, including the wives of the kings, were taken alive, while Opsites escaped to the Huns. But it must not be thought that the nation was exterminated, as the words of Procopius might lead us to infer. We shall meet the Abasgi again, one hundred and fifty years later, in the days of another Justinian.

Shortly before or shortly after this episode in Abasgia, another episode was enacted in the neighbouring country of Apsilia. Terdetes, a Lazic noble, quarrelled with King Gobazes, and entered into correspondence with the Persians to betray a strong fort called Tzibilon, in Apsilia. When the garrison saw foreign troops approaching under a Lazic convoy they admitted them unhesitatingly, and for a moment it seemed that Apsilia was a Persian dependency. But the Persian leader, seized with a passion for the beautiful wife of the governor, compelled her by force to his embraces. The enraged husband slew the violator and all his soldiers; the Apsilians were fain to reject the supremacy of the Colchians, who had not protected them against the risk of slavery; but the bland words of John the Armenian restored them to their old allegiance.

The truce of five years had now elapsed (April 550), and while new negotiations began between the courts of Byzantium and Ctesiphon, the Romans in Lazica, under the command of Bessas, made another attempt to recover Petra.¹ A new garrison, three thousand strong, had been placed in the fort; the breaches which had been made by Dagisthaeus in the foundations of the wall were filled up with bags of sand, over which thick planed beams were placed to form the basis of a new wall. Bessas bored a mine, as Dagisthaeus had done, under the wall, which was shaken by the removal of the earth beneath; but the layers of the stones were not disarranged, the

¹ While Bessas was at Petra, Odenachus and Babas held Archaeopolis (on the right bank of the Phasis) with 3000 men, and Benilus and Wilgang were encamped at the mouth of the Phasis.

whole mass supported by the smooth beams sank regularly as if it were purposely lowered by a machine, and the only effect was that the height was reduced. The sinking of the wall overwhelmed the mine; and as the approach to this, the only expugnable, part of the city was an inclined plane, it was impossible to apply the battering-rams, whose heavy frames could only be impelled along a horizontal surface.

It happened that at this time three nobles of the Sabiric Huns¹ visited the Roman camp, in order to receive a sum of money from an envoy of Justinian, who feared to continue his journey to their homes in the Caucasus through a country beset with foes. The cunning of the barbarians profited the Romans in their perplexity and surpassed the skill of civilised engineers. "They constructed such a machine," says the marvelling Procopius, "as within the memory of man never entered into the mind of a Roman or Persian, though in both realms there has never been, nor is now, lacking a plentiful number of engineers, and though in all ages a machine of the kind has been wanted by both peoples for battering fortifications in steep places." The simplicity of the Hunnic invention might have put the engineers to shame. Instead of the perpendicular and transverse beams, which made the regular machine so heavy, a light frame was constructed of woven osier twigs, and covered with skins, so that in appearance it did not differ from the ordinary ram, while its lightness was such that forty men, placed inside, could advance supporting it on their shoulders without inconvenience. The battering beam itself, hung in loose chains and pointed with iron, was of normal construction; in fact the old machines supplied the new frames with their beams.

At each side of these engines, when they were applied to the walls, stood men protected with helmets and cuirasses, and provided with long poles, whose iron hooks removed the stones which the rams had loosened. The besieged hurled from a wooden tower, which they placed on the wall, vessels of sulphur, pitch, and naphtha ("oil of Medea") upon the roofs of the machines, and it required all the agility of the men with

¹ These Huns did not form a united nation. Some of their princes Medised, others Romanised; and those of both classes received from their respective patrons occasional grants of money. (Proc. B. G. iv. 11.)

the poles to remove the flaming missiles before the frames caught fire.

When an appreciable breach had been made in the wall, Bessas, with all his forces, advanced to scale it. The general himself, in spite of his seventy years, was the first to place his foot on the ladder, and in the combat that ensued, of the 2300 Persians who resisted and the 6000 Romans who attacked, there were many slain and very few unwounded. Suddenly a shout was raised, and both sides rushed to the spot, where Bessas lay prostrate on the ground. The Persians attempted to pierce him with their darts, but the guardsmen formed a dense array around their general in the form of a testudo, and protected him from hurt. The Romans had paused for a moment and held their breath when they witnessed the fall of Bessas, but soon comprehending that he was not injured they renewed the fray and redoubled their efforts. The master of soldiers, who found himself unable to raise his obese and aged body, weighed down by armour, was dragged slowly to a safe place, and the incident so little affected him that, once more erect, he again essayed to scale the wall. At length the Persians declared themselves ready to surrender, and begged for a short space of time to pack up their belongings; but Bessas, suspecting their intentions, refused to check the assault, and indicated another place under the walls where he would entertain the proposals of those who desired to capitulate. His caution was justified by the fact that the Persians continued to fight.

The situation was changed when another portion of the wall, which had been previously undermined by the besiegers, collapsed. Both the Persians and Romans were obliged to divide their forces, and the superiority of the latter in point of numbers began to tell. At this point John the Armenian, with a few of his countrymen, succeeded in climbing up a precipitous ascent of rock, where the beleaguers could not have hoped and the beleaguered could not have feared that it would prove possible to gain the battlements. The Persian guards were killed, and the venturous Armenians entered the fort. Meanwhile the battering-rams had continued to play on the walls, and the defenders in their wooden tower had continued to shower inflammable substances from above; but a

violent south wind suddenly began to blow, and the tower caught fire from the dangerous materials which were handled by its inmates. These, along with the structure, were consumed in the flames, and their burning corpses fell among their comrades or their adversaries. The Persians were fast giving way; at length the Romans penetrated the breaches, and Petra was taken. Five hundred of the garrison fled to the citadel, seven hundred and thirty were captured alive. Among the Romans who fell in the final assault was John the Armenian, who, as it seems, when he had scaled the wall, attacked the enemy in the rear.

Attempts were made to induce the soldiers who had shut themselves up in the citadel to surrender, but they proved deaf to arguments and menaces. In the pages of Procopius a military orator persuades the reader that it was foolish and culpable in these inflexible men to court an unnecessary death; but the 500 fire-worshippers, if they heard these christian remonstrances, were not convinced of their cogency. The citadel was fired by the order of Bessas, who expected that at the eleventh hour, with a painful death imminent, the head-strong Persians would yield. He was disappointed; they did not hesitate, before the wondering gaze of the Roman victors, to perish in the flames. "Then," says the historian, "it appeared how dear Lazica was to Chosroes, in that he had sent the most excellent of all his soldiers to garrison Petra."

One of the first acts of the Romans had been to destroy the aqueduct, but in the course of the siege a Persian prisoner informed them that there was a second pipe invisible to the eye, because it was concealed by stones and earth. This duct was also destroyed, and yet to their astonishment the Romans found when they entered the fortress that it was supplied with water. Chosroes had dug a deep ditch, in which he placed two pipes, one above the other, separated by a layer of clay and stones, and above them a third pipe, which he made no attempt to conceal. The two superior ducts were cut off by the besiegers, to whom the thought never occurred that there might be yet a third channel.

The news of the capture of Petra, which took place in the early spring of 551 A.D., reached Mermeroes as he was

approaching with a Persian army to relieve it. As there was no other important place south of the Phasis, he retraced his steps in order to cross the river by a ford, and attack Archaeopolis and other fortresses on the right bank, which were occupied by the Romans or the Lazi. The total number of Roman soldiers in Lazica amounted to 12,000. Of these, 3000 were stationed at Archaeopolis, under the command of Babas and Odonachus; the remaining 9000 were entrenched in a camp at the mouth of the Phasis, with the generals Benilus and Wilgang, and an auxiliary corps of 800 Tzani. The commander-in-chief, Bessas, thinking that he had done enough by capturing Petra, occupied himself in Armenia and Pontus with collecting tribute, instead of following up his success and securing the Iberian frontier.

Of Mermeroes' troops the greater part were cavalry. Eight elephants accompanied the march, and of 12,000 Caucasian Huns who proffered their services, the general, fearing that such a large number might prove unmanageable, accepted the aid of 4000. Having halted on the borders of Iberia to re-erect the fort of Scanda, which the Lazi had demolished, Mermeroes marched towards Archaeopolis; but when he learned that a large division of the enemy was encamped at the mouth of the Phasis, he decided to attack it first, and afterwards storm the city. His way led him past the city walls, and he jeeringly informed the inhabitants that when he had paid a visit to their friends in the camp he would return to them. "If you meet those Romans," they replied, "you will never return to us." But those Romans did not await his approach. Having packed up all the provisions they could take with them, and destroyed the rest, they rowed across to the left bank of the river; the Persians, unable to follow, destroyed their camp, and returned to besiege Archaeopolis.

The chief city of Lazica is situated on a steep hill; mountains impend above it, and the river that descends from their heights flows near its gates. Protected by a wall on either side of a narrow path which runs down to the river-bank, the inhabitants could draw water securely in time of siege. The approaches to the gates in the higher parts of the town were precipitous and obstructed with wood and bramble; but the wall at the base of the hill was easily accessible, though the

ground sloped. Mermeroes' plan of action was to attack both the higher and lower places at the same time, and divide the attention of the defenders. There was a corps of auxiliary soldiers in his army called Dilimnites,¹ men who dwelt in the interior parts of Persia, but had never been forced to be the thralls of a Persian monarch. The steep and pathless mountains, which were their homes since remote antiquity, secured them their liberty, but they deigned to serve for pay in the army of the great king. They fought on foot, armed each with a sword, a shield, and three javelins; and they could run as nimbly on the rugged acclivities of a mountain as on a level plain. These mercenaries were told off to harass the besieged on the steep sides of the hill; while the Sabiric Huns were employed to construct light battering-rams, such as their tribesmen had provided for the Romans at Petra. With these engines and the eight elephants, the Persians and Huns exerted all their strength to make an impression on the lower gate, and a thick cloud of arrows almost expelled the Roman defenders from the battlements; while in another place the javelins of the Dilimnites, who fought from behind the bushes, increased the discomfiture of the garrison.

But by a happy inspiration the commanders apprehended in what their sole chance of safety lay, and decided to make a sudden sally on the enemy with all their forces. Just as they were on the point of executing this design, to which they had stimulated the soldiers by an oration, the cry was raised that the corn magazine was on fire. Some of the garrison hastened to the spot and succeeded with difficulty in extinguishing the flames, while the rest, undisturbed by the alarm, poured forth through the opened gate upon their unprepared and astonished antagonists. The Persians had been building on the hope that when a Lazic traitor, who had communicated with Mermeroes, should have set fire to the stores, the Romans would either desert the defence in order to save their corn or submit to the loss of their corn in order to continue the defence. Never imagining that such a small number would have the heart to leave the protection of their walls in the face of an army so superior, the besiegers were scattered in small groups here and there in front of the city; some had only

¹ So called by Agathias. Procopius calls them Dolomites.

bows, which were useless in hand-to-hand fight, others totally unarmed were carrying battering engines ; so that the sudden onslaught of the Romans met with almost no resistance. The confusion was increased when one of the elephants, perhaps wounded, broke into the Persian ranks. The front rows retreated, and the soldiers in the rear, ignorant of the cause, caught the alarm ; while the Dilimnites, beholding from above the consternation that prevailed below, fled in panic. In all, four thousand of the enemy fell, including three captains, and four Persian standards were sent to the Emperor. It was said that not less than twenty thousand horses perished in the flight, not from wounds, but from the effects of mere fatigue and want of adequate food.

Having thus failed at Archaeopolis, Mermeroes and his army proceeded to Muchiresis, the most fertile district of Colchis, watered by the river Rheon. Winter was now approaching, and the Persians took up their quarters in the ruins of an old fort called Cutatisium (originally Cotiaëum), which they roughly restored ; here they commanded the roads to Suania and Scymnia, and could prevent the Lazi from supplying with provisions the neighbouring fort of Uchimerium. But this stronghold was soon delivered into the hands of Mermeroes by the treachery and guile of a Colchian named Theophobius, and having left both in this place and in Cutatisium sufficient garrisons ; the general of Chosroes established himself in another fort on the Lazic frontier called Serapanin. During the winter the Persians dominated the land ; the Romans skulked in Archaeopolis and near the mouths of the Phasis, while Gobazes and many of the Lazi endured the untold hardships of a Colchian winter's severity in the recesses of inaccessible mountains, where they were scantily supplied with food. Mermeroes tried to seduce the Lazic king to desert the Romans, but Gobazes had not forgotten that Chosroes had plotted against his life.

Meanwhile, ambassadors had gone to and fro between the Roman and Persian courts ; the negotiations had been protracted for eighteen months, and Chosroes' delegate, the arrogant Isdigunas,¹ had enjoyed the generosity of Justinian's court

¹ Menander gives the name as Jesdegusnaf (fr. 11). He was accompanied by his wife and two daughters.

and excited the disgust of his courtiers. At length a new truce of five years was concluded, the terms being that the Romans were to pay two thousand six hundred pounds of gold¹; but this peace was not to necessitate the cessation of hostilities in Colchis. A contemporary states that there was considerable popular indignation that Chosroes should have exacted from the Empire no less than four thousand six hundred pounds of gold in the space of eleven years; and the Byzantines murmured at the unprecedented respect shown to Isdigunas and his retinue, who were permitted to move about in the city, without a Roman escort, as if it belonged to them.

Nothing of striking importance took place in the campaign of 552. The Persians were successful. Mermeroes expelled Martin and his troops from the strong fort of Telephis² by a ruse; the dissemination of a false rumour of his own death, which even the Persian army believed, caused the Romans to relax their vigilance. Both Martin, and Justin (the son of Germanus) who was encamped at Ollaria, about a mile from Telephis, were forced to flee in the confusion of a nocturnal surprise and take up their quarters in the "Island," where the prudence of Mermeroes permitted them to remain in peace. The Island was a tract of ground formed by two rivers and an artificial canal. The Phasis and the less famous Doconus, flowing from widely different quarters of the mountains, gradually approximate their courses, and at length unite their waters about twenty miles from the Euxine. At some distance to the east of their point of union, the Romans had dug a channel connecting them, and thus formed an island, which would have been a triangle but for the irregular curves and twists of the streams.

Mermeroes retired to Iberia to winter, but died in the autumn

¹ 2000 lbs. for the five years' truce, and 600 lbs. (at the same rate) for the negotiation of a year and a half. The *Emperor* wished to pay the 2000 lbs. in annual portions; but Isdigunas pressed for the lump sum. At length the *Romans* decided to pay it all at once, so that it should not seem a tribute, "according to the habit men have of blushing at names, and not at the things them-

selves" (Procop. *B. G.* iv. 15). Procopius' wary mode of expression here is noteworthy; he changes from the *Emperor* to the *Romans*, because he wishes to introduce an unfavourable reflection.

² Telephis seems to have been about forty miles inland from the sea; it was five parasangs (150 stadia) from the "Island," which was six parasangs from the mouth of the Phasis.

of disease.¹ His death was a serious loss to Chosroes, for though old and lame, and unable even to ride, he was not only a prudent and brave general, but as unwearied in activity as a youth. Nachoragan was sent to succeed him.

Meanwhile Gobazes, the Lazic king, who had been involved in constant quarrels and recriminations with the Roman commanders, sent a complaint of their conduct to Justinian, giving an account of their recent defeat, and attributing it to their negligence; Bessas, Martin, and Rusticus were specially named. The Emperor deposed Bessas from his command, and banished him temporarily to Abasgia, but he consigned the chief command to Martin, and did not recall Rusticus. This Rusticus was not a general, but an imperial finance official, who had been sent to bestow rewards on soldiers who distinguished themselves in battle. The complaints which the Lazic king had lodged made him more obnoxious to the persons whom he had ventured to accuse; and Martin and Rusticus resolved to remove an inconvenient and jealous critic. To secure themselves from blame, they despatched John, Rusticus' brother, to Byzantium, with the false message that Gobazes was "Medising,"—was this ancient term really used in the sixth century outside the pages of the historians? Justinian was surprised and alarmed, but reserved his judgment, and commanded that Gobazes should come to Constantinople. "What," asked John, "is to be done if he refuses?" "Compel him to come," replied the Emperor; "he is our subject." "But if he resist our compulsion," urged the conspirator. "Then treat him as a *tyrant*." "And will he who slays him have nought to fear?" "Nought, if he act disobediently and be slain as an enemy." Justinian signed a letter to the same effect, armed with which John returned to Lazica, and the conspirators carried out their

¹ I have departed from the usually-received chronology for the Lazic campaign recorded by Agathias (see Clinton, *F. R.*) Agathias begins in Bk. ii. cap. 19, at the point where Procopius leaves off in Bk. iv. cap. 17 of the *Gothic War*. The last events related by Procopius fall in the year 552, and as Agathias continues his narrative, without mentioning an intervening winter, we must conclude that the events which he describes up to the end of the 4th chapter of Bk. iii. also

fall in 552, and that the first words of the 15th chapter, ἀμα γὰρ τῷ ἡπὶ ἀρξάμενῳ, mean the spring of 553. Thus the last Lazic events described by Agathias belong, not to 557, but to 555. The chronology of Bk. v. cannot be determined with certainty, as it is connected with preceding events by nothing more precise than ἐν ταύτῃ. If this means in 555, the invasion of the Huns of Zabergan took place in 556-7, not in 558-9.

intention. Gobazes was invited to assist in an attack on the Persian fortress of Onoguris; and with a few attendants he met the Roman army at the river Chobus. An altercation arose between the king and Rusticus, and on the pretext that the gainsayer of a Roman general must necessarily be a friend of the Persians, John drew his dagger and stabbed Gobazes in the breast. The wound was not mortal, but it was dealt so unexpectedly that it unhorsed the king, who was sitting with his legs round the neck of his steed, and when he attempted to rise from the ground, a blow from the squire of Rusticus killed him outright.

The unfortunate Lazi, not strong enough to revenge the death of their monarch, silently buried him according to their customs, and turned away in mute reproach from their Roman protectors. They no longer took part in the military operations, but hid themselves away as men who had lost their hereditary glory. The indignation which Justin and Buzes felt at the outrage was prudently concealed, as they thought it had been commanded by the Emperor's wisdom. Some months later, when winter had commenced, the Lazi assembled a secret council in some remote and wild Caucasian ravine, and considered the question whether they should abandon their Roman allies and seek once more the protection and oppression of Chosroes.¹ They fortunately decided not to take the fatal step, and it is worthy of note that the chief motive which induced them to adhere to the Romans was their attachment to the christian religion. They determined to appeal for justice and satisfaction to the fountain of justice in the Roman Empire, the Emperor himself; and at the same time supplicate him to nominate Tzathes, the younger brother of Gobazes, as the new king of the Lazi. Justinian promptly complied with their demands. Athanasius, one of the most illustrious senators, was immediately sent to Lazica to investigate the circumstances of Gobazes' assassination; and when he arrived he incarcerated both Rusticus and John in the city of Apsarus,

¹ Agathias pleases himself and wearies the reader by making two Colchians, Aietes and Phartazes, deliver harangues, respectively for and against Medism. The name Aietes is probably fictitious (as the index of Niebuhr

asserts), the name of the opponent of the Romaioi being borrowed from that of the mythical enemy of the Argonauts. Hereby a suspicion is also thrown on the identity of Phartazes.

pending a trial. In the beginning of spring (553) Tzathes arrived with all the state of a Lazic monarch; and when the Colchians saw the Roman army saluting him as he rode in the splendour of his royal apparel, a tunic embroidered with gold reaching to the feet, a plain white mantle with a gold stripe, purple shoes, a turban adorned with gold and gems, and a golden crown set with precious stones, they forgot their sorrow and escorted him in a gay and brilliant procession. It was not till the ensuing winter that the authors of the death of the late king were brought to justice and the natives witnessed the solemn procedure of a Roman trial. John and Rusticus were executed, but the implication of Martin in the affair was not quite so clear, and his case was referred to the Emperor, who in 555 deposed him from the command in favour of his own nephew Justin. The secret of Martin's acquittal probably was that he was highly popular with the army and a very skilful general.

Meanwhile the hostilities between the Romans and Persians had continued without a pause. The few months that intervened between the death of Gobazes and the inactivity of winter (552 A.D.) were occupied with the siege of Onoguris, or Stephanopolis¹—apparently its new name, from a church erected there in honour of the first martyr—which had been fortified by Mermeroes about the time of his unsuccessful siege of the neighbouring Archaeopolis. The Romans were preparing their *spalions*² to shake the foundations of the towers, when a Persian was captured, who disclosed, under the compulsion of the lash, the design of his compatriots. Nachoragan, he said, had already arrived in Iberia, and the troops stationed in Muchiresis and Cotaisis were on their way to relieve Onoguris. Buzes and Wilgang the Herul were in favour of proceeding with all the forces (about 50,000) against the advancing Persians before they attempted to besiege the fort: "First frighten away the bees," said Wilgang, "and then

¹ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι (Στεφάνου τοῦ θεσπεσίου) καλεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον νερόμισται (Agathias, iii. 5).

² These machines were in construction very like the machines constructed by the Sabiric Huns at the siege of

Petra; but they were not battering-rams. The men inside were provided with implements to lay bare the foundations of towers, and hammers to loosen the stones.

gather the honey." But the opposite opinion of Rusticus carried the day; the siege operations began, and a small body of six hundred horse was sent to obstruct the march of the party of relief.

The commanders of the corps of cavalry were Dabragezas, a Wend, and Wiscard or Wisgard, whose name¹ shows that he was a Teuton. It is one of the curious things of history to meet in the sixth century by the banks of the Phasis a general bearing the celebrated name which was borne in the eleventh century by the great Norman, Robert of Apulia; and we are reminded that the mission of the great duke and the task of the obscure captain were essentially of the same kind, to repel the enemies of Christianity and of occidental development from the limits of European Christendom. Robert's chief work was to organise a power, which waged war against the Mohammedan in the Mediterranean; Wisgard helped in his degree to beat back the Fire-worshipper from the coasts of the Euxine.

The horsemen with Wisgard and Dabragezas fell suddenly on the three thousand Persians who had ridden to relieve the fortress and were already near at hand. At first the larger number were confused by the surprise and fled; the announcement of their flight reached the besiegers, who were encouraged to assail the walls with greater boldness and less order; but when the Persians comprehended that a very small division of the whole army of their opponents had advanced against them, they turned suddenly and reversed the position. The Romans fled and the Persians pursued; pursuers and fugitives rushed together into the Roman entrenchments; the besiegers, overwhelmed with astonishment and terror, thought no more of the fortress, and, hardly waiting to discover what had happened, abandoned their camp in haste and disorder. Thus fifty thousand were routed by three thousand.

In the following spring Nachoragan (553) advanced with sixty thousand men to the Island, where Martin and Justin

¹ Οὐρίγαρδος. For the meaning of the name, compare the lines of William the Apulian about Count Robert—

cognomen Guiscardus erat, quia calliditatis,
non Cicero tantas fuit aut versutus Ulysses.

As to the Slavonic name Dabragezas, Dabra means "good" (Russian *dobry*). With -gezas compare *Belegzitate*, the name of a Slavonic tribe near Salonica in the seventh century.

were stationed with their forces. The Romans had placed two thousand federate Sabiric Huns in the neighbourhood of Archaeopolis to harass the enemy; and by a fortunate stratagem they succeeded in slaughtering an immense number of Dilimnites who were sent to surprise them. When he arrived at the Island, the Persian commander, after a short and futile conference with Martin, determined not to remain there, but to march westward and besiege the city of Phasis, the great seaport of Colchis, situated at the mouth of the like-named river. Before the Romans were aware, he had crossed the stream by a bridge of boats, for he purposed to march along the left bank and attack Phasis on the southern side. The Romans, having been thwarted in an attempt to send some vessels down the river to the city, left in the Island a small garrison under the charge of Buzes and marched to the defence of Phasis by a different route from that which the enemy had taken.

The walls of Phasis, which were wooden and in some places dilapidated through age, were protected by a palisade and a foss, which was filled with water to the brim. The garrison was thus arranged: at the extreme west, close to the river, Justin, the son of Germanus, was in command; the battlements at the south-western point were occupied by the regiments of Martin; Angilas with Moorish peltasts and lancers, Theodore with his Tzanic infantry, Philomathius with his Isaurian slingers and javelin-men were placed due south; Lombard and Herul troops under Gibros were posted south-east; and in the extreme east, where the river washes the walls, were stationed the forces of the oriental prefecture under Valerian. At both extremities, in close proximity to the stations of Justin and Valerian, were moored large ships, from whose masts huge boats were securely swung; these boats supported large towers manned with soldiers and some bold sailors, who were equipped with bows, with divers sorts of missiles and engines to hurl them. Dabragezas the Wend, and Elmingir, a Hun, sailed to and fro in small double-sterned boats to prevent the ships from receiving any hurt.

The operations began with volleys of arrows, discharged by the Persian archers. Martin had given strict orders that the defenders should not leave their posts; but Angilas and Philo-

mathius, in spite of the protests of Theodore, were provoked into making a sally on the enemy. The Dilimnites, who happened to be posted opposite to the southern point of the wall, quietly awaited the approach of the Isaurians and Moors, whom Theodore with his Tzani reluctantly accompanied; the small number of the rash defenders was easily surrounded; and it only remained for them to retrieve their temerity and win an ambiguous glory by cutting their way, valiantly and hardly, back to the gates.

Meanwhile men had been busily engaged in filling up the foss, so that the battering-ram and the assailants might advance against the walls over level ground. The process was a slow one, although numberless hands were busy, for they had not sufficient earth and stones to fill the ditch completely, and the Romans had previously destroyed all the wood for miles around, so that they could only obtain that material by cutting it in a distant glen. It was not till the fall of evening that the foss had disappeared.

On the ensuing day Martin adopted a felicitous stratagem, by which he succeeded both in confirming the spirits of his soldiers and in spreading apprehensions among the enemy. He convoked the army for the purpose of consulting on measures for the defence of the city. When all were assembled, an unknown person, covered with dust and having the marks of travel about him, burst into the midst, and stating that he had come from Constantinople with an imperial message presented a letter to the general. Martin received it eagerly, but instead of reserving it for private perusal, and without even glancing over it, he read aloud so that all could hear. Perhaps, says the historian, the contents of the document were really different, but at all events the words recited were as follows:—

“We send you yet another army, not smaller than that which you have. It is true that if the enemy are more numerous, they do not surpass you in numbers so much as you surpass them in valour; so that the disproportion does not render you unequal. Nevertheless, that they may not be able to boast of superiority even in this one respect, we send you another army, for the sake of honour and display, not because it is necessary. Be of good courage and continue in your work with zeal; for we will not neglect any requisite measures.”

Being asked where the army was, the messenger said that

he had left it at the river Neocnus, about ten miles away. Martin feigned indignation, and said that he would never receive the new forces, nor permit that soldiers who had come at the last moment should share the glory and spoil with those who had borne the burden and heat. These sentiments were received with acclamation, and the garrison was animated to exertions more strenuous than ever. The report of the presence of Roman troops at Neocnus reached the Persian camp, and the besiegers trembled at the thought of facing a fresh and unwearied army. A large reconnoitring detachment was sent in that direction on the futile errand of watching for hostile forces that were never destined to come, because they did not exist.

Meanwhile Nachoragan, desiring to anticipate the arrival of the fictitious reinforcements, organised without delay a general attack on the walls, boasting that he would burn the city with all its inmates. The servants and workmen who attended the camp were despatched to the wood to cut timber, and were ordered, when they saw a smoke ascending to heaven in the distance, to learn that Phasis was in flames, and to return without delay that they might assist in hastening the progress of the conflagration. While the Persians were making these preparations, Justin, ignorant of the intended attack, was prompted by a pious inspiration—which, as it happened, proved fortunate in the event—to visit a holy church in the neighbourhood. Thither he rode to worship with 5000 soldiers, and his departure was unperceived by the besiegers, even as their operations were unperceived by him.

The attack began, and the air was soon obscured with arrows and darts, that rained like hail or snow. The wooden walls were hewn with axes wielded by the men in the *spalions*; but the defenders cast from the battlements huge blocks of stone, which broke the sutures of those slender engines, while stones, less immense, hurled from slings, shattered the helmets of the soldiers; and the missiles discharged by the men, who were suspended aloft in the towers attached to the ship-masts, descended with tremendous effect. When the excitement of battle had reached its intensest point, the troops of Justin returned from their pious errand. Perceiving the situation, and convinced that his excursion to the church had been the

direct inspiration of God, the general formed his cavalry in order, and raised aloft the standards. The Persians were absorbed in fighting in close proximity to the wall, and Justin's forces, attacking them on the west side, close to the sea, broke their line, and wrought great havoc among them. Filled with alarm, and supposing that their new assailants were the expected army from Neocnus, the enemy began to fall back from their position, and the Dilimnites, who were attacking (as on the previous day) the southern portion of the wall, seeing the confusion from afar off, rushed to the spot, leaving a few of their number behind. Angilas and Theodorus, who on the preceding day had made the unsuccessful excursion, seized the occasion to rush out and put to flight the small remnant of the Dilimnites; but on observing this their companions, who had run westward to assist the hard-pressed Persians, returned to support their fugitive countrymen. The spectacle of the Dilimnites rushing to and fro in this uncertain and disorderly manner communicated alarm to the Persians who were stationed near (in the south-west). Deeming that the behaviour of the bellicose Dilimnites presupposed a real and present danger, they bethought themselves of flight, and their panic reacted on the Dilimnites, unaware that their own conduct was its cause. When all these troops were seen fleeing over the plain, the Romans opened the gates, rushed in pursuit, and harassed the rear of the fugitives. Some of the enemy turned and formed a line, and an irregular battle was fought, in which the left wing of the Persians was completely routed, while the right wing forced the Romans at first to retreat; but the accident of an infuriated elephant turning against the ranks of its masters and maddening their horses, secured for the defenders of Phasis a full victory, and the Persian army was scattered. Nachoragan, stupefied by the unexpected course of events, gave the unnecessary command that all should flee. The loss incurred by his army was estimated at 10,000 men.

Returning from the pursuit, the victors burned the engines of the Persians and all the relics of their leaguer. The unfortunate woodcutters (about two thousand in number), ignorant of all that had passed, when they saw the smoke of the conflagration, returned in haste, as they thought, to share the

triumph, and, as they found, to be butchered by the Romans. The corpses of the fallen soldiers yielded a considerable spoil, not only of arms, but of golden necklets and earrings.

The discomfited Nachoragan retreated to Muchiresis, where he left the greater part of his army, and wintered himself in Iberia. All the western districts of Colchis now remained, undisputed, in the hands of the Romans.

The chief event of the following year (554 A.D.) was the expedition against the Misimiani, a people who lived to the north-east of the Apsilians. They had committed an outrage, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, in the previous spring, but the advance of Nachoragan had necessitated the postponement of revenge. Soterichus, accompanied by his two sons, had travelled from Byzantium with the new Lazic king, Tzathes, in order to distribute sums of money to allied tribes in the vicinity of Mount Caucasus. The Misimiani conceived the idea that the envoy intended to "betray to the Alans" one of their forts, and make it a centre for receiving the ambassadors of the more distant nations, so that he might not have to undergo the trouble and risk of traversing the Caucasian passes himself. They consequently sent two delegates to complain of the intention which they imputed to him, as he was bivouacking near the fort in question. Soterichus, who looked upon the barbarians with all the disdain of a ruling race, would not tolerate their impertinent remonstrances, and ordered his attendants to chastise them. Beaten with staves, they returned in a half-dead condition to their countrymen, while the Roman lord, thinking no more of the matter, composed himself carelessly to rest, and his sons and all his servants slept without posting a sentry or taking any precautions. The Misimiani, infuriated by the treatment of their representatives, stole to the tents in the middle of the night and slew Soterichus, his children, and almost all the rest; for even after the first alarm had spread, very few of them, heavy as they were with slumber and impeded with blankets, succeeded in escaping.

After this outrage—it can hardly be called anything but an outrage, as it so far exceeded its provocation—the Misimiani felt that they had taken an irretrievable step, and saw that

nothing was left but to seek the protection of the great enemy of the Empire. Nachoragan honoured their emissaries with a gratifying reception when they repaired to him in Iberia after his signal defeat at Phasis.

In spring the Romans determined to avenge the death of Soterichus and those who shared his fate. Buzes and Justin were left in the Island to protect Lazica, while four thousand soldiers were sent to the land of the Misimiani. Martin himself was soon to follow them. But when they reached the friendly country of Apsilia, through which their way lay, they found that the Persians had anticipated them, and sent troops to defend the land of their new allies. Not wishing to face the combined forces of the Misimiani and the Persians, the Romans spent the summer in the Apsilian fortresses, waiting until the Persians should retire. They retired on the approach of winter to Iberia and Cotaïs, and as Martin was hindered by illness from assuming the command, the Romans entered the borders of the Misimiani under two leaders of less note. Before proceeding to hostilities they sent an embassy of Apsilians, if perchance the renegade people would consent to submit themselves and restore the money they had taken from the tent of Soterichus. The reply of the Misimiani was the commission of a new outrage; they slaughtered the ambassadors. It might have been thought that after the departure of their allies they would have been glad to avoid the risks of waging war with a superior enemy; but the secret of their confidence lay in the wildness and difficulty of their territory, whose approach was protected by a mountain, which, though not high, was almost perpendicular and provided with only one narrow pass. The Romans, however, crossed it and entered the wide plains, before the dilatory barbarians had taken precautions to defend it. The Misimiani then retreated into a strong fort called Tzachar, or, from its impregnable strength, the "iron" fort.

About forty of the Roman cavalry, who happened to be riding apart from the main body, were suddenly attacked by six hundred of the enemy. The few horse soldiers, all of whom were picked men, ascended a small hill, and performed wonderful deeds of valour, suddenly rushing down on the barbarians and reascending as swiftly to their position on the

summit. On the appearance of the rest of the Roman troops on the top of a neighbouring hill, the Misimiani, supposing that the apparent accident was a concerted plan, took flight. The whole army pursued, and only eighty of the six hundred reached the secure refuge of Tzachar.

The Roman commanders, however, were neither harmonious nor energetic; they encamped in the vicinity of the fort, but not near enough to beleaguer it. Martin, on receiving tidings of the state of affairs, sent John Dacnas (who succeeded Rusticus as the distributor of imperial rewards to brave soldiers) to take the supreme command, and he, on his arrival, immediately instituted a strict blockade of the fortress.

Outside the actual walls of Tzachar, on a neighbouring rock perched amid precipitous ravines, were some dwellings, accessible only by a secret path. The inhabitants used to descend at night to draw water from a spring at the foot of the hill; and a certain Illus, who, it is hardly necessary to add, was an Isaurian, concealed himself close to the spot, and when the water-drawers ascended followed in their tracks. He noted carefully the direction of the path, and observed that only eight men were set to guard it. The general was informed of the discovery, and on the ensuing night a body of one hundred men made the steep ascent. Illus led the way, and was followed by Zipper, the squire of Marcellinus, after whom came Leontius the son of Dabragezas, and Theodore the captain of the Tzani:—

“When they had advanced more than half-way, the foremost saw distinctly the watch-fire burning, and the guards themselves reclining very close to it; seven of them were clearly asleep, and snored as they lay. Only one, leaning on his arm, had the attitude of one awake, and he too was overcome by sleepiness, and his head was heavy; nor was it yet evident what the result would be, as he was constantly nodding and then shaking himself up. At this juncture Leontius slipped in a miry place and fell; the fall broke his shield. At the loud clatter caused thereby all the watch leaped up in a state of terror and sat on their pallets; having drawn their swords they looked about everywhere, craning their necks, but they could not conjecture what it was that had happened. Illuminated themselves by the fire, they could not see the men who were standing in the gloom, and the noise, having fallen on their ears in sleep, was not quite clear or distinct enough to betray its cause, the fall of arms. The Romans, on the other hand, could see every detail of the scene. They halted, and stood as noiseless as if they were rooted to the earth; not the sound of a whisper passed their lips, not

the slightest motion agitated their feet ; they stood firm and fixed on whatever spot, whether a sharp stone or a bramble, they had chanced to step. Had they not done so, and had the sentinels received the least intimation of their presence, a huge stone would certainly have been dislodged and rolled down the steep to crush the advancing party. So they stood without motion of voice or body, even holding in and husbanding their breath. . . . The barbarians, perceiving no sign of danger, soon returned again to the pleasant occupation of slumber.

"Then the Romans advanced on them in their sleep and slew all, including the 'half-waking' man, as one might call him in jest. Then they proceeded fearlessly and scattered themselves about the streets of the village, and the trumpet sounded the battle-call. When the Misimiani heard this they were dumbfounded, and, not comprehending the situation, they arose and prepared to go into their neighbours' houses and assemble together. The Romans met them at the doors of their houses and received them with the salutation of the sword ; the slaughter was enormous. Some had already emerged and been despatched, others were just on the thresholds, and others yet were to follow and meet the same doom. The horror had no pause, for all pressed on to reach the street. Even the women, who had risen from their beds and rushed shrieking to the doors, were not spared by the Romans in their anger, but were ruthlessly slaughtered in retribution for the outrage committed by the men. Conspicuous among them was one comely woman, who came with a lighted torch, but even she was pierced in the stomach with a lance and perished pitifully, while one of the Romans seized the brand and set fire to the dwellings, which, built of straw and wood, were soon consumed. The flames mounted so high that the Apsilian nation, and tribes still further off, saw it and learned what had happened" (Agathias, iv. 18, 19).

We need not follow the distressing scene further. It is enough to remark that the historian expresses strong indignation at the massacre of the infants, who had no participation in the iniquities of their parents, and regards the reverse which a few hours later befell the invaders as a retribution of this cruelty.

About dawn the victorious party, stained with the blood of their enemies, rested amid the smouldering ruins of the village, thinking it superfluous to set a watch. Five hundred well-armed Misimiani issued from the fort and surprised them in their security ; some Romans were slain, and all the rest, rushing in wild consternation down the steep and stony ascent, reached the camp with wounds and bruises. After this all thought of holding the rock was abandoned, and the forces of the army were concentrated against the wall of the fort. The foss was filled up, siege machines were set in operation, and the garrison was hard pressed. A diversion was caused

by an attack on the palisades of the Roman camp; the enemy moved a *spalion* against it, but a javelin cast by a Slavonic soldier, Svarunes, inflicted a mortal wound on the foremost assailant, and caused the collapse of the engine.

Despairing of receiving any assistance from the Persians, and unable to cope with the superior skill and power of the Romans, the Misimiani decided to yield. Their ambassadors implored John Dacnas not to exterminate their race, reminding him that they were Christians, and confessing in accents of repentance their "uncivilised folly"; they had now been punished with more than adequate severity for their transgression. John gladly acceded to their supplication, their hostages were accepted, the money of which the tent of Soterichus had been rifled was restored,¹ and the penitent nation was pardoned. Only thirty men of the Roman army, which immediately returned to Colchis, were killed in this campaign.

Soon after this, apparently in the spring of 555, Martin was superseded in his command in Armenia and Colchis, and Justin appointed in his stead. The term of Justin's command was marked by no hostilities, for Chosroes, who, in consequence of the defeat at Phasis, had flayed alive the general Nachoragan, decided that it would be inexpedient to continue the war in a distant country which the enemy, being masters of the sea, could reach without difficulty, while his own armies were obliged to accomplish a long journey through desert regions. Isdigunas, also called Zich, was sent to Constantinople, and a provisional treaty was concluded on the terms that things were to remain *in statu quo*, the two parties retaining their respective possessions, cities or forts, in Lazica.

I have dwelt on the details of these wars at some length, partly because Gibbon has passed over them lightly as undeserving of the attention of posterity. But the idea of writing history for its own sake was strange to Gibbon, and in any case the operations in Lazica concerned serious interests. The question was at stake whether the great Asiatic power was to have access to the Euxine, and these operations decided that on the waters of that sea the Romans were to remain without rivals.

The conclusion of a fifty years' peace in 562 between

¹ 28,800 nomismata or solidi; about £18,000.

Rome and Persia forms the natural termination of this chapter. Peter the Patrician, as the delegate of Justinian, and Isdigunas, as the delegate of Chosroes, met on the frontiers of the realm to arrange conditions of peace.¹ The Persian monarch desired that the term of its duration should be long, and that the Romans should pay at once a sum of money equivalent to the total amount of large annual payments for thirty or forty years; the Romans, on the other hand, wished to fix a shorter term. The result of the negotiations was a compromise. A treaty was made for fifty years, the Roman government undertaking to pay the Persians at the rate of 30,000 aurei (£18,750) annually. The total amount due during the first seven years was to be paid at once, and at the beginning of the eighth year the Persian claim for the three ensuing years was to be satisfied. From the tenth year forward the payments were to be annual. The inscription of the Persian document, which ratified the compact, was as follows:—

“The divine, good, pacific, ancient Chosroes, king of kings, fortunate, pious, beneficent, to whom the gods have given great fortune and great empire, the giant of giants, who is formed in the image of the gods, to Justinian Caesar our brother.”

The style of this address, compared with the most imposing list of Justinian's titles, illustrates the difference between the oriental insanity of an Asiatic despot and the vanity of a Roman Emperor, which, even when it becomes intemperate, remains sane.

It will be instructive to enumerate the articles of the treaty, as they show the sort of questions that arose between the two powers:—

(1.) The Persians were bound to prevent Huns, Alans, and other barbarians from traversing the pass of Chorutzon (or Tzur) or that of the Caspian gates with a view to depredation in Roman territory; while the Romans were bound not to send an army to those regions or to any other parts of the Persian territory. (2.) The Saracen allies of both States were included in this peace. (3.) Roman and Persian merchants, whatever their wares, were to carry on their traffic by certain prescribed routes, where custom-houses were stationed, and by no others. (4.) Ambassadors between the two States were to have the privilege of making use of the public posts, and their baggage was not to be subjected to custom duties.

¹ Our source for these transactions is Menander Protector, fr. 11, ed. Müller (*F. H. G.* iv.)

(5.) Provision was made that Saracen or other traders should not smuggle goods into either Empire by out-of-the-way roads; Daras and Nisibis were named as the two great emporia where these barbarians were to sell their wares.¹ (6.) Henceforward the migration of individuals from the territory of one State into that of the other was not to be permitted; but such as had deserted during the war were allowed to return if they wished. (7.) Disputes between Romans and Persians were to be settled—if the accused failed to satisfy the claim of the plaintiff—by a committee of men who were to meet on the frontiers in the presence of both a Roman and a Persian governor. (8.) To prevent dissension, both States bound themselves to refrain from fortifying towns in proximity to the frontier. (9.) Neither State was to harry or attack any of the subject tribes or nations of its neighbour. (10.) The Romans engaged not to place a large garrison in Daras, and also that the *magister militum* of the East² should not be stationed there; if any injury in the neighbourhood of that city were inflicted on Persian soil, the governor of Daras was to pay the costs. (11.) In the case of any treacherous dealing, as distinct from open violence, which threatened to disturb the peace, the judges on the frontier were to investigate the matter, and if their decision was insufficient, it was to be referred to the master of soldiers in the East; the final appeal was to be made to the sovereign of the injured person. (12.) Curses were imprecated on the party that should violate the peace. (13.) The term of the peace was fixed for fifty years.

A codicil to the treaty provided for the toleration of the Christians and their rites of burial in the Persian kingdom. They were to enjoy immunity from the persecution of the magi, and, on the other hand, they were to refrain from proselytising. One small question remained still undecided, the question of Suania, which both Persians and Romans claimed as a dependency; but, although it continued to form the subject of tedious negotiations, it was not allowed to interfere with the concluding of the peace.

¹ The word for smuggling is *κλεπτο-τελωνεῖν*.

² In both these cases the same expression is used, *τὸν τῆς ἐξ στρατηγόν*, and must refer to the same officer. The Latin translation in Müller's edition is misleading, if not positively erroneous;

in the first place the words are rendered *dux orientis*, in the second place *praefectum orientis*, which would naturally mean the praetorian prefect of the East. The reference of legal disputes to the master of soldiers is noteworthy.

CHAPTER X

THE LATER YEARS OF JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

JUSTINIAN'S policy aimed not only at extending the limits of the Empire in the West at the cost of German nations, but also at diffusing his influence among minor peoples and tribes on other frontiers. In fact he pursued an *imperial* policy, in the modern sense of the term. Lazica became dependent on the Empire, and the appointment of a Lazic king rested with his suzerain the Emperor. The Tzani and the Apsilians occupied a similar position. Conversion to Christianity usually attended the establishment of such relations. Justinian had the glory of superintending the baptism of Gretes, king of the Heruls, and Gordas, king of the Huns, who lived near Bosphorus¹; he had the privilege of converting the Abasgians and the Nobadae to the true religion, and of sending a bishop and clergy to the king of the Axumites. It is recorded that Zamanarzus, the king of the Iberians, came to Constantinople and was admitted to Justinian's friendship, and Theodora presented his wife with pearl ornaments.²

An event occurred which increased Roman influence in southern Arabia. Roman merchants bound for the land of Abyssinia were obliged to pass through the kingdom of the Homerites or Himyarites, which was ruled by Damian in the early part of Justinian's reign. Damian adopted the imprudent policy of plundering and slaying the traders who passed

¹ Theophanes, *Chron.* ad 6020 A.M. (527, 528 A.D.) As to the Tzani, cf. Nov. xxxi. (ed. Zachariä) 535 A.D., ἡ Τζάνων χώρα νῦν πρῶτον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατακτηθεῖσα.

² *Ib.* 6027 A.M. (534, 535 A.D.) This gift reminds us that Theodora herself is represented as adorned with pearls in the well-known mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna.

through his dominions, and the consequence was that the commerce between the Empire and Abyssinia ceased. Then Adad, the king of Axum (as Abyssinia was called), said to Damian, "You have injured my kingdom"; and they made war. And Adad said, "If I defeat the Homerites, I will become a Christian." He took Damian alive, and subdued the land of Yemen. True to his promise, he besought Justinian to send him a bishop and clergy, and an Abyssinian church was founded.¹

Less promising converts to Christianity were the Heruls, proverbially notorious for brutish habits and stupidity,² who had first sought an asylum with the Gepids, but were soon driven away on account of their intolerable manners. Then admitted into the Empire by Anastasius, they incurred his resentment and chastisement. Justinian made corps of Heruls a standing part of his army.

In the year 548 four envoys arrived at Constantinople from the Goths of Crimea, who are known as the Tetraxite Goths, to request Justinian to send them a new bishop, as their bishop had died. These Goths were presumably converted in the fourth century, and not joining in the westward movement of the other tribes of their nationality, lived quietly in a secluded nook in the peninsula of Bosporus and Cherson. Their religion no longer possessed the distinctive marks of Arianism, though originally they were Arians. Procopius says that their religion was simple and pious.³ Thus in the Crimea, where Justinian had already made the city of Bosporus an imperial dependency, the Tetraxite Goths acknowledged his supremacy.

There was some reason for the fears of Chosroes, and for the words which Procopius puts into the mouth of the Armenian ambassadors concerning Justinian, "The whole world does not contain him,"—and that was in 539. At that time, as the ambassadors said, besides having subdued Africa and Sicily and almost subdued Italy, he had imposed the yoke of servitude on

¹ Theophanes, *Chron.* ad 6035 A.M. (542, 543 A.D.) Theophanes calls the realm of Axum ἡ ἐνδοτέρα Ἰνδία. Coins show that Greek was known in the country for some time after the introduction of Christianity, and disappeared only about the seventh century. Aure-

lian conquered the Axumites (Vopiscus, 33, 4). On the "Axumitic Kingdom," see an essay by Dillmann in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1878.

² See Procopius, *B. G.* ii. 14.

³ *Ib.* iv. 4.

the Tzani and the yoke of tribute on the Armenians; he had set a Roman *dux* over "the king of the wretched Lazi"; he had sent military governors to the Bosporites, who were formerly subject to the Huns, and had added a city to his sway; he had made an alliance with the Ethiopians; the Homerites and the Red Sea were included in his rule, and the land of palms (ὁ Φοινικῶν). Before he died he had completely reduced Italy, as well as the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and he had recovered a portion of Spain for the Roman Empire. The Franks, however, ceased to revere the Empire as they had been wont, and began to coin their own gold money without the Emperor's image, although no other barbarian king, not even the Sassanid, was permitted, according to Procopius, by the conditions of commerce, to impress his own effigy on gold coins.¹

It has already been noticed that a medieval gloom pervades the second period of this reign, and affects the Emperor, who applies himself more and more to the ecclesiastical side of his policy. The observations of Agathias on this later character, with special reference to military affairs, are instructive²:—

"When the Emperor conquered all Italy and Libya, and waged successfully those mighty wars, and of the princes who reigned at Constantinople was the first to show himself an absolute sovereign in fact as well as in name—after these things had been achieved by him in his youth and vigour, and when he entered on the last stage of life, he seemed to be weary of labours,³ and preferred to create discord among his foes or to mollify them with gifts, and so keep off their hostilities, instead of trusting in his own forces and shrinking from no danger. He consequently allowed the troops to decline in strength, because he expected that he would not require their services. And those who were second to himself in authority, on whom it was incumbent to collect the taxes and supply the army with necessary provisions, were infected with the same indifference, and either openly kept back the rations altogether or paid them long after they were due; and when the debt was paid at last, persons skilled in the rascally science of arithmetic demanded back from the soldiers what had been given them. It was their privilege to bring various

¹ Proc. *B. G.* iii. 33.

² Bk. v. 14. Complaints of Justinian's treatment of the army, substantially agreeing with this passage of Agathias, will be found in the *Secret History*, cap. 24, where it is mentioned

that the logothetæ stopped promotion.

³ Compare what Menander says in fr. 4, but it is probable that his statement of Justinian's *ἀσθυνα* rests on this passage of Agathias.

charges against the soldiers, and deprive them of their food. . . . Thus the army was neglected, and the soldiers, pressed by hunger, left their profession to embrace other modes of life."

Thus the decay of the army was one of the chief characteristics of this period. The Asiatic provinces were slowly recovering after the plague; the Balkan provinces were subject to the constant irruptions of barbarians; and all were oppressed by the severe fiscal system, which the execution of Justinian's designs in the West did not permit him to relax. The establishment of monopolies, which was a feature of his policy, aimed at increasing his revenues, without regard to their effects on trade; nevertheless he encouraged commerce, and the wars which were carried on in Persia probably concerned mercantile interests a great deal more than historians indicate. Although John of Cappadocia partially did away with the *cursus publicus*, the Emperor was active in improving roads and constructing bridges in the provinces, thereby facilitating commerce; but he seems to have made the custom duties at Abydos and at the entrance to the Euxine heavier, and perhaps even farmed this source of revenue.

Justinian's reign is notable in the history of industry for the introduction of silk manufacture into Europe.¹ Certain monks arrived from India and sought an interview with the Emperor. They informed him that, having lived long in Serinda (China), they had learned a method by which silk could be made in the Roman Empire, so that the Romans would no longer be obliged to obtain the precious material through their enemies the Persians. The liberal promises of Justinian induced them to return to "India," and they succeeded in bringing back safely eggs of silkworms. Some years later, when the Turks came to the court of Justinian's successor, they were surprised when they were shown the silk manufactories, "for at that time they possessed all the markets and harbours of the Chinese."²

There has probably never been a period in which more public works were executed than the reign of Justinian. New towns were founded, innumerable churches were erected, aque-

¹ See Procopius, *B. G.* iv. 17. Theophanes of Byzantium tells a different story (fr. 3). According to him, a Persian from China brought the "sperm of the worms in a hollow

wand" (narthex) to Byzantium.

² Theophanes *Byz. ib.* I do not attempt to discuss the relation of the Turks and the Seres.

ducts were constructed,¹ bridges were built; cities were fortified, extended, or restored and enriched with new baths and palaces; the mere enumeration of these results of Justinian's activity would fill pages.² It may be doubted whether the expenses which he thus incurred would be justified by the rules of a prudent economy; his "mania" for building certainly furnished a ground of complaint for the party of opposition to use against him. Yet his works, both secular and sacred, were useful, and under ordinary conditions should have contributed to the prosperity of the Empire. New roads and secure bridges facilitated commerce, aqueducts and fortifications provided for the health and the safety of the inhabitants, while the erection of churches by the Emperor tended to strengthen the ties between the provinces and the central government. The enormous outlay on the building of St. Sophia, the creation of Anthemius, needs no justification.

Earthquakes were frequent in the days of Justinian, who did his utmost to alleviate their effects. Antioch suffered in 526, Pompeiopolis in 536, Cyzicus in 543. In 551 there were great physical disturbances in Greece; 4000 inhabitants were engulfed at Patrae. Three years later an earthquake destroyed many cities both in the islands and on the mainland, causing great loss of life. Among the rest, it reduced to ruin Berytus, then "the pride (*ἐγκαλλώπισμα*) of Phoenicia," and hardly a trace of that city's splendid buildings was left. Berytus was the seat of a law school, and many educated strangers who had gone thither to study law perished, so that the misfortune was unusually tragic. While the city was being rebuilt, the professors of law (*ὀφηγηταί*) lectured in Sidon. This earthquake was so severe that a slight shock was felt even at Alexandria, where the historian Agathias was sojourning at the time.³ All the inhabitants were terrified at the unwonted sensation, and none

¹ At Trapezus, Nicaea, Perinthus, Libyan Ptolemais, and Alexandria. The aqueduct at Alexandria is mentioned by Malalas. Justinian strengthened the corn magazine at Alexandria; a strong building was necessary, as in times of scarcity the populace tried to storm it. Caesarea in Cappadocia was improved by a change in the fortifications. Ni-

comedia and Nicaea were enriched with new buildings. Next to St. Sophia, the most important church which Justinian erected in the East was that of the Virgin at Jerusalem (*Proc. de Aed.* v. 6).

² See the work of Procopius in Six Books *περὶ κτισμάτων* (*de Aedificiis*).

³ Agath. ii. 15.

remained in the houses. Although the shock was slight, there was some reason for their terror, as the houses at Alexandria were of very unsubstantial structure. The island of Cos suffered more than any other tract of land. Agathias visited it in returning from Alexandria to Constantinople, and found it in a state of utter desolation. Three years later another earthquake visited the region of Byzantium and threatened to destroy the whole city. It was peculiarly severe both in violence and duration, and Agathias gives us a vivid account of its horrors and moral effects. The only victim of distinction was the curator of the palace, Anatolius, who perished by the fall of a marble slab fixed in the wall close to his bed. I mention this for the sake of Agathias' comment. Many people said that it was a providential punishment of Anatolius for acts of injustice and oppression. "I doubt it," said Agathias,¹ "for an earthquake would be a most desirable and excellent thing if it knew how to discriminate the bad from the good, slaying those and passing these by. But, even granting that he was unjust, there were many more like him, and worse, who escaped unharmed. And besides," he adds, "if Plato is right, the man who is punished in this life is more fortunate than he who is allowed to live in his sins."

As Justinian grew old and weak and had no issue, an element which affected political life in Constantinople was the question of the succession to the throne. It led to a sort of party rivalry between the relations of Theodora and the relations of Justinian; and the difficulty was ultimately solved by the marriage of Sophia, Theodora's niece, with Justin, Justinian's nephew. While she was alive Theodora had looked with disfavour on Justinian's kin.² She died in 548 (27th June), and perhaps it was the loss of her that clouded the spirits and depressed the energy of the Emperor in his later years.

The conspiracy which was formed against the life of the Emperor in 548 was of no serious political importance; it was organised by a pair of dissatisfied Armenians, who owed

¹ v. 8.

² The statement of the *Secret History* that she hated Germanus and prevented his sons from marrying is quite credible (cap. 5).

Justinian a personal grudge.¹ Artabanes, the commander in Africa, had overthrown the usurper Gontharis and delivered from his hands the Emperor's niece Praejecta, whose husband Areobindus had been put to death by the tyrant. From gratitude, not from love, Praejecta consented to become the wife of Artabanes, who aspired to an alliance with the imperial house; and the count of Africa hastened to surrender the newly conferred dignity and obtain his recall from Justinian, that he might return to Constantinople, whither Praejecta had preceded him, and celebrate the marriage. He was received with open arms in the capital; he became *magister militum in praesenti* and captain of the *foederati*; his tall and dignified stature, his concise speech, and his generosity won the admiration of all. But an unexpected obstacle to the proposed marriage occurred in the person of a previous wife, whom he had put away many years before. As long as Artabanes was an obscure individual, the lady was contented to leave him in peace and give no sign of her existence; but when he suddenly rose to fame, she determined to assert her conjugal rights, and, as a wronged woman, she implored the aid of Theodora. The Empress, "whose nature it was to undertake the cause of injured women," compelled the unwilling master of soldiers to take his wife once more to his bosom, and Praejecta became the bride of John, the son of Pompeius and grandson of the Emperor Anastasius. Shortly after this the Empress died, and Artabanes immediately put away for the second time his unwelcome wife, but Praejecta was lost to him, and he nourished a grudge against the Emperor.

Had it depended only on himself, Artabanes would never have undertaken any sinister design, but a countryman of his, named Arsaces, a descendant of the Parthian Arsacidae, was animated with a bitter desire of revenge upon Justinian, who had inflicted a comparatively light punishment on him for treacherous correspondence with Chosroes; and he diligently fanned into flame the less eager feelings of Artabanes. He reminded him that he had lost the bride he desired and been obliged to submit to the presence of the wife he hated; he urged the facility of despatching Justinian, "who is accustomed to sit without guards in the Museum, in the company

¹ Our source for this conspiracy is Procopius, *B. G.* iii. 31, 32.

of old priests, till late hours of the night, deep in the study of the holy books of the Christians." Above all, he expressed his conviction that Germanus would readily take part in such a conspiracy. For Boraides, the brother of Germanus, had on his death left almost all his property to his brother, allowing his wife and daughter to receive only as much as was legally necessary. But Justinian had altered the will so as to favour the daughter, and this was felt by Germanus, her uncle, as a grievance.

When he had won Artabanes to his plan, Arsaces opened communications with Justin, the eldest son of Germanus. Having bound him by oath not to reveal the conversation to any person except his father, he enlarged on the manner in which the Emperor ill treated and passed over his relations, and expressed his conviction that it would go still harder with them when Belisarius arrived. He did not hesitate to reveal the plan of assassination which he had formed in conjunction with Artabanes and Chanaranges, a young and frivolous Armenian who had been admitted to their counsels.

Justin, terrified at this revelation, laid it before his father, who immediately consulted with Marcellus, the prefect of the palatine guards, as to whether it would be wise to inform the Emperor immediately. Marcellus, an honourable, austere, and wary man, dissuaded Germanus from taking that course, on the ground that such a communication, necessitating a private interview with the Emperor, would inevitably become known to the conspirators and lead to Arsaces' escape. He proposed to investigate the matter himself beforehand, and it was arranged that Arsaces should be lured to speak in the presence of a concealed witness. Justin appointed a day and hour for an interview between Germanus and Arsaces, and the compromising revelations were overheard by Leontius, a friend of Marcellus, who was hidden behind a cloth screen. The programme of the matured plot was to wait for the arrival of Belisarius and slay the Emperor and his general at the same time; for if Justinian were slain beforehand, the revolutionists might not be able to contend against the military forces of Belisarius. When the deed was done, Germanus was to be proclaimed Emperor.

Marcellus still hesitated to reveal the plot to the Emperor,

out of friendship or pity for Artabanes. But when Belisarius was drawing nigh to the capital, he could hesitate no longer, and Justinian ordered the conspirators to be arrested. Germanus and Justin were at first not exempted from suspicion, but when the senate inquired into the case, the testimony of Marcellus and Leontius, and two other officers to whom Germanus had prudently disclosed the affair, completely cleared them. Even then Justinian was still indignant that they had concealed the treason so long, and was not mollified until the candid Marcellus took all the blame of the delay upon himself. The conspirators were treated with clemency, being confined in the palace and not in the public prison. It is to be concluded from the words of Procopius, which are not express, that they were ultimately pardoned.

The policy of Justinian in playing off one barbarian people against another is well exemplified in his dealings with the Cotrigur and Utrigur Huns,¹ who dwelt on the northern shores of the Euxine. It appears that the Gepids called in the help of the former against their neighbours and rivals the Lombards. Twelve thousand Cotrigurs, under the warrior Chinialus, answered the call, and arrived a year before the truce which existed between the Gepids and their foes had expired. The Gepids persuaded their guests to occupy the interval by invading the provinces of the Empire. Justinian, who was in the habit of allowing large donations both to the Cotriguri and Utriguri, sent a message to Sandichl, the chief of the latter, and chid him for his supineness in allowing his neighbours to advance against the Empire. New gifts induced the Utriguri to march against the land of the invaders, and the Roman allies were reinforced by two thousand Tetraxite Goths. The Cotrigur Huns were defeated with great slaughter in their own territory; their wives and children were led captive beyond the river Tanais, which separated the two countries, and many thousand prisoners, who languished in slavery, were enabled to escape. The invaders then withdrew beyond the Roman borders, having received a sum of money from the Roman captain Aratius; but two thousand Huns,² who had fled before the Utrigurs, threw

¹ Also written Coturguri and Uturguri. See Procopius, *B. G.* iv. cap. 18, 19.

² One of their leaders was Sinnio, who had served with Belisarius in the Vandalic war.

themselves on the mercy of the Emperor and were graciously allowed to settle in a district of Thrace. The news of this clemency exasperated the Utrigurs; Sandichl sent envoys to remonstrate, but the gifts and soft words of Justinian appeased their resentment.

A great invasion of the Cotrigur Huns, under Zabergan, took place in the last months of 558.¹ The real motive, as Agathias remarks, was the greed of an uncivilised barbarian, though Zabergan cloaked it with the complaint that the Emperor had been friendly with Sandichl, the king of the Utrigur Huns. The invader crossed the frozen Danube, and, passing unopposed through Scythia and Moesia, entered Thrace, where he divided his hordes into three armies. One was sent westward to Greece, to ravage the unprotected country, the second was sent into the Thracian Chersonese to capture the towns of Aphrodisias, Thescus, Ciberis, Sestos, and the ugly little Kallipolis, which belied its name, and to seize ships and cross to Abydos; the third army, consisting of seven thousand cavalry, marched under Zabergan himself to Constantinople.

The terrible ravages and cruelties committed by the third and main body are thus described by the contemporary writer Agathias:—

“As no resistance was offered to their course, they overran and plundered everything mercilessly, obtaining a great booty and large numbers of captives. Among the rest, well-born women of chaste life were most cruelly carried off to undergo the worst of all misfortunes, and minister to the unbridled lust of the barbarians; some who in early youth had renounced marriage and the cares and pleasures of this life, and had immured themselves in some religious retreat, deeming it of the highest importance to be free from cohabitation with men, were dragged from the chambers of their virginity and violated. Many married women who happened to be pregnant were dragged away, and when their hour was come brought forth children on the march, unable to conceal their throes, or to take up and swaddle the new-born babes; they were hauled along, in spite of all, hardly allowed even time to suffer, and the wretched infants were left where they fell, a prey for dogs and birds, as though this were the purpose of their appearance in the world.

“To such a pass had the Roman Empire come that, even within the

¹ The Huns were almost a whole year in Roman territory (Agath. v. ii. *sqq.*) See Clinton, *F. R. ad* 559 A.D.; but the date is doubtful, see above, note, p. 454.

precincts of the districts surrounding the imperial city, a *very small* number of barbarians committed such enormities. Their audacity went so far as to pass the long walls and approach the inner fortifications. For time and neglect had in many places dilapidated the great wall, and other parts were easily thrown down by the barbarians, as there was nought to repel them—no military garrison, no engines of defence, nor persons to employ such. Not even the bark of a dog was to be heard; the wall was less efficiently protected than a pig-sty or sheep-cot. For the Roman armies had not continued so numerous as in the days of ancient Emperors, but had dwindled to a small number, and no longer were sufficient for the size of the State. The whole force should have been six hundred and forty-five thousand fighting men, but actually it hardly amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand. And of these, some were in Italy, others in Africa, others in Spain, others in Colchis, others at Alexandria and in the Thebaid, a few on the Persian frontier (where only a few were needed on account of the peace)."

The Huns encamped at Melantias, a village on the small river Athyras, which flows into the Propontis. Their proximity created a panic in Constantinople, whose inhabitants saw imminent the horrors of sieges, conflagrations, and famine. The terror was not confined to the lower classes; the nobles trembled in their palaces, the Emperor was alarmed on his throne. All the treasures of the churches, which were scattered in the tract of country included between the Euxine and the Golden Horn, were either carted into the city or shipped to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. The undisciplined corps of the Scholarian guards, ignorant of real warfare, who were supposed to defend the gates, did not inspire the citizens with much confidence.

On this critical occasion Justinian appealed to his veteran general Belisarius to save the seat of empire. In spite of his years and feebleness Belisarius put on his helmet and cuirass once more, and he won greater glory among the men of his time by saving New Rome on the Bosphorus than he had won by recovering Old Rome on the Tiber. He relied chiefly on a small body of three hundred men who had fought with him in Italy; the other troops that he mustered knew nothing of war, and they were more for appearance than for action. The peasants who had fled before the barbarians from their ravaged homesteads in Thrace accompanied the little army. He encamped at the village of Chettus, and employed the peasants in the congenial work of digging a wide trench round the camp. Spies were sent out to discover the numbers of the enemy, and at

night a large number of beacons were kindled in the plain with the purpose of misleading the Huns as to the number of the forces sent out against them. For a while they were misled, but it was soon known that the Roman army was small, and two thousand cavalry selected by Zabergan rode forth to annihilate it. The spies informed Belisarius of the enemy's approach, and he made a skilful disposition of his troops. He concealed two hundred peltasts and javelin-men in the woods on either side of the plain, close to the place where he expected the attack of the barbarians; the ambuscaders, at a given signal, were to shower their missiles on the hostile ranks. The object of this was to compel the lines of the enemy to close in, in order to avoid the javelins on the flank, and thus to render their superior numbers useless through inability to deploy. Belisarius himself headed the rest of the army; in the rear followed the rustics, who were not to engage in the battle, but were to accompany it with loud shouts and cause a clatter with wooden beams, which they carried for that purpose.

All fell out as Belisarius had planned. The Huns, pressed by the peltasts, thronged together, and were hindered both from using their bows and arrows with effect, and from circumventing the Roman wings. The noise of the rustics in the rear, combined with the attack on the flanks, gave the foe the impression that the Roman army was immense, and that they were being surrounded; clouds of dust obscured the real situation, and the barbarians turned and fled. Four hundred perished before they reached their camp at Melantias, while not a single Roman was mortally wounded. The camp was immediately abandoned, and all the Huns hurried away, imagining that the victors were still on their track. But by the Emperor's orders Belisarius did not pursue them.

We must now follow the fortunes of the Hunnic troops who were sent against the Chersonese. Germanus, the son of Dorotheus, a native of Prima Justiniana, had been appointed some time previously commandant in that peninsula, and he now proved himself a capable officer. As the Huns could make no breach in the great wall, which shut in the peninsula, and was skilfully defended by the dispositions of Germanus, they resorted to the expedient of manufacturing boats of reeds fastened together in sheaves; each boat was large

enough to hold four men ; one hundred and fifty were constructed, and six hundred fully armed soldiers embarked secretly in the bay of Aenus (near the mouth of the Hebrus), in order to land on the south-western coast of the Chersonese. Germanus learned the news of their enterprise with delight, and immediately manned twenty galleys with armed men.

The armament of reed-built boats was easily annihilated, not a single barbarian escaping. This success was followed up by an excursion of the Romans from the wall against the army of the dispirited besiegers ; the latter abandoned their enterprise and joined Zabergan, who was also retreating after the defeat at Chettus.

Soon after this the other division of the Huns, which had been sent in the direction of Greece, returned without having achieved any signal success. They had not penetrated farther than Thermopylae, where the garrison of the fort that commanded the pass prevented their advance.

Thus, although Thrace, and presumably also Macedonia and Thessaly, suffered terribly from this invasion, Zabergan was unsuccessful in all three points of attack, owing to the ability of Belisarius, Germanus, and the garrison of Thermopylae. Justinian redeemed the captives for a considerable sum of money, and the Cotrigurs retreated beyond the Danube. But the wily Emperor laid a trap for their destruction. He despatched a characteristic letter to Sandichl, the friendly king of the Utrigurs, whose friendship he had cultivated by periodical presents of money. He informed Sandichl that the Cotrigurs had invaded Thrace and carried off all the gold that was destined to enrich the treasury of the Utriguric monarch. "It would have been easy for us," ran the imperial letter, "to have destroyed them utterly, or at least to have sent them empty away. But we did neither one thing nor the other, because we wished to test your sentiments. For if you are really valiant and wise, and not disposed to tolerate the appropriation by others of what belongs to you, you are not losers ; for you have nothing to do but punish the enemy and receive from them your money at the sword's point, as though we had sent it to you by their hands." The Emperor further threatened that, if Sandichl proved himself craven enough to let the insult pass, he would transfer his amity to the Cotri-

gurs. The letter had the desired effect; the seeds of discord were sown; the Utrigurs were stirred up against their neighbours, and a series of ceaseless hostilities wasted the strength of the two nations.¹

After the repulse of the Huns, Belisarius lived in high honour at Constantinople, but was perhaps an object of suspicion to Justinian. A conspiracy to murder the Emperor was discovered in November 562, and one of the names mentioned by a culprit who confessed was that of the general, now nearly seventy years old. His age did not serve to acquit him of treasonable designs, and he remained in disgrace for eight months, until July 563, when he was restored to favour. The great Patrician died in March 565,² his wife, Antonina, who had already passed the age of eighty, surviving him; but his riches passed to Justinian, who died in the following November.³

¹ A short account of this transaction will be found in a fragment, probably of the Chronicle of Malalas, but included by Müller (*F. H. G.* iv.) in the fragments of John of Antioch, — evidently taken from Agathias. Menander (fr. 3) states that Sandichl promised to deprive the Cotrigurs of their horses, and thereby disable them for the invasion of Roman territory. In 562 there was another invasion of Huns (Theoph. 6054 A.M.) Anastasiopolis was taken by them (April).

² For the conspiracy in which Belisarius was said to be implicated, see Malalas and Theophanes. The legend that Belisarius ended his days as a blind beggar in the streets of Byzantium is, as has been suggested, possibly due to a confusion with John of Cappadocia, of whom it is related that he begged for pence (Proc. B. l. i., ἀπὸν ἢ ὀβολὸν ἐκ τῶν προσπιπτόντων). The authori-

ties for the story are lines of Joannes Tzetzes and a passage in the *Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*, whose author is not known, but perhaps flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century. See the second Appendix in Finlay's *History of Greece*, vol. i., where the evidence for, and origin of, the story are discussed. A similar story is told of Symbatius the Armenian, son-in-law of Michael III, in the ninth century; one of his eyes was put out, his right hand cut off, and he was set in a public place with a vessel in his lap to receive the pence of the charitable.

Another legend prevailed in the West as to the end of Belisarius. According to Fredegarius (*Hist. Franc. Epit.* cap. 50), he was slain by the Franks in Italy, and this tale was adopted by Aimoin.

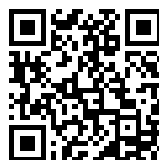
³ 14th November, *Chron. Pasch.* (and Clinton); 11th November, Theophanes.

END OF VOL. I

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A HISTORY
OF THE
LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

FROM ARCADIUS TO IRENE

(395 A.D. TO 800 A.D.)

BY

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LIST OF CALIPHS (632-800 A.D.)

	A. D.
Abu Bekr	632
Omar I	634
Othman	644
Muaviah I }	656
Ali }	
Muaviah I	661
Yezid I	680
Muaviah II	683
Mervan I	683
Abd Almalik	685
Welid I	705
Suleiman	715
Omar II	717
Yezid II	720
Hischam	724
Welid II	743
Yezid III	744
Mervan II	744

End of Omeyyad dynasty in 750.

ABBASID DYNASTY.

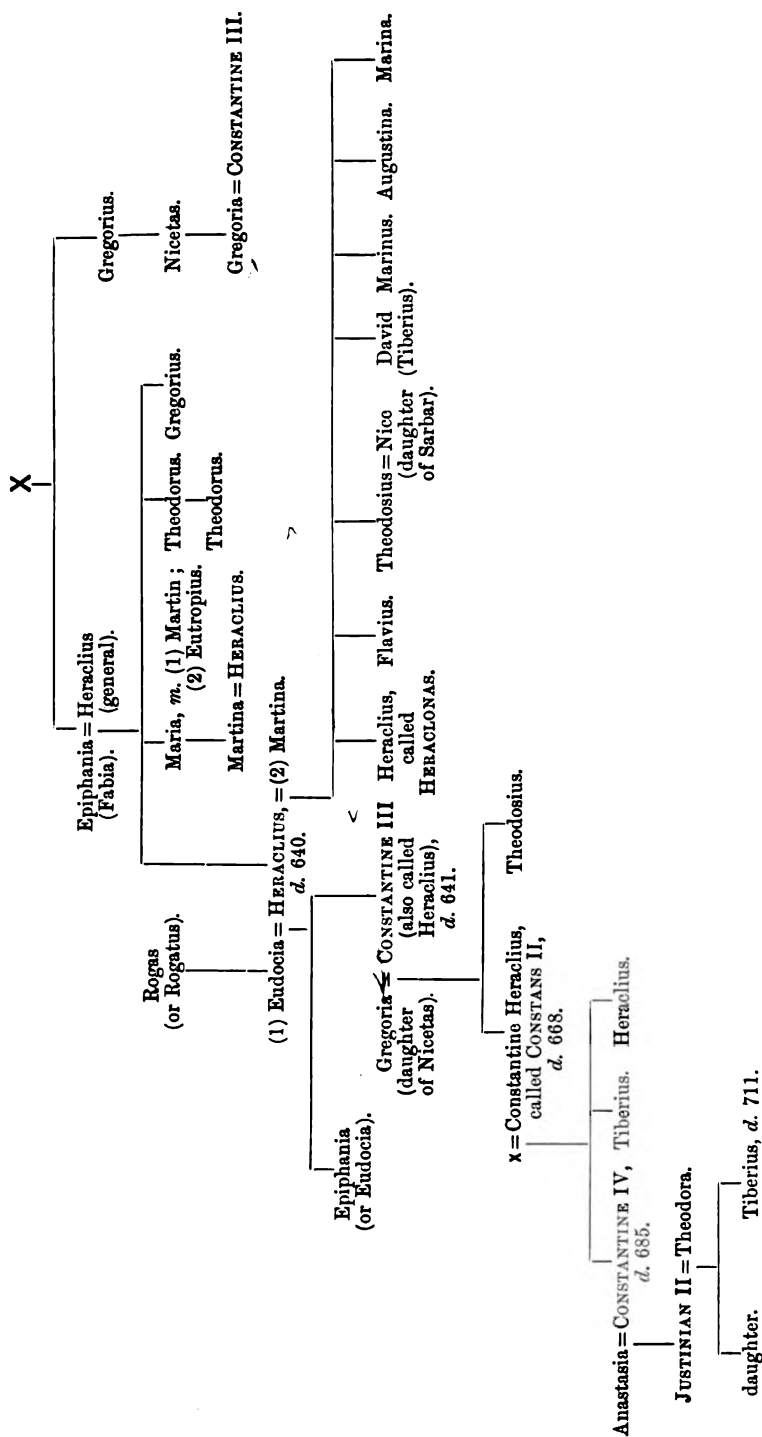
Abd Allah (Abu-l-Abbas)	750
Abu Djafar Manssur	754
Mahdi	775
Hadi	785
Harun Arraschid	786

ANNEX A

14150

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF HERACLIUS



**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE FROM THE ACCESSION
OF JUSTIN II, 565, TO THE DEATH OF
IRENE, 802**

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
565	13-14	6057-8	Justin II.	Embassy of Avars arrives at Constantinople.
567	15-1	6059-60		Lombards and Avars overthrow Gepid kingdom.
568	1-2	6060-1		Lombards enter Italy.
569	2-3	6061-2		Embassy of Turks to Constantinople.
571	4-5	6063-4		Duchy of Beneventum founded.
572	5-6	6064-5		War with Persia begins. Campaign of Marcian.
573	6-7	6065-6		Roman victory at Sargathon. Persians invade Syria.
574	7-8	6066-7		Death of Alboin.
575	8-9	6067-8		Daras taken by Persians. Tiberius defeated by Avars. Tiberius made Caesar and regent.
576	9-10	6068-9		Peace for three years with Persia (except in Persarmenia).
577	10-11	6069-70	Tiberius II.	Chosroes defeated near Melitene.
578	11-12	6070-1		Slaves invade Illyricum and Thrace, and settle in Roman territory. Maurice invades Arzanene and Cordyene (date uncertain).
579	12-13	6071-2		Death of Chosroes Nushirvan.
581	14-15	6073-4		Sirmium lost to the Avars.
582	15-1	6074-5	Maurice.	Treaty with Avars. Roman victory at Constantina.

A. D.	INDICTION.	A. M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
583	1-2	6075-6		Avars seize Singidunum, etc. Battle of the Nymphius.
584	2-3	6076-7		Treaty with Avars. Autharis, king of Lombards. Death of Chilperic. Revolt of Hermenigild against Leovi- gild.
585	3-4	6077-8		Birth of the prince Theo- dosius.
586	4-5	6078-9		Victory of Romans (under Philippicus) at Solachon. Avars harry Moesia.
587	5-6	6079-80		Campaign of Comentiolus against Avars.
588	6-7	6080-1		Disaffection in eastern army.
589	7-8	6081-2		Martyropolis taken by Persians. Comentiolus wins a battle near Nisibis.
590	8-9	6082-3		Varahran rebels and becomes king of Persia. Monte Cassino rendered desolate. Agilulf king of Lombards. Gregory (the Great) becomes Pope.
591	9-10	6083-4		Maurice restores Chosroes II to the Persian throne. Peace with Persia. Avars invade Thrace.
592	10-11	6084-5		Expedition of Priscus against the Slaves.
593	11-12	6085-6		Campaign of Peter.
596	14-15	6088-9		Mission of St. Augustine to Britain.
597	15-1	6089-90		Peter's expedition against Slaves. Avars besiege Thes- salonica.
598	1-2	6090-1		Avars besiege Singidunum and invade Dalmatia.
599	2-3	6091-2		Avars invade Moesia. Peace between Lombards and ex- archate.
600	3-4	6092-3		Great victories of Priscus over the Avars.
602	5-6	6094-5	Phocas.	Gudwin's campaign against Slaves. Revolution, and overthrow of Maurice.
603	6-7	6095-6		Revolt of Narses.
604	7-8	6096-7		Death of Pope Gregory. Treaty with Avars.
605	8-9	6097-8		Conspiracy against Phocas.
606	9-10	6098-9		Daras taken by Persians. In- vasion of Syria.
607	10-11	6099-100		Persians invade the Empire.
608	11-12	6100-1		Persians advance to Chalcedon.
609	12-13	6101-2		Revolt of Africa and of Alex- andria.

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
610	13-14	6102-3	Heraclius.	Revolt of Jews in Antioch. Phocas overthrown by Heraclius.
611	14-15	6103-4		Birth of Epiphania.
612	15-1	6104-5		Birth of Constantine.
614	2-3	6106-7		Persians invade Syria and take Damascus. Treaty of Heraclius with Sisibut of Spain.
615	3-4	6107-8		Palestine invaded; Jerusalem taken.
616	4-5	6108-9		Egypt lost to the Persians (date uncertain).
617	5-6	6109-10		Persians take Chalcedon.
618	6-7	6110-11		Heraclius thinks of migrating to Carthage.
619	7-8	6111-12		Heraclius flees from Avars.
620	8-9	6112-13		Peace with Avars.
622	10-11	6114-15		Heraclius sets out for the Persian war. (1) Campaign of Cappadocia and Pontus. (16th July, era of the Hegira.)
623	11-12	6115-16		End of first campaign.
624	12-13	6116-17		(2) First campaign of Azerbiyan. Last imperial towns in Spain taken by Svinthila. (3) Campaign of Albania and Armenia.
625	13-14	6117-18	-	(4) Campaign of Cilicia.
626	14-15	6118-19		(5) Second campaign of Azerbiyan. Great siege of Constantinople by Avars and Persians.
627	15-1	6119-20		(6) Campaign of Assyria. Mohammed writes to Heraclius.
628	1-2	6120-1		Battle of Muta. Heraclius restores cross to Jerusalem.
629	2-3	6121-2		Death of Mohammed. Abu Bekr first caliph.
632	5-6	6124-5		Battle of Adjnadein (July). Omar becomes caliph.
634	7-8	6126-7		Battle of Yermuk (August). Saracens take Damascus.
635	8-9	6127-8		Capture of Emesa and Heliopolis. "Farewell" of Heraclius. Conquest of Antioch, Chalcis, Beroea, Edessa, etc.
636	9-10	6128-9		Battle of Cadesia. Jerusalem taken. Battle of Yalulah.
637	10-11	6129-30		Ecthesis published. Constantine attempts to recover Syria. Muaviah becomes emir of Syria. Conquest of Mesopotamia.
638	11-12	6130-1		

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
639	12-13	6131-2	Constantine III. Heraclonas.	Amru invades Egypt.
641	14-15	6133-4		Death of Heraclius. Death of Constantine III. Fall of Alexandria. Battle of Nehavend.
642	15-1	6134-5	Constans II.	Fall of Heraclonas and Martina. Battle of Scutenna, and conquest of Liguria by Lombards.
644	2-3	6136-7		Othman becomes caliph.
646	4-5	6138-9		Foundation of Cairo (Fostât). Manifesto of Africa against monotheletism.
647	5-6	6139-40		Revolt in Africa.
648	6-7	6140-1		Type of Constans issued.
649	7-8	6141-2		Saracen expedition against Cyprus. Lateran Council condemns the Type.
650	8-9	6142-3		Aradus conquered.
651	9-10	6143-4		Saracens invade Asia Minor.
652	10-11	6144-5		Armenia lost.
654	12-13	6146-7		Saracens take Rhodes. Pope Martin at New Rome.
655	13-14	6147-8		Naval battle of Phoenix. Pope Martin banished to Cherson.
656	14-15	6148-9		Murder of Caliph Othman. Double caliphate.
658	1-2	6150-1		Expedition of Constans against Slaves.
659	2-3	6151-2		Treaty with Saracens.
660	3-4	6152-3		Sylvanus founds a Paulician community.
661	4-5	6153-4	Constantine IV.	Death of Ali.
662	5-6	6154-5		Constans sets out for Italy.
663	6-7	6155-6		Saracens invade Romania in this and following years.
668	11-12	6160-1		Constans assassinated. Revolt of Saborios on Armenian frontier.
669	12-13	6161-2		Saracens attack Sicily.
670	13-14	6162-3		Foundation of Kairowan.
673	1-2	6165-6		Expedition of Muavia against Constantinople.
674	2-3	6166-7		Siege of Constantinople continued until 677.
675	3-4	6167-8		Slaves besiege Salonica.
676	4-5	6168-9		Capture of Kairowan by Christians, but soon recovered.
677	5-6	6169-70		Siege of Constantinople raised.
678	6-7	6170-1		Slaves again besiege Salonica.
679	7-8	6171-2		Peace with the caliphate. Embassies of western nations to Constantinople. Slaves besiege Salonica.
				Foundation of Bulgarian kingdom.

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
680	8-9	6172-3	Justinian II.	Death of Muavia. Sixth Ecumenical Council begins.
683	11-12	6175-6		Kairowan taken by Christians.
685	13-14	6177-8		Treaty with Abd Almalik.
687	15-1	6179-80		Death of Constantine.
688	1-2	6180-1		Transmigration of Mardaites.
690	3-4	6182-3		Slaves settled in <i>Opsikion</i> .
692	5-6	6184-5		Expedition of Justinian against Bulgarians and Slaves.
693	6-7	6185-6	Leontius.	Quinisext Council.
695	8-9	6187-8		Battle of Sebastopolis. Revolt of Symbarius. Armenia finally subjected to the Arabs.
697	10-11	6189-90		Fall and banishment of Justinian.
698	11-12	6190-1	Tiberius III.	Lazica revolts. Asia Minor invaded by Saracens. Hassan's expedition against Africa. Takes Carthage and recovers Kairowan. John retakes Carthage. Election of first doge of Venice.
700	13-14	6192-3		John driven from Carthage. Leontius overthrown.
701	14-15	6193-4		Romans invade Syria.
702	15-1	6194-5		Mopsuestia taken by Saracens.
703	1-2	6195-6		Loss of Fourth Armenia.
704	2-3	6196-7		Victory of Heraclius over Saracens in Cilicia.
705	3-4	6197-8		Another victory of Heraclius.
709	7-8	6201-2	Justinian (II) Rhinotmetos.	Fall of Tiberius.
710	8-9	6202-3		Tyana destroyed by Saracens. Expeditions against Cherson and Ravenna.
711	9-10	6203-4	Philippicus.	Fall of Justinian. Saracens cross to Spain.
712	10-11	6204-5	Anastasius II.	Bulgarians invade Thrace. Amasea taken by Saracens.
713	11-12	6205-6		Saracens take Pisidian Antioch. Fall of Philippicus.
714	12-13	6206-7		Roman embassy sent to Damascus.
715	13-14	6207-8	Theodosius III.	Fall of Anastasius (near the end of 715). Gregory II becomes Pope.
716	14-15	6208-9	Leo III.	Saracens invade Asia Minor; besiege Amorium. Leo the Isaurian defeats the son of Theodosius.
717	15-1	6209-10		Fall of Theodosius. Saracens besiege Pergamus. Siege of Constantinople begins (August).

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
718	1-2	6210-11	Constantine V.	Siege of Constantinople raised (August). Birth of Constantine V.
720	3-4	6212-13		Constantine crowned. Death of King Terbel.
724	7-8	6216-17		Hischam becomes caliph.
726	9-10	6218-19		First decree against image-worship. Cappadocia invaded by Saracens.
727	10-11-12 ¹	6219-20		Revolt in Greece. John of Damascus writes first oration against iconoclasm. Council at Rome against iconoclasm.
728	12-13	6220-1		Revolt in Italy.
729	13-14	6221-2		<i>Silentium</i> against image-worship. Deposition of Germanus.
730	14-15	6222-3		Gregory III becomes Pope. Council at Rome against iconoclasm.
731	15-1	6223-4		Leo separates Churches of Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum from Rome.
732	1-2	6224-5		Census of births proclaimed. Heavy taxation in Sicily.
734	3-4	6226-7		Saracens invade Asia Minor.
739	8-9	6231-2		Saracen invasion. Battle of Acroinon.
740	9-10	6232-3		<i>Ecloga</i> published. Death of Leo. Zacharias becomes Pope.
741	10-11	6233-4		Revolt of Artavasdos.
742	11-12	6234-5		Artavasdos suppressed.
743	12-13	6235-6		Death of Liutprand.
744	13-14	6236-7		Great Plague begins, and lasts till 747.
746	15-1	6238-9		Saracens attack Cyprus.
748	2-3	6240-1		Aistulf king of Lombards.
750	4-5	6242-3		Fall of Omeyyad dynasty. Lombards take Ravenna.
751	5-6	6243-4		Constantine takes Melitene and Theodosiopolis. Stephen II Pope.
753	7-8	6245-6		Council at Constantinople in favour of iconoclasm. Pipin invades Italy.
755	9-10	6247-8		Bulgarians invade Thrace. Pipin again in Italy.
756	10-11	6248-9		Paul I. Pope.
758	12-13	6250-1		Constantine's expedition against the Sclavinias.
759	13-14	6251-2		Bulgarian victory at Berégaba.
760	14-15	6252-3		Eclipse of sun (15th August).
761	15-1	6253-4		Execution of Peter Kalybites and John of Monagria.

¹ For the suppression of an indiction and my revision of the chronology, see Note on Bk. vi cap. ii. (vol. ii. p. 425).

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
762	1-2	6254-5		Roman victory over Bulgarians at Anchialus.
764	3-4	6256-7		"Martyrdom" of Stephanus (date uncertain).
765	4-5	6257-8		Unsuccessful campaign in Bulgaria. Conspiracy against Emperor.
766	5-6	6258-9		Aqueduct of Valens restored. Executions of Paul and Andreas of Crete. Execution of Patriarch Constantinos. Constantine Anti-pope.
767	6-7	6259-60		Stephen III Pope.
771	10-11	6263-4		Hadrian I. becomes Pope.
773	12-12 ¹	6265-6		Victory over Bulgarians at Lithosoria.
774	12-13	6266-7		
775	13-14	6267-8	Leo IV.	Expedition against Bulgaria. Death of Constantine.
778	1-2	6270-1		Successes against Saracens.
780	3-4	6272-3	Constantine VI and Irene.	Harun takes Simalūs. Death of Leo IV.
781	4-5	6273-4		Revolt of Elpidius in Sicily.
782	5-6	6274-5		Harun invades Asia Minor.
783	6-7	6275-6		Reduction of Slaves of Macedonia and Greece.
784	7-8	6276-7		Tarasius becomes Patriarch.
786	9-10	6278-9		Harun becomes caliph.
787	10-11	6279-80		Seventh Ecumenical Council (at Nicaea).
788	11-12	6280-1		Bulgarian victory on the Strymon.
789	12-13	6281-2		Romania invaded by Arabs.
790	13-14	6282-3		Struggle of Irene and Constantine begins.
791	14-15	6283-4		Expedition against Bulgarians.
792	15-1	6284-5		Conspiracy in favour of the Caesars. Irene restored to dignity. Second Bulgarian campaign of Constantine VI.
793	1-2	6285-6		Revolt of Armeniac theme.
794	2-3	6286-7		Council of Frankfurt.
795	3-4	6287-8		Constantine divorces Maria, and leads a campaign in Asia. Leo III Pope.
796	4-5	6288-9		Third Bulgarian campaign of Constantine.
797	5-6	6289-90		Constantine blinded and deposed. Conspiracy in favour of the Caesars.
798	6-7	6290-1		Peace with Saracens.
799	7-8	6291-2		Revolt in Hellas.
800	8-9	6292-3		Coronation of Charles the Great.
802	10-11	6294-5		Fall of Irene.

¹ Here one Indiction has been extended over two years in order to rectify the chronology.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK IV

THE HOUSE OF JUSTIN

PART I.

THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN

CHAPTER XI

JUSTINIAN'S CAESAROPAPISM

Justinian's ecclesiastical policy—Paganism—Monophysitism—Agapetus—The three articles—Vigilius—Fifth Ecumenical Council—Aphthartodocetism—Prima Justiniana—Conversion of the Nobadae—Jacobitism Pages 1-10

CHAPTER XII

THE SLAVES

Sketch of the geography of Thrace—Mount Haemus—Thraco-Illyrians—Early settlements of the Slaves—Character of the Slaves—Slavonic invasions—Justinian's fortifications 11-24

CHAPTER XIII

CHANGES IN THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Justinian's changes a preparation for the theme system—Combination of civil and military powers—Abolition of diocesan governors—Breaking up of provinces—The four Armenias—Double aspect of Justinian's reforms 25-30

CHAPTER XIV

THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE AT THE END OF JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

Changes in the map of Europe between 395 A.D. and 565 A.D.—The legend relating to Britain—Lombards and Gepids—Prefecture of Africa—Sardinia—The Vandal kingdom—Stratêgia of Sicily—Exarchate of Italy—Greek character of the Empire Pages 31-39

CHAPTER XV

BYZANTINE ART

Paganism and christian art—Problem of uniting the arch with the column—Ravenna—Parenzo—Thessalonica—Anthemius of Tralles—St. Sophia—Carving—Painting; illumination—Symbolism 40-54

CHAPTER XVI

NOTES ON THE MANNERS, INDUSTRIES, AND COMMERCE IN THE
AGE OF JUSTINIAN

Population, dwellings, food, amusements of Byzantium—A scene in the hippodrome—Laws against immorality—Commerce and industries—The Jews—Taugast 55-64

PART II

THE COLLAPSE OF JUSTINIAN'S SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

JUSTIN II AND TIBERIUS II

Collapse of Justinian's system—Ceremonies attending Justin's accession—Sophia—Justin's reactionary policy—Forces of disintegration—Religious persecution—The Emperor's madness—Tiberius regent—Anastasia—Character of Tiberius II—His extravagance—Arians—Death of Tiberius 67-82

CHAPTER II

MAURICE

Character of Maurice—His relations to the Patriarch and the Pope—His unpopularity—Insurrection of the army—Fall of Maurice—Political significance of the demes—The will of Maurice 83-94

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN WAR (572-591 A.D.)

Causes of war—The Turks—Invasion of Syria—Death of two thousand virgins—
Truce—Battle of Melitene—Romans invade Persia—Death of Chosroes I.—
Battle of Solachon—Mutiny in Roman army—Civil war in Persia—Maurice
restores Chosroes II—Peace—Reign of Chosroes I. Pages 95-113

CHAPTER IV

SLAVES AND AVARS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

The Avars—Invasions of Slaves—Avars take Sirmium—Slaves in Astica—
Monembasia—Campaign of Comentiolus in 587 A.D.—The progress of
Maurice—Campaign of Priscus in 591 against the Avars ; in 592 against the
Slaves—Campaign of Peter, 593—Peter against the Slaves in 597—Siege of
Salonica—Relief of Singidunum—Avars invade Dalmatia—Priscus at Tomi
—Peace with the Avars—Great victories of Priscus at Viminacium and on
the Theiss 114-142

Note on Slavonic settlements in Greece 143-144

CHAPTER V

THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY

The Lombard conquests—Resulting geography of Italy—Pope Gregory the
Great—His life—His relations with the Lombards—*Patrimonium Petri*—
Gregory's position in western Christendom—His relations with Brunhilda—
His relations with Maurice—His reforms and theology—His historical im-
portance 145-158

CHAPTER VI

THE EMPIRE AND THE FRANKS

Relations of the Empire with the sons of Chlotar I.—Embassies—Gundovald the
pretender—Franks and Romans combine against the Lombards—Childebert
the "son" of Maurice—The Roman Empire recognised as the first power in
Europe 159-166

VOL II

b

CHAPTER VII

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMAIOI IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

Disuse of Latin—Three kinds of Greek: (1) the vulgar dialect, (2) the language of the educated, (3) the written language—Use of the words *Roman* and *Latin*—Latin words Graecised: *βασιλεὺς*, *Hellene*, *barbarian*, *pagan*, etc. Pages 167-174

CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

Last Greek philosophers—John Philoponus—Cosmas Indicopleustes—Historians—Procopius—Agathias—Menander—Writings of Justinian—John the Lydian—Poetry—Agathias—Paul the Silentiary—Latin literature—Cassiodorus—Boethius 175-194

BOOK V

THE HOUSE OF HERACLIUS

CHAPTER I

PHOCAS

Character of the reign of Phocas—Persian invasions—Revolts in Syria and Egypt—Conspiracies of Constantina's party—Africa—Expedition of Heraclius and fall of Phocas 197-206

CHAPTER II

HERACLIUS (610-622 A.D.)

Critical situation of the Empire—Character of Heraclius—His cautious policy—His marriages—Persian invasions—Loss of Palestine and Egypt—Heraclius' policy in regard to the Jews—Embassy to Chosroes—The true cross—Heraclius' project of making Carthage the capital—Sergius the Patriarch—Reforms of Heraclius—Loan from the Church—Treachery of the Avars—Peace with Avars—Preparations for the Persian war 207-226

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN WAR

- (1) Campaign of Cappadocia and Pontus, 622-623 A.D.—(2) First campaign of Azerbiyan, 623 A.D.—(3) Campaign of Albania and Armenia, 624 A.D.—(4) Campaign of Cilicia, 625 A.D.—Battle of the Sarus—(5) The second campaign of Azerbiyan—The victory of Theodorus—The siege of Constantinople, 626 A.D.—(6) Campaign of Assyria, 627-628 A.D.—Battle of Gaugamela—Overthrow of Chosroes—*Heracliad* of George of Pisidia—Mistakes in policy after the peace with Persia—Shahr Barz Pages 227-248

CHAPTER IV

MONOTHELETISM

- Doctrine of One Energy—Sergius—Cyrus of Phasis—Sophronius—Pope Honorius—*Ecthesis* 249-253

CHAPTER V

LITERATURE IN THE REIGN OF HERACLIUS

- Theophylactus Simocatta—George of Pisidia 254-257

CHAPTER VI

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE BY THE SARACENS

- Arabia before Mohammed—Mohammed—The Koran—Battle of Muta—Al Wakidi—Conquest of Syria—Battles of Adjnadein and the Yermuk—Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, etc.—Battle of Cadesia and conquest of Persia—Foundation of Bassra and Kufa—Conquest of Egypt by Amru—Foundation of Cairo (Fostât)—Death of Heraclius 258-273

CHAPTER VII

THE SLAVONIC SETTLEMENTS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

- Extension of the Slovenes—Origin of the Croatians—Invasion of Dalmatia—Foundation of Spalato, Ragusa, etc.—The Croatians and Serbians—Slaves of Macedonia and Thessaly—Tribes around Salonica—Settlements in Greece 274-280

CHAPTER VIII

CONSTANS II

Reign of Constantine III and Heraclonas—Death of Constantine—Martina—
 Revolt of Valentinus and elevation of Constans II—Flight of Pyrrhus—
 Fall of Martina and Heraclonas—Speech of Constans—Saracen hostilities—
 Battle of Phoenix—Contest of Ali and Muaviah—Peace with the Saracens—
 Expedition against the Slaves—The *Type*—Lateran Synod—Fortunes of
 Pope Martin—Policy and aims of Constans—His brother Theodosius—
 Constans goes to the West—Siege of Beneventum and battle of the Calor—
 Constans at Rome and Syracuse—His death—The tyrant Mizizios—Estimate
 of Constans and of his policy—Revolt of Saborios—The Saracens at
 Amorium Pages 281-307

CHAPTER IX

CONSTANTINE IV

Constantine Pogonatos—Anatolic theme—Great siege of Constantinople—
 "Romaic" fire—Peace with the Saracens—Embassies come to Constantinople
 from western powers—Ecclesiastical affairs—Sixth Ecumenical Council—
 Anathema on Pope Honorius 308-319

Note on Greek fire 319

CHAPTER X

JUSTINIAN II

Unpopularity—Removes the Mardaites—"Supernumerary corps" of Slaves—
 Battle of Sebastopolis—Armenia—Policy of transplanting peoples—The
 finance ministers Stephanus and Theodotus—History of financial bureaux—
 Buildings of Justinian—Quinisext Council—Justinian overthrown by
 Leontius—Conjecture that Justinian II desired to imitate Justinian I.
 320-330

CHAPTER XI

FOUNDATION OF THE BULGARIAN KINGDOM

The Bulgarians—Legend of Kokrat and his five sons—The historical Kokrat—
 Bulgarians revolt against Avars—Bulgarians in Onglos—They defeat Con-
 stantine IV and settle in Moesia—Treaty with Constantine—Features of
 Slavonic history—Bulgarian institutions—Bulgarian war of Justinian II—
 Great (or Black) Bulgaria—Macedonian Slaves—Siege of Salonica 331-338

CHAPTER XII

ORIGIN OF THE SYSTEM OF THEMES

Treatise of Constantine VII—Origin of later *themes*—Justinian's reforms preparatory to the theme system—What we learn from Theophanes and Nicephorus—Theory as to the origin of the Asiatic themes—Armeniacs, Anatolics, etc.—System of Leo III Pages 339-351

CHAPTER XIII

TWENTY YEARS OF ANARCHY

General survey—Reign of Leontius—Loss of Africa—Tiberius III—Armenia—Cyprus—Cherson—Adventures of Justinian Rhinotmetos—Restoration of Justinian—Bulgarian war—Loss of Tiana—Justinian's vengeance on Cherson—His fall—His expedition against Ravenna—Philippicus—Anastasius II—Revolt of the Opsikians—Theodosius III—Adventures of Leo the Isaurian in Alania—His operations against the Saracens—Fall of Theodosius—General reflections 352-386

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DECAY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Prevalence of superstition—Ecclesiastical complexion of the Empire—Coronation oath—Decline of culture—Study of Greek in western Europe—Theodore of Tarsus—Morality of the clergy—Survivals of paganism—Paulicianism
387-398

BOOK VI

THE HOUSE OF LEO THE ISAURIAN

CHAPTER I

THE REPULSE OF THE SARACENS

Constantinople besieged by the Saracens—Egyptian Christians desert—Plague in the army of the besiegers—Siege raised—Disasters of the Saracen fleet—Importance of this event—Caliph Hisham—Battle of Acroinon—Successes of Constantine V against the Moslems—Fall of the Omeyyad dynasty
401-407

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LEO III

Conspiracy of Artemius—Artavasdos—Birth, coronation, and marriage of Constantine—Revolt in Sicily—Leo's policy of reform—The *Ecloga*—Its ecclesiastical complexion—Tendencies of Roman law—*Ecloga* contrasted with Code of Justinian—Marriage laws—*Patria potestas*—Maritime Code—Agricultural Code—Disappearance of the colonate—Causes thereof—Military and financial reforms of Leo—Aberration in the chronology of the eighth century—Hypothesis to account for it—Taxes—Finance officers . . . Pages 408-424

Note on the chronology of the eighth century 425-427

An explanation and defence of the author's revision of the chronology from 727
to 773 A.D.

CHAPTER III

THE ICONOCLASTIC MOVEMENT

The true significance of the iconoclasm of Leo and Constantine—Rationalism—Connection with Monotheletism, Paulicianism, and Islamism—Decree of Leo—The *Antiphonetes*—Educational policy of Leo—The Ecumenical Doctor—Opposition of Germanus—The *silentium* of 729 A.D.—Revolt of Greece—The *Helladikoi* 428-438

CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL ITALY IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Effects of iconoclasm on the history of Italy—Gregory II and the exarchs—Council of 727 A.D.—Liutprand and the Lombard dukes—Gregory III—Churches of southern Italy and Sicily separated from Roman see—Flight of iconodule Greeks westward—Legend of the *Hodêgêtria*—Graecisation of southern Italy 439-449

CHAPTER V

CONSTANTINE V

Revolt of Artavasdos—The great plague—Effects thereof in Greece and in Byzantium—The Slaves in Greece—Restoration of the aqueduct of Valens—Economic policy of Constantine—His family 450-458

Genealogical table of the Isaurian dynasty 459

CHAPTER VI

ICONOCLASTIC POLICY OF CONSTANTINE

Hostility of Constantine to monasticism—His merry court—Attitude to art—Council of 753 A.D.—Persecution of monks—Stephanus—Michael Lachanodrakon—The population question—Secularising of monastic property—The *charistic* system—The Patriarch Constantinos Pages 460-469

CHAPTER VII

BULGARIA

Succession of Bulgarian kings—Kormisoš—Teletz—Expeditions of Constantine against Bulgaria—*Scamars*—Telerig—Death of Constantine V—Expeditions of Constantine VI 470-476

CHAPTER VIII

LEO IV

Ecclesiastical policy—Creation of the Caesars—Saracen war—Death of Leo 477-479

CHAPTER IX

CONSTANTINE VI AND IRENE

Conspiracies of the Caesars—Revolt of Elpidius—Struggle of Irene and Constantine—The Armeniac theme—Constantine divorces Maria—Constantine blinded—Stauracius and Aetius—Charles the Great—Fall of Irene—Saracen war 480-493

CHAPTER X

THE REACTION AGAINST ICONOCLASM

Paul the Patriarch—Tarasius the Patriarch—Letters of Pope Hadrian—Iconoclasm in the army—Seventh Ecumenical Council 494-498

CHAPTER XI

THE POPES, THE LOMBARDS, AND THE FRANKS

Appeal of the Popes to the mayors of the palace—Their relations with Liutprand—Pipin the Patrician—Desiderius—Charles the Great conquers the Lombard kingdom—Donation of Charles to the Roman see—Charles and Hadrian—Council of Frankfurt—Coronation of Charles and foundation of the Western Roman Empire—Significance of this event 499-509

CHAPTER XII

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT OF EUROPE AT THE END OF
THE EIGHTH CENTURY

The Empires and the caliphates—Comparison of the Roman Empire and the Frank kingdom in eighth century—The Moslem in Gaul; in Spain—Extension of Frank power—The Franks in Italy—*Lombardy*—The *Romagna*—Principality of Beneventum—Venice—Bulgaria—The functions of the rival Empires compared Pages 510-517

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Literature revived—Theodore Studites—John of Damascus—Superstition—Effects of the iconoclastic reforms—Attractions of monastic life—The abbot Plato and Theoctiste—Life of Theodore—Theophanes—Armenian and Slavonic elements—Metropolitan arrangements of Byzantium—Private life—Saracen civilisation—Bagdad—Orientalism of Byzantium—Romances—Tale of Barlaam and Josaphat 518-534

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

Function performed by the later Roman Empire—It was the bulwark of Europe against the Asiatic danger—It kept alive Greek and Roman culture—It maintained European commerce—It preserved the idea of the *Roman Empire*—It embodied a principle of permanence 535-540

INDEX 541-579

CHAPTER XI

JUSTINIAN'S CAESAROPAPISM

THE absolutism of Justinian extended to the ecclesiastical world, and in church as well as in state history he occupies a position of ecumenical importance. He was a sort of imperial pontiff, and this Caesaropapism, as it has been called, represents the fulfilment of the policy which Constantius tried and failed to realise.

Justinian's ecclesiastical policy rested on his support of the council of Chalcedon, and thus accorded in principle with the policy by which his uncle Justin had restored unity to Christendom. But this unity was only a unity of the western Church with the chief Church in the East; whereas the East itself was divided. The monophysites were a large and important body, and the Emperor was not content not to make an effort to reconcile this difference, especially as the Empress Theodora was an adherent of the heretical creed. His object was to secure a unity in the Church, which should exclude all sectarianism, and embrace both East and West. Consequently he did not rest in the policy of his uncle Justin; he tried to accomplish what Zeno and Anastasius had failed to accomplish, a conciliation of the Chalcedonians and monophysites.

One of his first acts was to deal a final blow to paganism. He shut up the philosophical schools at Athens, with which Theodosius II had not interfered when he founded the university of Constantinople. The abolition of the Athenian university has two aspects. In the first place, it was the last blow dealt by Christianity to the ancient philosophers and their doctrines, and was one of the acts which mark the reign

of Justinian as the terminus of the ancient world. In the second place, it was a measure in which Justinian's design of establishing a unity of belief and thought in the Empire was manifested; and it is to be taken closely with the law that pagans and heretical Christians were not to hold office in either the civil service or the army. His general principle is laid down clearly in a constitution (published shortly before his uncle's death)¹: "All will be able to perceive that from those who do not worship God rightly, human goods also are withheld,"—a most concise expression of religious intolerance. It may be observed that in this constitution the Manichaeans are mentioned with special acrimony, and rendered liable to the extreme penalties of the law. It was the instinct of Christianity, which was essentially monistic, though not with Semitic monism, to fight against all forms of dualism as the most odious kind of heresy.

The monophysites held a peculiar position. They were very numerous, and they were supported by the sympathy of the Empress Theodora, who shared their creed. Justinian considered it an important political object to unite them with the orthodox Church, and it was a theological problem to accomplish this—to make concessions to the heretics without abandoning the basis of Chalcedon.

Justinian might have carried this out in the East without much difficulty, if he had been content to sacrifice union with the western Church. But that would have been to undo what Justin had done and he himself had confirmed; and the union of the eastern and western Churches was of primary importance for the restorer of Roman rule in Italy and Africa. His political designs exercised a perceptible control on his ecclesiastical measures.

This was the dilemma that beset every Roman Emperor—quite apart from his personal opinions—ever since the council of Chalcedon. If he chose to attempt to establish unity in the East, he must sacrifice unity with the West, as Zeno and Anastasius had done. If he chose to seek unity with the West, like Justin, he must be satisfied to see his dominions distracted by the bitter opposition of synodites and monophysites. The imperial throne shared by the orthodox Justinian and the

¹ *Cod. Just.* i. 5, 12. Compare the other laws under the same title.

Eutychian Theodora was symbolic of the division of the Empire in the matter of theological beliefs.

Justinian's achievement was to overcome this dilemma.¹ He was powerful enough to carry a measure which tended to unity by modifying the synod of Chalcedon without breaking with the Church of Rome.

Apart from their personal opinions—which, while we admit that they co-operated, we must set aside in order to observe the influence of circumstances—the policies of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin in regard to this problem were natural. To Zeno and Anastasius, who had no thought of recovering power in Italy, the opposition of the bishop of Rome was a matter of smaller importance than division in the Empire. Justin's policy was naturally anti-monophysitic, because it was a reaction against Anastasius; and such a policy implied a renewal of relations with Rome. Justinian's intervention in the political world of western Europe altered the position of the bishop of Rome, and in the fifth Council of Constantinople the Emperor exercised an unprecedented authority, which would have pleased Constantius II.

In 536 A.D., by the influence of Theodora, Anthimus, a man of monophysitic opinions, was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople. In the following year Pope Agapetus visited that city on political business, to treat for peace on behalf of Theodahad; it was the second time that an Ostrogothic king had despatched a Pope on a message to an Emperor. Agapetus succeeded in obtaining the deposition of Anthimus, and the election of an orthodox successor, Mennas. That Justinian was not aware of the real opinions of Anthimus, before Agapetus unveiled his heterodoxy, is unlikely, but the supporter of orthodoxy could not refuse to oppose him, once it was made public, and that by the bishop of Rome. Dante represents Justinian as originally holding monophysitic opinions, and owing his conversion to Agapetus.²

E prima ch' io all' opra fossi attento,
Una natura in Cristo esser, non piue
Credeva, e di tal fede era contento.

¹ Procopius (*de Aed.* i. 1) says of the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy, *συντρίψας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς πλάναις φερούσας*

ὁδοὺς διεπράξατο ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἐστάναι κρηπίδος.

² *Paradiso*, cant. vi. 13 sqq.

Ma il benedetto Agapito, che fue
 Sommo pastore, alla fede sincera
 Mi dirizzò con le parole sue.

The controversy of the "three articles," a long chapter in the ecclesiastical history of the sixth century, began in 544, and lasted for eight years. We need not follow its details, but the elements that were involved in it as well as its consequences must be briefly explained. Three points to be noticed are—(1) that it was externally connected with an Origenistic controversy which had disturbed Palestine for some years past; (2) that the difficulty of concluding the question depended on the wavering position of Pope Vigilius; (3) that Justinian's desire to carry his point was at first quickened by the monophysitic leanings of his consort, who died before the dispute was decided.

At Justinian's desire the Patriarch Mennas held a local synod, at which the writings of Origen were condemned. Theodore Ascidas, bishop of Caesarea, a monophysite who believed in the Origenistic theology, did not oppose this sentence, but made a fruitful suggestion to Justinian, of which the apparently exclusive aim was to reunite the monophysites, but which really contained a blow at a prominent opponent of Origen's methods, Theodore of Mopsuestia. The import of this suggestion was that what really repelled the monophysites was not any point of doctrine, but the countenance given by the council of Chalcedon to certain Nestorians.

Accordingly in 544 Justinian promulgated an edict,¹ wherein the Three Articles (*κεφάλαια*), which gave the name to the controversy, were enunciated—(1) Theodore of Mopsuestia and his works were condemned; (2) certain writings of Theodoret against Cyril were condemned; and (3) a letter of Ibas, addressed to a Persian and censuring Cyril, was condemned. The council of Chalcedon had expressly acknowledged the orthodoxy of these writings and their authors, and thus the authority of that council seemed called in question, though the edict expressly professed to respect it.

The bishops of the East, including Mennas, signed the

¹ This determination of ecclesiastical matters by imperial edicts is the key-note of Caesaropapism. Basiliscus had attempted this policy in his brief reign.

edict; but Mennas made his adhesion conditional on the approval of the bishop of Rome, and it is just the attitude of the bishop of Rome that lends an interest to the controversy.

Vigilius had been elevated to the papal see of Rome under circumstances which appear at least unusual. He was at Constantinople when Agapetus died in 537, and his election rested on the support of Theodora, with whom he is said to have made a sort of bargain not to act against the monophysite Anthimus, the deposed Patriarch. Before he arrived at Rome, Silverius had been elected Pope in Italy, and the deposition and banishment of the latter, on the charge of treason, by Belisarius,¹ give room for suspicion that corrupt dealings were practised for the benefit of Vigilius.

When Vigilius was called upon to sign the edict of the "three articles" he felt himself in a dilemma. The western Church, especially the Church of Africa, cried out loudly against the document, while Vigilius felt himself under obligations to Theodora and the Emperor. A synod at Carthage went so far as to excommunicate the Pope (549).

At first he refused to sign. When he was at Rome, at a safe distance from the Caesar-Pope, resistance did not seem hard. But Justinian summoned him to Constantinople, where he remained until 554. During this time he wavered between the two forces in whose conflict he was involved—the ecclesiastical opinion of the West and the imperial authority. The latter finally conquered, but not until the Pope had been condemned in the fifth general Council, held at Constantinople in 553, after which he retracted his condemnation of the articles,² attributing it to the arts of the devil.

The fifth general Council, it should be observed, has an importance beyond the rather trivial subjects discussed. Its basis—its agenda—was an edict drawn up by the Emperor; it adopted theological tenets formulated by the Emperor. This is the most characteristic manifestation of Justinianean Caesaropapism.

¹ See Liberatus, *Brev.* 22; Anastasius, *Vita Silverii*. Liberatus wrote his *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, about 560, against Justinian's Articles.

² The "Condemnation of the Three Articles" is ambiguous. I use the ex-

pression in its proper sense, as the condemnation of the three proposals of Justinian's edict. But in popular usage the Three Articles meant the opinions which the edict condemned, and thus one who opposed the edict was said to defend the Articles.

The election of Pelagius as the successor of Vigilius¹ to the see of Rome is noteworthy, because the Roman Emperor exercised the right of confirming the election, which had belonged to the Ostrogothic monarch. This right gave Justinian an ecclesiastical power of European extent, and introduced an important theory into Christendom. "According to the *Liber Diurnus* (a collection of forms which represents the state of things in those days or shortly after), the death of a Roman bishop was to be notified to the exarch of Ravenna; the successor was to be chosen by the clergy, the nobles of Rome, the soldiery, and the citizens; and the ratification of the election was to be requested in very submissive terms both of the Emperor and of his deputy the exarch."²

Pelagius upheld the three articles of the council, but the unity of the East and the consent of the Pope were purchased at the expense of the unity of the West. Milan and Aquileia would know nothing of the fifth Council, and although the invasion of the Lombards soon drove Milan into the arms of Rome, the see of Aquileia and the bishop of Istria seceded from the Roman Church for more than a hundred and forty years.

In Egypt monophysitism was ineradicable. Alexandria "the Great" was a scene of continual religious quarrels between the Eutychians and the Melchites, as they called the orthodox Catholics. In Syria monophysitism continued under the name of Jacobitism—a name derived from its propagator in the sixth century, Jacob al Baradai, a travelling monk.

The Armenian Church also adopted the Eutychian heresy, and in the ultra-Eutychian form of apothartodocetism, the doctrine that Christ's body was incorruptible. It is curious that the same cause favoured the survival of the two opposite doctrines, Eutychianism and Nestorianism, in Armenia and Persia respectively. The Persian government tolerated Nestorian Christianity in its dominions, and looked with favour on a monophysitic Armenian Church, because both creeds were opposed to the State religion of Byzantium.

¹ Vigilius died at Syracuse on his way back to Rome in June 555. Those who are curious about the details of these transactions may be referred to a chapter in Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her*

Invaders, vol. iv., entitled "The Sorrows of Vigilius," as well as to ecclesiastical histories.

² Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. ii. p. 334.

I have mentioned apthartodocetism. It obtained a certain notoriety in the last years of Justinian's reign, for the old Emperor adopted the doctrine himself, and enforced it on his subjects by an edict. His death cut short the full execution of his last and least Caesaropapistic undertaking.

Among his acts of ecclesiastical autocracy we must mention the edict which raised the see of Prima Justiniana, in his own native province of Dacia Mediterranea, to the rank of an archbishopric (535 A.D.) "Desiring," this document begins, "to increase in many and divers ways our native land, in which God first granted us to come into this world, which He himself founded, we wish to augment it and make it very great in ecclesiastical rank."¹ This decree was confirmed in another decree ten years later (545 A.D.) I do not consider it justifiable to say, as ecclesiastical historians sometimes do,² that Justinian desired to found a sixth patriarchate; on the contrary, the new archbishop, as I understand the second edict, was to depend on the Pope of Rome, and to hold the same position, for example, as the archbishop of Ravenna.

In regard to the missionary activity which Justinian encouraged for the conversion of heathen nations, I cannot do

¹ Novel xix. (ed. Zachariä von Lingenthal, 1881). Below, the imperial style speaks of Dacia Mediterranea as *nostra felicissima patria*. For the confirmation of the privilege, see Nov. cli. The old idea that Tauresium, which Justinian restored because it was his birthplace, and called by the name of Justiniana Prima, was identical with Achrida, arose from the circumstance that the title of the archbishop was "Archbishop of Justiniana and Achrida." See Appendix E in vol. ii. of Mr. Tozer's delightful book on the highlands of Turkey. "The explanation of the double title is, that while Justinian had established the metropolitan see at the place on which he bestowed his name, it was transferred to Ochrida when that place was made the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom." Mr. Tozer agrees with Mannert in identifying Uskiub with Justiniana. "It fell within the district of Dardania, and was situated at a moderate distance from Ochrida; it was also the most important position in that neighbour-

hood, and from having been the leading city, would be most naturally pointed out for restoration and decoration." "Von Hahn [the Austrian traveller], who passed by here in 1858, has shown that the names Tauresium and Bederiana may be traced in those of Taor and Bader," two villages hard by.

² Robertson, ii. 333, "to erect a sixth patriarchate." The express words of Justinian are (Nov. cli. γ)—*καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ὑποκειμέναις αὐτῷ ἐπαρχίαις* [Dacia M., Dacia Ripensis, Prevalitana (Πρεβαλία), Dardania, Upper Moesia, Pannonia] *τὸν τόπον ἐπέχει αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ ῥώμης θρόνου κατὰ τὰ ὁρισθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς Βιγίλιου*. That is, the archbishop was to hold the place of, or be the representative of, the Pope in these provinces. The Patriarchs did not "hold the place" of the Pope. This disposes of Robertson's remark that Justinian's design "proved abortive." Robertson is also wrong in the date, which he gives as 541.

better than quote the following little-known account of the conversion of the Nobadae¹:—

“ Among the clergy in attendance on the Patriarch Theodosius was a proselyte named Julianus, an old man of great worth, who conceived an earnest spiritual desire to christianise the wandering people who dwell on the eastern borders of the Thebais beyond Egypt, and who are not only not subject to the authority of the Roman Empire, but even receive a subsidy on condition that they do not enter nor pillage Egypt. The blessed Julianus, therefore, being full of anxiety for this people, went and spoke about them to the late Queen Theodora, in the hope of awakening in her a similar desire for their conversion; and as the queen was fervent in zeal for God, she received the proposal with joy, and promised to do everything in her power for the conversion of these tribes from the errors of idolatry. In her joy, therefore, she informed the victorious King Justinian of the purposed undertaking, and promised and anxiously desired to send the blessed Julian thither. But when the king [Emperor] heard that the person she intended to send was opposed to the council of Chalcedon, he was not pleased, and determined to write to the bishops of his own side in the Thebais, with orders for them to proceed thither and instruct the Nobadae, and plant among them the name of synod. And as he entered upon the matter with great zeal, he sent thither, without a moment's delay, ambassadors with gold and baptismal robes, and gifts of honour for the king of that people, and letters for the duke of the Thebais, enjoining him to take every care of the embassy and escort them to the territories of the Nobadae. When, however, the queen learnt these things, she quickly, with much cunning, wrote letters to the duke of the Thebais, and sent a mandatory of her court to carry them to him; and which were as follows: ‘Inasmuch as both his majesty and myself have purposed to send an embassy to the people of the Nobadae, and I am now despatching a blessed man named Julian; and further my will is that my ambassador should arrive at the aforesaid people before his majesty's; be warned, that if you permit his ambassador to arrive there before mine, and do not hinder him by various pretexts until mine shall have reached you and shall have passed through your province and arrived at his destination, your life shall answer for it; for I shall immediately send and take off your head.’ Soon after the receipt of this letter the king's ambassador also came, and the duke said to him, ‘You must wait a little while we look out and procure beasts of burden and men who know the deserts, and then you will be able to proceed.’ And thus he delayed him until the arrival of the merciful queen's embassy, who found horses and guides in waiting, and the same day, without loss of time, under a show of doing it by violence, they laid hands upon him, and were the first to proceed. As for the duke, he made his excuses to the king's ambassador, saying, ‘Lo! when I had

¹ I have extracted this curious narrative from R. Payne Smith's translation of the ecclesiastical history, written in Syriac, of the monophysite John of Ephesus. On missions M. Gasquet

(*L'empire byzantin*, p. 75) remarks: “Les missions voilà donc l'élément nouveau qui donne à la politique byzantine son caractère distinctif.”

made my preparations and was desirous of sending you onward, ambassadors from the queen arrived and fell upon me with violence, and took away the beasts of burden I had got ready, and have passed onward ; and I am too well acquainted with the fear in which the queen is held to venture to oppose them. But abide still with me until I can make fresh preparations for you, and then you also shall go in peace.' And when he heard these things he rent his garments, and threatened him terribly and reviled him ; and after some time he also was able to proceed, and followed the other's track without being aware of the fraud which had been practised upon him.

"The blessed Julian meanwhile and the ambassadors who accompanied him had arrived at the confines of the Nobadae, whence they sent to the king and his princes informing him of their coming ; upon which an armed escort set out, who received them joyfully, and brought them into their land unto the king. And he too received them with pleasure, and her majesty's letter was presented and read to him, and the purport of it explained. They accepted also the magnificent honours sent them, and the numerous baptismal robes, and everything else richly provided for their use. And immediately with joy they yielded themselves up and utterly abjured the errors of their forefathers, and confessed the God of the Christians, saying, 'He is the one true God, and there is no other beside Him.' And after Julian had given them much instruction, and taught them, he further told them about the council of Chalcedon, saying that 'inasmuch as certain disputes had sprung up among Christians touching the faith, and the blessed Theodosius being required to receive the council and having refused was ejected by the king [Emperor] from his throne, whereas the queen received him and rejoiced in him because he stood firm in the right faith and left his throne for its sake, on this account her majesty has sent us to you, that ye also may walk in the ways of Pope Theodosius, and stand in his faith and imitate his constancy. And moreover the king has sent unto you ambassadors, who are already on their way, in our footsteps.'"

The Emperor's emissaries arrived soon afterwards, and were dismissed by the king of the Nobadae, who told them that if his people embraced Christianity at all it would be the doctrine of the holy Theodosius of Alexandria, and not the "wicked faith" of the Emperor.

In his own dominions too the activity of christian missionaries was necessary, for in the devious recesses of Asia Minor there were many spots, *pagi*, where heathenism survived. It is remarkable that for the conversion of his heathen subjects Justinian employed a monophysitic priest, John of Ephesus, who afterwards wrote an ecclesiastical history in Syriac from the monophysitic point of view. We shall see how the monophysites were persecuted by a zealous Patriarch and an unwise Emperor after Justinian's death. Towards the close of

the century, when the heresy was almost exterminated from the Empire, it was revived, as has been already mentioned, by one Jacob al Baradai, who, dressed as a beggar—hence his name “the Ragged”—travelled about in the provinces of Syria and Mesopotamia and organised anew the monophysitic Church. To the nascent monophysites was attached the name of the second founder of the sect; they were called Jacobites.

CHAPTER XII

THE SLAVES

IN one respect the history of Byzantium, as the capital of the Roman world, differed little from its history as a Greek republic. Both as the mercantile commonwealth and as the imperial city, it was exposed, with its adjoining territory, to the hostilities of the barbarians of various races who infested the wild and ill-known lands of the Balkan mountains or dwelled on the shores of the Danube. In fact, Polybius' remarks on the favourable site of Byzantium seawards and its unfavourable aspect landwards hold good of its subsequent experiences, and the following passage might be taken as a short summary of one side of Byzantine history¹:—

“As Thrace surrounds the territory of the Byzantines on all sides, reaching from sea to sea, they are involved in an endless and troublesome war against the Thracians, for it is not feasible, by making preparations on a grand scale and winning one decisive victory over them, to get rid once for all of their hostilities; the barbarous nations and dynasts are too numerous. If they overcome one, three more worse than the first arise and advance against their country. Nor can they gain any advantage by submitting to pay tribute and making definite contracts; for if they make any concession to one prince, such a concession raises up against them five times as many foes. For these reasons they are involved in a never-ending and troublesome war. For what is more dangerous than a bad neighbour, and what more dreadful than a war with barbarians? And besides the other evils that attend on war, they have to undergo (to speak poetically) a sort of Tantalean punishment, for when they have diligently tilled their land, which is very fertile, and have been rewarded by the production of an abundant and surpassingly fine crop, then come the

¹ Polybius, iv. 45.

barbarians, and having reaped part of the fruits to carry off with them, destroy what they cannot take away. The Byzantines can only murmur indignantly, and endure."

This passage might have been written of the depredations of the Huns, the Ostrogoths, the Avars, or the Slaves.

Of these four peoples, the first three were only comets of ruin in the Balkan peninsula, while the Slavonic peoples, to whose early history this chapter is devoted, probably began to filter into the provinces of Illyricum and Thrace as settlers before the invasions of Attila, and in later times pouring in as formidable invaders, gradually converted those provinces into Slavonic principalities, which, according to the tide of war, were sometimes dependent on, sometimes independent of, the government of Constantinople.

To understand the history of the Haemus countries, the extension of the Slavonic races there, and the campaigns of the Roman armies against the invaders, a general notion of the very difficult and still imperfectly explored geography of Thrace is indispensable.¹

We may consider Mount Vitoš, and the town of Sardica, now Sofia, which lies at its base as the central point of the peninsula. Rising in the shape of an immense cone to a height of 2300 metres, Vitoš affords to the climber who ascends it a splendid view of the various complicated mountain chains which diversify the surrounding lands—a view which has been pronounced finer than that at Tempe or that at Vodena. In the group of which this mountain and another named Ryl, to southward, are the highest peaks, two rivers of the lower Danube system, the Oescus (Isker) and the Nišava have their sources, as well as the two chief rivers of the Aegean system, the Hebrus (Maritsa) and the Strymon (Struma).

From this central region stretches in a south-easterly direction the double chain of Rhodope, cleft in twain by the valley

¹ In the geography, as throughout this chapter, the invaluable work of C. Jiriček, *Die Geschichte der Bulgaren*, has been my guide. I have also consulted the famous *Slawische Alterthümer* (ed. Wuttke) of P. J. Safarik, esp. vol. ii. p. 152 sqq. ("Uebersicht der Geschichte der bulgarischen Slawen"). Drinov's *Zaselenie balkanskago poluoostrova Sla-*

vanyami is unfortunately out of print. A lucid account of the divisions of the Slavonic race will be found in Mr. Morfill's article "Slavs" in the *Ency. Brit.*, an article which is not only very learned but very readable. In the present chapter we have only to do with the south-eastern Slaves (chiefly Slovenes).

of the Nestos (Mesta). The easterly range, Rhodope proper, forms the western boundary of the great plain of Thrace, while the range of Orbelos separates the Nestos valley from the Strymon valley.

The great Haemus or Balkan chain which runs from east to west is also double, like Rhodope, but is not in the same way divided by a large river. The Haemus mountains begin near the sources of the Timacus and Margus, from which they stretch to the shores of the Euxine. To a traveller approaching them from the northern or Danubian side they do not present an impressive appearance, for the ascent is very gradual; plateau rises above plateau, or the transition is accomplished by gentle slopes, and the height of the highest parts is lost by the number of intervening degrees. But on the southern side the descent is precipitous, and the aspect is imposing and sublime. This capital difference between the two sides of the Haemus range is closely connected with the existence of the second and lower parallel range, called the *Srêdna Gora*, which runs through Roumelia from Sofia to Sliven. It seems as if a convulsion of the earth had cloven asunder an original and large chain by a sudden rent, which gave its abrupt and sheer character to the southern side of the Haemus mountains, and interrupted the gradual incline upwards from the low plain of Thrace.

The important chain of *Srêdna Gora*, which is often confounded with the northern chain of Haemus, is divided into three parts, which, following Hochstetter, we may call the *Karadža Dag*, the *Srêdna Gora*, and the *Ichtimaner*. The *Karadža Dag* mountains are the most easterly, and are separated from *Srêdna Gora* by the river *Strêma* (a tributary of the *Maritsa*), while the valley of the *Tundža* (*Taίναπος*), with its fields of roses and pleasantly situated towns, divides it from Mount Haemus. *Srêdna Gora* reaches a greater height than the mountains to east or to west, and is separated by the river *Topolnitsa* from the most westerly portion, the *Ichtimaner* mountains, which form a sort of transition connecting the Balkan system with the Rhodope system, whilst at the same time they are the watershed between the tributaries of the *Hebrus* and those of the *Danube*. It is in this range too that the important pass of *Succi* is situated, through which

the road led from Constantinople to Singidunum, Sirmium, and Italy.

The river Isker divides the Balkan chain into a western and an eastern half. Of the western mountains, which command a view of the middle Danube, we need only mention the strange region which Kanitz, the Austrian traveller, discovered near the fort of Bêlgradčik. "Gigantic pillars of dark red sandstone, crowned by groups of trees, rise in fantastic shapes to heights above 200 metres, and, separated by rivulets and surrounded by luxuriant green, they form remarkable groups and alleys, as it were a city changed to stone, with towers, burs, houses, bridges, obelisks, and ships, men and beasts."¹

In the central part of the eastern Haemus mountains is the now celebrated pass of Šipka, which connects the valley of the Tundža with the valley of the Jantra (Jatrus), and is the chief route from Thrace into Lower Moesia. Between this spot and the pass of Sliven farther east extend the wildest and most impervious regions of the Balkans, regions which have always been the favourite homes of scammers and klephts, who could defy the justice of civilisation in thick forests and inaccessible ravines—regions echoing with the wild songs and romances of outlaw life. Beyond the pass of the Iron Gates (Πύλαι Σιδηραῖ, Demir Kapu), connecting Sliven with Trnovo, the range splits itself into three prongs; the north prong touching the river of the Great Kamčija, the middle touching the meeting of the Great and the Little Kamčija, and the southern touching the sea. In this part there are three passes, one of which is reached from Sliven, the other two from Karnabad.

The east side of the great Thracian plain is bounded by the Strandža range, which separates it from the Euxine, and throws out in a south-westerly direction the Tekir Dag, which stretches along the west of the Propontis, shooting into the Thracian Chersonese and extending along the north Aegean coast as far as the Strymon. The Thracian plain is a flat wilderness, only good for poor pasture.

The oldest inhabitants, of whose existence in the peninsula we know, were a branch of the Indo-European family, which is generally called the Thracio-Illyrian branch, falling as it does

¹ I translate from Jiriček, *op. cit.* p. 8.

into two main divisions, the Thracian and the Illyrian. The Thracians occupied the eastern, the Illyrians the western, side of the peninsula, the boundary between them being roughly the courses of the Drave and the Strymon. Any descendants of the Thracians who still survive are to be found among the Roumanians, while the Albanians¹ represent the Illyrians and Epirotes. The Epirotes stood in much the same relation to the Illyrians as the Macedonians stood to the Thracians. Of the numerous Thracian tribes (Odrysiens, Triballi, Getae, Mysians, Bessi, etc.), the Bessi or Satri, in the region of Rhodope, remained longest a corporate nation in the presence of Roman influences; they were converted to Christianity² in the fourth century, and in the fifth century they still held the church service in their own tongue. The Noropians, a subdivision of the Paeonians, whose lake dwellings are described by Herodotus, deserve mention, because the name survived in the Middle Ages (*nerop'ch*, *mêrop'ch*) as the name of a class of serfs in the Serbian kingdom. Of the Illyrian tribes the most important were the Autariats, Dardanians, Dalmatians, Istrians, Liburnians. As to the Thracian and Illyrian languages, a general but vague idea can be formed of them by the help of modern Albanese, whence Dalmatia has been explained to mean "shepherd land"; Skodra, "hill"; Bora, "snow" (a mountain in Macedonia); Bessi, "the faithful" (originally the name of priests); Dardania, "land of pears," etc. The difficulty experienced by the Romans in subduing and incorporating in their Empire all these brave mountain tribes is well known.

It must be clearly understood that Latin became the general language of the peninsula when the Roman conquests were consolidated, except on the south and east coast-lines of the Aegean, Propontis, and Euxine, where the towns, many of them Greek colonies and all long familiar with Greek, continued to speak that language. That Latin was the language of the greater part of the peninsula there are many proofs. Priscus tells us expressly, in speaking of his expedition to the country of the Huns, that Latin was the language everywhere. The bishops of Marcianopolis used Latin in their

¹ Hahn finds the descendants of the Illyrians in the Gegi of north Albania, those of the Epirotes in the Toski of

south Albania, the river Škumli separating them.

² By Nicetas, bishop of Remesiana.

correspondence with the council of Chalcedon. At the end of the sixth century words used by a peasant are recorded, which are the first trace of the Roumanian language, which developed in these regions and was born of the union of Latin with old Thracian.¹ The Emperor Justinian, a native of Dardania, speaks of Latin as his own language.

We need not discuss here the wild theories, resting chiefly on accidental similarity of names which may be made to prove anything, that Slavonic races dwelled along with the Thraco-Illyrian from time immemorial; they have been refuted by Jiriček. The pedantic Byzantine custom of calling contemporary peoples by the name of ancient peoples who had dwelt in the same lands led to a misunderstanding, and originated the idea that the Slavonic races were autochthonous.²

But if this theory assigns to the presence of the Slaves a too early period, we must beware of falling into the opposite mistake of setting their advent too late. The arguments of Drinov, which are accepted by the historian of the Bulgarians, make it possible that the infiltration of Slavonic elements into the cis-Danubian lands began about 300 A.D., before the so-called wandering of the nations.

It is probable enough that there were Slaves in the great Dacian kingdom of Decebalus, which was subverted by Trajan. At all events, the Roman occupation of Dacia beyond the Danube for a century and a half between Trajan and Aurelian, left its traces in that country, and also among Slavonic races; for Trajan or Trojan figured prominently in Slavonic legend as the deliverer from the Dacian oppressor, and was even deified. "Bulgarian songs at the present day celebrate the Tzar Trojan, the lord of inexhaustible treasures, for whom burning gold and pure silver flow from seventy wells."³ Slavonic tradition called the Romans Vlachians, and the first appearance of the Vlachians beyond the Danube was long remembered.

The Slaves doubtless played a considerable part in the frontier wars of the third century, but whether the Carpi, whom

¹ See Jiriček, p. 66, where he collects these points. Nicetas, bishop of Remesiana (fourth century), who converted the Bessi, was a Latin writer.

² Thus the Servians are called *Tri-*

balli, the Albanese *Acarmanians*, the Hungarians *Pannonians*, etc.

³ Trajan is a usual name among the Bulgarians. The name of the old Slavonic feast day, *Koleda*, is said to be derived from *Kalendae*.

Galerius settled along with the Bastarnae in the provinces of Moesia and Thrace (298) were a Slavonic race, as some authorities believe, we cannot be certain. It is possible, however, that Slaves formed part of the large mass of barbarians—200,000—to whom the Emperor Carus assigned habitations in the peninsula; and there are certainly distinct traces of the existence of Slavonic communities in itineraries composed in the fourth century.¹ There were many generals of Slavonic origin in Roman service in the fifth century, and in the sixth century Procopius has preserved to us many names of Slavonic towns.

We are then, I think, justified in assuming that in the fifth century there was a considerable Slavonic element in the lands south of the Ister, holding the position of Roman *coloni*. They formed a layer of population which would give security and permanence to the settlements of future invaders of kindred race. And here we touch upon what seems a strong confirmation of the conclusion to which stray vestiges lead us, regarding an early Slavonic colonisation. The Ostrogoths, who invaded and settled in Italy, held out there but a short time; the duration of Lombard influence in Italy was longer, but not long; the Vandals were soon dislodged from Africa. On the other hand, the Franks held permanent sway in the lands in which they settled, just as Slavonic nations still dominate the countries between the Adriatic and the Euxine. Now the main difference between the conquest of Gaul by the Franks and the conquest of Italy by the Ostrogoths was, that the former had been preceded by centuries of gradual infiltration of Frank elements in the countries to the west of the Rhine, whereas for Theodoric there was no such basis on which to consolidate a Gothic kingdom. The natural induction is that the cause whose presence secured the permanence of the Frank kingdom in Gaul, and whose absence facilitated the disappearance of the Gothic race from

¹ The credit of pointing out this belongs to Drinov. Zemaë = modern Tzema, on the Hebrus; Beodizum = Voditza, in the *Itiner. Hieron.* and *Itiner. Anton.* Safarik (ii. 159) places the first Slavonic settlements south of Danube at the end of the fifth century. Mr. Bryce's researches have discredited

the Slavonic origin of Justinian (*Upravda*), which was often adduced in proof of early Slave settlements. But this piece of evidence may be replaced by another, if my explanation of the name *Belisarius* as Slavonic (White Dawn) is correct; see above, vol. i. p. 341

Italy, co-operated to render permanent the Slavonic conquests. This induction, of course, is not strict; we have not excluded the possibility of like effects resulting from different causes, and the case of the Visigoths in Spain is an obvious, though explicable, exception. But the fact that we have distinct traces of early Slavonic settlements supplements the defect of the *a priori* induction. The circumstance that there is no direct mention of such settlements by writers of the time can have little weight in the opposite scale; such things often escape the notice of contemporaries.¹

The great political characteristic of the Slavonic races was their independence, in which they resembled the Arabs. They could not endure the idea of a monarch, and the communes, independent of, and constantly at discord with, one another, united only in the presence of a dangerous enemy. Owing to this characteristic their invasions cannot have been efficiently organised, and an able general should have been able to cut them off in detachments. The family, governed and represented by the oldest member, was the unit of the commune or tribe; the chiefs of the community, whose territory was called a *župa*, were selected from certain leading families which thus formed an aristocracy.

The character of the Slaves is described by a Greek Emperor as artless and hospitable; but it was often, no doubt, the artlessness of a heathen barbarian. They practised both agriculture and pasture. Physically they were tall and strong, and of blond complexion. Women occupied an honourable position, and the patriarchal character of their social life, by which the family was the proprietor and every individual belonged to a family, excluded poverty. Only an excommunicated person could be poor, and therefore to be poor meant to be bad, and was expressed by the same word.² In the sixth century their abodes were wretched hovels, and their chief food was millet.

The Emperor Maurice, in his treatise on the art of war,³

¹ Jiriček mentions a similar case in the seventeenth century, when the great migration of Serbs from Servia to the Banat and south Russia took place without being mentioned by a historian of the time.

² Jiriček, p. 97.

³ *Μαυρικίου στρατηγικόν*, published at Upsala, 1664, by J. Scheffer, along with Arrian's *Tactics*. This is the only existing edition, and is very rare. The imperial treatise is divided into Twelve Books, and the subject of the eleventh is the customs and tactics of various

gives us an account of the Slavonic methods of warfare. They were unable to fight well in regular battle on open ground, and thus they were fain to choose mountains and morasses, ravines and thickets, in which they could arrange ambuscades and surprises, and bring into play their experience of forest and mountain life. In this kind of warfare skill in archery was serviceable, and they used poisoned arrows. Their weapons in hand-to-hand fight were battle-axes and battle-mallets. Maurice advises that campaigns against them should be undertaken in the winter, because then the trees are leafless and the forests less impenetrable to the view, while the snow betrays the steps of the foe, and the frozen rivers give no advantage to their swimming powers. It was a common device of a hard-pressed Slovene to dive into a river and not emerge, breathing through a reed whose extremity was just above the surface. It required long experience and sharp eyes to see the end of the reed and detect the fugitive.

The Slaves believed in a supreme God, Svarog, the lord of lightning, who created the world out of the sand of the sea; in lesser gods, among whom was reckoned Trajan; and in all sorts of supernatural beings, good and bad (Bogy and Besy); for instance, in *vlkodlaks* or vampires, from which the modern Greek *βρουκόλακας* is borrowed, in lake nymphs (*judi*) a sort of long-haired mermaids who draw down fishermen entangled in their locks to the depths below. The most interesting of these beings are the Samovili or Samodivi, who live and dance in the mountains. "They hasten swiftly through the air; they ride on earth on stags, using adders as bridles and yellow snakes as girdles. Their hair is of light colour. They are generally hostile to men, whose black eyes they blind and quaff," but they are friends of great heroes, and live with them as sworn sisters.¹

Until the last years of the fourth century, when the Visigothic soldiers took up their quarters in the land and exhausted it, the Balkan peninsula had enjoyed a long peace; and after the

foreign nations. He groups Teutonic peoples together as *ξανθὰ ἔθνη*. In Bk. vii. cap. 1, he says that Huns and Scythians should be attacked in February or March, because their horses are then

in bad condition on account of winter hardships (p. 137).

¹ *Posetriunen*, that is in the relation of *Povratimstvo*, a sworn brotherhood of young men like that of Orestes and Pylades, or Amis and Amile.

final departure of Alaric for Italy, it was allowed almost forty years of comparative freedom from the invasions of foes to recover its prosperity. But the rise of the Hunnic monarchy under Attila in the countries north of the Danube meant that evil days were in store for it; and the invasions of the barbarian Attila, a scourge far worse than the raids of Alaric, reduced the plains and valleys of Thrace and Illyricum to uncultivated and desert solitudes, the inhabitants fleeing to the mountains. And when the Hunnic empire, that transitory phenomenon which united many nations loosely for a moment without any real bonds of law or interest, was dissipated, the races which had belonged to it, Germans and Slaves and Huns, hovered on the Danube watching their chance of plunder. The chief of these were the Ostrogoths, who, while they were a check on the Huns and on Germans more uncivilised than themselves, infested the lands of the Haemus, Illyria, and Epirus, until in 588 Theodoric, like Alaric, went westwards to a new home. The departure of the Ostrogoths was like the opening of a sluice; the Slaves and Bulgarians, whom their presence had kept back, were let loose on the Empire, and began periodical invasions. It must be noted that, beside the Ostrogoths, some non-German nations had settled in corners; the Satages¹ and Alans in Lower Moesia, and Huns in the Dobrudža.

I have already mentioned what is known of these invasions in the reign of Anastasius, and how that Emperor built the Long Wall to protect the capital. The invasions continued in the reign of Justinian and throughout the sixth century, but the Bulgarians soon cease to be mentioned, and it appears probable that they were subjugated by the neighbouring Slaves.

No real opposition was offered to the invasions of the barbarians, until Mundus the Gepid, who afterwards assisted in quelling the Nika insurgents, defeated and repelled the Bulgarians in 530. For the following years, until 534, the Haemus provinces enjoyed immunity from the plunderers, owing to the ability of Chilbudius, master of soldiers in Thrace, who was appointed to defend the Danube frontier, and to the measures which were taken for strengthening the fortifications.

¹ They were perhaps Slaves, as Šafarik conjectures; cf. *Sotáks* in north Hungary.

Besides the outer line of strong places on the river, an inner line of defence was made in 530, connecting Ulpiana and Sardica. But, in 534 the death of Chilbudius in a battle with the Slaves left the frontier without a capable defender, and the old ravages were renewed.¹ A grand expedition in 540 penetrated to Greece, but the Peloponnesus was saved by the fortifications of the isthmus. Cassandrea, however, was taken, and the invaders crossed from Sestos to the coast of Asia Minor. The havoc wrought in this year throughout Thrace, Illyricum, and northern Greece was so serious that Justinian set about making new lines of defence on an extensive scale, which will presently be described.

Two Slavonic tribes are mentioned at this period, the Slovenes² and the Antai or Wends. They did not differ from each other in either language or physical traits³; both enjoyed kingless government of a popular nature, both worshipped one God, both were intolerant of the Greek and oriental conception of fate. Procopius relates that about this time hostilities arose between the two tribes, and the Slovenes conquered the Antai; but it has been conjectured that this is an ill-informed foreigner's account of a totally different transaction, namely the reduction of the Slavonic tribes by the Bulgarians. However this may be, it is certain that the Bulgarians (whom Procopius calls Huns), the Slovenes, and the Antai were in the habit of invading the Empire together, and that some bond must have united the two different races. It is to be observed, however, that it is the Slaves who are always in the foreground from this time forth, and that the Bulgarians are almost never mentioned; whence the reverse relation, namely the conquest of the Bulgarians by the Slaves, might seem more probable. Those Bulgarians of the sixth century had, it must be remembered,

¹ An account of the impostor who pretended to be Chilbudius, and the offer made by Justinian to the Antai that they should settle in Turris (perhaps Turnu Magurel, as Safarik, ii. 153, and Jiriček suggest) will be found in Procopius, *B. G.* iii. 14. Theophanes records an expedition of two Bulgarian princes (ῥῳγγοι) in 6031 A.M. = 538-539 A.D., against Moesia and Scythia. Justin, the commander in Moesia, was slain (cf. Malalas, p. 437, 19, ed. Bonn).

² The settlements of the Slovenes were probably in the old trans-Istrian province of Dacia. It is said that their descendants in this country were incorporated among the Roumanians, who migrated from the south in the Middle Ages.

³ According to Procopius, *B. G.* iii. 14. The Wends of Lausitz belong to the "western" division of the Slavonic family.

nothing to do with the foundation of the Bulgarian kingdom, which took place in the seventh century.

In 546 another Slavonic incursion took place, but on this occasion Justinian's principle of "barbarian cut barbarian" came into operation, and they were repulsed by the Heruls. Two years later the Slaves overran Illyricum with a numerous army, and appeared before Dyrrhachium, and in 551 a band of three thousand crossed the Danube unopposed and divided into two parties, of which one ravaged Thrace and the other Illyricum. Both were victorious over Roman generals; the maritime city of Toperus was taken; and the massacres and cruelties committed by the barbarians make the readers of Procopius shudder.¹ In 552 the Slaves crossed the Danube again, intent on attacking Thessalonica, but the terror of the name of Germanus, who was then at Sardica preparing for an expedition to Italy, caused them to abandon the project and invade Dalmatia. At the beginning of Justinian's reign Germanus had inflicted such an annihilating defeat on the Antai that the Slaves looked upon him with fear and awe.² The great expedition of Zabergan and the Cotrigur Huns (whom Roesler calls Bulgarians) in 558 was probably accompanied by Slavonic forces.

It is at this point that the Avars, whose empire considerably influenced the fortunes of the Slaves, appear on the political horizon of the West. But as their presence did not affect the Roman Empire until after the death of Justinian, we may reserve what is to be said of them for a future chapter.

The wall of Anastasius had been the first step to a system of fortifications for defending the peninsula. Justinian carried out the idea on an extensive scale by strengthening old and building new forts in Thrace, Epirus, Dardania, Macedonia, Thessaly, and southern Greece.

To protect Thrace there was first of all a line of fifty-two fortresses along the Danube, of which Securisma (or Securisca) and others were founded by Justinian, while the rest were strengthened and improved. South of the Danube, in Moesia, there were twenty-seven strong fortresses. On the Sea of Marmora Rhodestus was built, a steep and large sea-washed town, while Perinthus (Heraclea) was provided with new walls.

¹ See *B. G.* iii. 38; for the incursion of the preceding year, see iii. 33.

² *Ib.* 40.

The walls that hedged in the Thracian Chersonese were restored. Sestos was made impregnable, and a high tower was erected at Elaiûs. Further west Aenus, near the mouth of the Hebrus, was surrounded with walls; while north-westward, in the regions of Rhodope and the Thracian plain, one hundred and three castles were restored. Trajanopolis (on Hebrus), Maximianopolis, and Doriscus were secured with new walls; Ballurus was converted into a fortified town; Philippopolis and Plotinopolis, on the Hebrus, were restored and strengthened; while Anastasiopolis was secured by a cross wall (*διατείχισμα*).

The middle Danube was in the same way lined with castles and fortified towns, protecting the frontier of Illyricum; the most important were Singidon (Singidunum, now Belgrade), Octavum, eight miles to the west, Pincum, Margus, Viminacium, Capus, and Novae. In Dardania, Justinian's native province, eight new castles were built, and sixty-one of older date restored. When invaders had penetrated this second line of fortresses they entered Macedonia, where a third system of strong defences obstructed their path. We are told that forty-six forts and towers were restored or built in this district. Among those which were restored may be mentioned Cassandrea, which had been taken by the Slovenes, and among those which were newly built we may note Artemisium in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica.

From Macedonia an invader might pass either southwards into Thessaly or westwards into Epirus. In Thessaly the fortified towns of Demetrias—the "fetter of Greece"—Thebae, Pharsalus, Metropolis, Gomphi, and Tricca formed a line of works across the country. The walls of Larissa were restored by Justinian, and new towns, Centauropolis, on Mount Pelion, Eurymene, and Caesarea (probably new), testified to the Emperor's anxiety to protect his subjects. If an enemy wished to proceed into Greece—supposing that he had succeeded in entering the Thessalian plains—it was necessary for him to overpower or elude the garrison of two thousand men who were stationed in the fortresses that guarded the memorable defile of Thermopylae. These fortresses were restored and strengthened, the walls were made higher and more solid, the bastions and battlements were doubled, and cisterns were provided for the use of the garrison. The town of Heraclea, not

far from Thermopylae, was also the object of imperial solicitude; the Euripus was protected by castles; the walls of Plataea, Athens, and Corinth were renewed, and the wall across the isthmus was solidified and improved by watch-towers (*φυλακτήρια*). If, on the other hand, the foe turned his course westward, Justinian had secured those regions by erecting thirty-two new forts in the New Epirus, twelve new forts in the Old Epirus, and rehabilitating about twenty-five in each province.

In regard to this elaborate system of fortification, which was a conspicuous and not dishonourable feature of Justinian's reign, we must notice that he adopted an architectural innovation.¹ Old-fashioned fortresses had been content with single towers, and were hence called *μονοπύργια*: the new erections of Justinian were on a larger scale, and were crowned with many towers. It was probably found that the barbarians, who had learned a little about the art of besieging since they came into contact with the Empire, were not baffled by the one-towered battlements, and that stronger forts were necessary.

We cannot hesitate to assume that these measures of Justinian were of great service for resisting the Slavonic and subsequent Avaric invasions. But it must be observed that some of them were intended as barriers not only against external invaders, but also against barbarians who had settled within the boundaries of the Empire. This, we are told expressly,² was the case with the renovation of Philippopolis and Plotinopolis. We cannot doubt that these barbarian settlers were Slaves.

¹ *ἡ κοδομήσατο καινούργησας* is an expression often employed. Procopius' work "on Edifices" is our source for these fortifications.

² Proc. *de Aed.* iv. 5.

CHAPTER XIII

CHANGES IN THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

THE changes which were made by Justinian in the provincial administration were only of a partial nature, but they are nevertheless important, because they form a stage of transition between the arrangement of Diocletian and the later Thematic system which was developed in the seventh and eighth centuries.

In the earlier system, instituted by Diocletian and Constantine, three points are especially prominent—(1) the separation of the civil from the military administration; (2) the hierarchical or ladder-like principle by which not only the praetorian prefect intervened between the Emperor and the provincial governors, but *vicarii* or diocesan presidents intervened between the provincial governors and the praetorian prefect; (3) the tendency to break up provinces into smaller divisions.

On the other hand, the Thematic system, of which I shall speak in a future chapter, was characterised by features exactly the reverse. Civil and military administration are combined in the hands of the same governor; the principle of intermediate dioceses has disappeared, as well as the principle of praetorian prefectures; and the districts of the governors are comparatively large.

It is then instructive to observe that, though Justinian made no thoroughgoing change in the system that had prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries, almost all the particular changes which he did introduce tended in the direction of the later system. In certain provinces he invested the same persons with military, civil, and fiscal powers; he did away

with some of the diocesan governors, and he combined some of the small divisions to form larger provinces. These changes were made in the years 535 and 536 A.D.

(1.) "In certain of our provinces, in which both a civil and a military governor are stationed, they are continually conflicting and quarrelling with each other, not with a view to the benefit, but with a view to the greater oppression of the subjects; so we have thought it right in these cases to combine the two separate charges to form one office, and to give the old name of praetor to the new governor."¹

This principle was applied in three cases at the same time (18th May 535). The *praeses* of Pisidia was invested with authority over the military forces stationed in the province, and so likewise the *praeses* of Lycaonia. Each of these officers ceased to be called *praeses*, and assumed the more glorious title of *praetor Justinianus*, which was accompanied with the rank of *spectabilis*. The *vicarius Thraciarum*, or governor of the Thracian diocese, and the master of soldiers in Thrace—officers whose spheres, as experience proved, tended to conflict—were abolished and superseded by a praetor Justinianus *per Thraciam* invested with civil, military, and fiscal powers.

The same principle had been adopted just a month before in the case of the new Justinianean counts of Phrygia Pacatiana and First Galatia. It was adopted two months later in the case of the new Justinianean moderator of Helenopontus and the new Justinianean praetor of Paphlagonia; and in the following year (536) it was applied to the new proconsul of Cappadocia and the proconsul of the recently formed province of Third Armenia.

In Egypt this principle had been practically operative under the old system; in the turbulent district of Isauria the governor (count of Isauria) was invested with both military and civil powers; the duke of Arabia also held the double office. But the point is that these exceptions were recognised as opposed to the general principle, and it was attempted to bring them into accordance with that general principle by the fiction that the count of Isauria, for example, represented two separate persons; he held, as it were, the civil power in his right hand and the military power in his left, and his right

¹ Justinian, Nov. xxiii. (ed. Zachariä von Lingenthal). Cf. xxiv. and xxv.

hand was not supposed to know what his left hand was doing. Justinian introduced a new principle and a new kind of governor, in whose hands the two functions were not merely put side by side but were organically united. The truth of this is distinctly demonstrated by the fact that he was obliged to reorganise the office of count of Isauria so that the military and civil powers should cohere.¹ It should be noticed that the epithet *Justinianus* is only connected with the titles of such new governors as were vested with the double function. The new *moderator* of Arabia, who was purely a civil officer, did not receive the imperial name.

(2.) In 535 A.D. (15th April) three diocesan governors were abolished. The vicar of Asiana became the *comes Justinianus* of Phrygia Pacatiana, invested with civil and military powers and enjoying the rank of a "respectable." On the same conditions the vicar of the Pontic diocese became the *comes Justinianus* of Galatia Prima. The count of the East was deprived of his authority over the Orient diocese and, retaining his "respectable" rank, became the civil governor of Syria Prima.²

The first change and the third change were permanent, but the abolition of the vicar of Pontica was revoked in 548 A.D.³

(3.) Justinian united the praesidial provinces of Helenopontus and Pontus Polemoniacus to form one large province, under the command of a governor entitled *moderator Justinianus*. The new province was called Helenopontus, in preference to the other name, because it seemed fitter to continue to commemorate the name of St. Helen than to adopt a title which not only preserved the memory of a "tyrant" but also suggested war (*πόλεμος*).⁴

In the same way the province of Honorias, which had obeyed a praeses, and the province of Paphlagonia, which had

¹ Justinian confesses that his new principle was suggested by the arrangement already existing in Isauria (ὅπερ τισι τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ σχήματι κατὰ τὴν Ἰσαύρων χώραν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ νοῦν πράξαι τοῦτο ἡμεῖς, κ.τ.λ. Nov. xxvi.) But he has to apply it in the very province whose administration gave him the suggestion: οὐ γὰρ ἔτι βουλόμεθα τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτης γινόμενον τῆς ἀρχῆς διπλοῖς χρῆσθαι συμβόλοις καὶ λαμβάνειν μὲν καὶ τὴν τῆς πολιτικῆς

ἀρχῆς προστηγορίαν, λαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐξουσίας σημεῖα καὶ δογμα περιφέρειν διπλοῦν πράγματος ὄντος ἑνός, κ.τ.λ. The last clause seems sufficient to explain the fact that Hierocles speaks of a *praeses* of Isauria, whence some have assumed that sometimes a *praeses* was appointed side by side with the count.

² Nov. xvi.

³ Nov. clviii.

⁴ Nov. xxxi.

obeyed a corrector, were welded together; the new province was called Paphlagonia, and the new governor was a *praetor Justinianus*.¹

These changes were made 16th July 535. In the following year, 18th March, the two provinces of Cappadocia (prima and secunda) were incorporated under the rule of a proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος*) entrusted with the civil, fiscal, and military administration.²

A curious combination of provinces under a single governor was the so-called prefecture of the Five Provinces. Cyprus and Rhodes, the Cyclades, Caria, Moesia, and Scythia were placed under the administration of a *quaestor exercitui*, who resided at Odessus. It would be very interesting to know the reasons for this strange arrangement, but unfortunately we do not possess an original document on the subject.³

In 535 Justinian made a redistribution of the most easterly districts of the old diocese of Pontica.⁴ No change had taken place in the two provinces of Armenia, which were marked in the *Notitia* up to this year, except that First Armenia, which had been a praesidial, had become a consular province. Justinian formed four provinces in Armenia, partly by rearranging the two old provinces, partly by mutilating the province of Helenopontus, partly by incorporating new territory in the provincial system.

The new First Armenia, which had the privilege of being governed by a proconsul, included four towns of the old First Armenia, namely Theodosiopolis, Satala, Nicopolis, and Colonea, and two towns of the old Pontus Polemoniaca, Trapezus and Cerasus. The once important town of Bazanis or Leon-topolis received the name of the Emperor, and was elevated to the rank of the metropolis.

The new Second Armenia, placed under a *praeses*, corresponded to the old First Armenia, and included its towns Sebastea and Sebastopolis. But in lieu of the towns which had been handed over to the new First Armenia, it received Komana, Zela, and Brisa from the new province of Helenopontus.

¹ Nov. xxxii.

² Nov. xlv.

³ See the comments of Julian, Athanasius, and Theodorus on the lost *Lex ut Bonus*, etc., Nov. lii. John Lydus calls this quaestor the *ἐπαρχος* (prefect

or governor) of Scythia, and says that Justinian gave him three provinces, Scythia, Cyprus, and Caria with the islands, of which he deprived the praetorian prefect of the East. Cf. Nov. lxvii.

⁴ Nov. xlv.

The province of Third Armenia, governed by a *comes Justinianus* with military as well as civil authority, corresponded to the old Second Armenia, and included Melitene, Arca, Arabissus, Cucusus, Ariarathea, and Comana (Chryse).

Fourth Armenia was a province new in fact as well as in name; it consisted of the Roman district beyond the Euphrates to the east of Third Armenia. It was governed by a consular, and the metropolis was Martyropolis.

One may at first think that Justinian unnecessarily altered the names, and that he might have continued to call the old Second Armenia, whose form he did not change, by the same name. His principle was geographical order. The new trans-Euphratesian province went naturally with the district of Melitene, and therefore the Second Armenia became the Third, because it was connected with what it was most natural to call the Fourth. This connection was real, because the consular of Fourth Armenia was to be in a certain way dependent on the count of Third Armenia, who was to hear appeals from the less important province. In the same way the new First and Second Armenias naturally went together, and therefore it was convenient that the numbers should be consecutive. The *praeses* of Second was dependent to a certain extent on the proconsul of First Armenia.

The elevation of the *praeses* of Phoenicia Libanesia to the rank of a moderator (*spectabilis*),¹ and that of the *praeses* of Palestine Salutaris to the rank of a proconsul, with authority to supervise and intervene in the affairs of Second Palestine,² illustrate the tendency, which is apparent in most of Justinian's innovations, to raise the rank and powers of minor governments. This went along with the tendency to detract from the powers of the greater governors, like the praetorian prefect of the East, whose office was destined before long to die a natural death, or the count of the East, who had already been degraded to the position of a provincial governor.

In all these reforms the double aspect of Justinian's policy strikes us. He is a great innovator, and yet throughout he professes to revoke ancient names and restore ancient offices. In his constitution on the new praetor of Pisidia he appeals

¹ Nov. lv.

² Nov. liv.

to the existence of the old praetors under the Roman Republic, of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, etc., and asserts that he is "introducing antiquity with greater splendour into the Republic, and venerating the name of the Romans." He discourses on the antiquity of the Pisidian and Paphlagonian peoples, and does not disdain to introduce mythical traditions. And when he establishes a proconsul in Palestine he defends his constitution not only by the fact that this land was in early time a proconsular province, but by the circumstance that it had ancient memories. Reference is made to the connection of Vespasian and Titus with it, and above all to the fact that there "the Creator of the universe, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God and salvation of the human race, was seen on earth and deigned to dwell in our lands."

The general import of the details which I have given in this chapter is sufficiently clear. From the beginning of the Empire up to the sixth century the tendencies had been to differentiate the civil from the military administration, to break up large into lesser provinces, and to create an official hierarchy. These three tendencies might all be considered modes of a more general tendency to decrease the power and dignity of the individual provincial governor; and though, as a matter of fact, this motive did not historically determine them, yet such was their effect. The reaction began in the reign of Justinian, and an opposite movement set in to integrate the provinces and increase the powers of the governors. The organisation of the newly recovered provinces in the West conformed to this principle; the praetor of Sicily and the exarch of Italy were invested with military as well as civil and fiscal powers, and were directly responsible to the Emperor; and the principle was also, though not at first, adopted in Africa. This tendency continued till about the ninth century, about which time some of the large districts, which had been formed in the meantime, began to break up into smaller unities.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE AT THE END OF JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

THE events which occurred in the reign of Justinian produced considerable changes in the map of Europe. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy disappeared, and the kingdom of the Vandals in northern Africa, which though not strictly European was distinctly within the sphere of European politics and may be regarded as European, had also disappeared; Africa and Italy were once more provinces of the Roman Empire. In Spain too the Romans had again set foot, and some cities both east and west of the Straits of Gibraltar, including Malaga, Carthago, and Corduba, acknowledged the sovereignty of Justinian and his successors.

This phenomenon, the recovery by the Roman Empire of lands which it had lost, was repeated again in later times. In each case we may observe three stages. At the beginning of the fifth century, under the dynasty of Theodosius, the Empire was weakened and lost half its territory to Teutonic nations; then under the dynasty of Leo I. the reduced Empire strengthened itself internally; and this consolidation was followed by a period of expansion under the dynasty of Justin. Again, in the seventh century the limits of the Empire were further reduced by Saracens and Bulgarians under the dynasty of Heraclius, and internally its strength became enfeebled; then under the house of the Isaurian Leo it regained its vigour in the eighth century; and in the ninth and tenth centuries, under the Macedonian dynasty of Basil, lost territory was reconquered and the Empire expanded. In neither case were

all the lost provinces won back, and in both cases the new limits very soon began to retreat again.

If we compare the map of Europe in 565 with the map of Europe in 395 we see that the Romans may be said to have won back the lands which constituted the prefecture of Italy; but this general statement requires two modifications. In the north-east corner provinces which had been included in that prefecture, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhaetia, remained practically in the possession of barbarians; and in the south-east districts were recovered which had belonged, not to the prefecture of Italy, but to the prefecture of Gaul, namely south-eastern Spain, the province of Tingitana which faces it, and the Balearic islands. It might have seemed that the charm of the Roman name and the might of Roman arms, issuing no longer from the city of the Tuscan Tiber but from the city of the Thracian Bosphorus, were destined to enthral Europe again, and that the career of conquest begun by Belisarius would be continued by his successors in the lands once known as "the Gauls" against the Visigoths, the Suevi, the Franks, and the Saxons; but Belisarius and Justinian had no successors. North-western Europe was destined, indeed, to become part once more of a Roman Empire, but a bishop of Old Rome, not an Emperor of New Rome, was to bring this about, two hundred and thirty-five years hence.

The new acquisitions of the Roman Empire were not the only new facts which appear on the face of a historical map. There were other new acquisitions made by the Frank kingdom, the very power which was in future years to erect a rival Roman Empire. During the reign of Justinian the kingdom of the Thuringians, the kingdom of the Burgundians, and the kingdom of the Bavarians were incorporated in the kingdom of the Franks. The once Roman island of Britain, now the scene of wars between its Anglo-Saxon conquerors and the old Britons, had so completely passed out of the sphere of the Empire's consciousness, if I may use the expression, that Procopius relates a supernatural legend of it, as of a mystic land. He calls it *Brittia*, reserving the old name *Britannia* for *Brittany*,¹ and mentions that the king of the Franks claimed

¹ Thus the appellation *Brittia* was name *Britannia* and the name *Anglia*. intermediate between the old Roman When the Goths offered to surrender

some sort of suzerainty over it, and on one occasion attached Angles to an embassy which he sent to Byzantium, in order to show that he was lord of the island. According to the strange and picturesque legend, which Procopius records but does not believe, the fishermen and farmers who live on the northern coast of Gaul pay no tribute to the Frank kings, because they have another service to perform. At the door of each in turn, when he has lain down to sleep, a knock is heard, and the voice of an unseen visitant summons him to a nocturnal labour. He goes down to the beach, as in the constraint of a dream, and finds boats heavily laden with invisible forms, wherein he and those others who have received the supernatural summons embark and ply the oars. The voyage to the shore of Brittia is accomplished in the space of an hour in these ghostly skiffs, though the boats of mortals hardly reach it by force of both sailing and rowing in a day and a night. The unseen passengers disembark in Brittia, and the oarsmen return in the lightened boats, hearing as they depart a voice speaking to the souls.

Two other changes must be noticed which took place in that region of wandering and shifting barbarians on the banks of the Ister. The Lombards dwelled on the left bank of the Ister when Justinian ascended the throne; when Justin II acceded their habitations were in Pannonia, the land of the Drave and the Save. The kingdom of the Gepids, which was bounded on both the south and the west side by the Ister, remained tolerably stationary during the whole reign. But in the latter years of Justinian a new people had established itself to the east of the Gepids, on the lower Ister—the Avars, a Hunnic people who were destined to influence the fortunes of the Balkan peninsula and the Danube countries for the space of less than a hundred years, then to sink into insignificance, and finally to disappear. Their arrival was fatal for the short-lived kingdom of the Gepids, which was crushed, two years after Justinian's death, by the united forces of the Lombards and the Avars.

We may now consider some special points respecting the western conquests of Justinian.

Sicily to the Romans, who had already conquered it, Belisarius replied by offering to bestow Brittia, once an imperial possession, on the Goths.

Immediately after the overthrow of the Vandal kingdom Africa was placed under the jurisdiction of a praetorian prefect, and thus rendered co-ordinate with Illyricum and the Orient. The act by which this administrative arrangement was made is preserved in the Codex,¹ and possesses extreme importance for students of the history of the Roman civil service.

The new prefecture included the four provinces² which composed the vicariate of Africa in the fourth century, and the privileged province, which was governed then by a proconsul. But in addition to these five provinces it comprised Tingitana, which in old days belonged to the vicariate of Spain, and Sardinia, which belonged to the vicariate of Urbs Roma. Of the seven provinces four were governed by consulars by the new arrangement, Byzacium, Tripolis, Carthago (that is Africa), and Tingitana; of these Tripolis and Tingitana had formerly been under *praesides*, while Africa had been governed by a proconsul who was independent of the vicarius. The other three provinces were placed under *praesides*; for Numidia, formerly a consular province, this was a degradation in rank.

The praetorian prefect, whose residence was fixed at Carthago, was to have a bureau of 396 officials. Another constitution which was passed at the same time established military dukes in various provinces.³

When the troubles which immediately resulted from the circumstances attending the conquest of Africa had been allayed, the prosperity of the Libyan provinces seems to have revived. The praetorian prefects were endowed with military authority, contrary to the original intention, and afterwards received, vulgarly if not officially, the appellation of exarch; and they were successful in defending their territory against the inroads of the Moors. John, the brother of Pappus, gained such brilliant victories over the Moorish chiefs,⁴ two of whom were compelled to attend on him as slaves, that the African poet of the imperial restoration, Flavius Cresconius Corippus,

¹ *Cod. Just.* i. 27, 1 (534 A.D.) The first praetorian prefect of Africa was Archelaus.

² In the *Notitia*, Mauretania was bipartite, under two praesides, Mauretania Sitifensis (eastern part) and Mauretania Caesariensis (western part).

³ *Cod. Just.* i. 27, 2. Five *duces*

were appointed, namely in Tripolis, Byzacena, Numidia, Mauretania, and Sardinia. The coast opposite to Spain was placed under the military control of a tribune subject to the duke of Mauretania.

⁴ See Procopius, *B. G.* iv. 17 *ad fin.*, and the *Johannis* of Corippus. The date of these events was 546.

thought himself justified in making him the hero of an eponymous poem, the *Johannis*. Paulus was praetorian prefect of Africa in 552, John (presumably the brother of Pappus) in 558, and Areobindus in 563,¹ but we hear little more of Africa until the reign of Maurice, when the Exarch Gennadius dealt treacherously with the Moors, who had been harassing the provinces, and paralysed their hostilities.

The new connection of Sardinia with Africa was not unnatural. Like Sicily, it had generally played a part in the dealings of Rome with her enemies in Africa. It had played a part seven hundred and fifty years ago in the Punic wars; it had been connected with the war against the Moor Gildo in the reign of Honorius; recently it had been involved in the fortunes or misfortunes of Africa, and included in the kingdom of the Vandals. It was therefore natural to include it in the new prefecture which was raised on the ruins of that kingdom.

The German power which had established itself in northern Africa had passed away, as the German power which had established itself on the middle Danube was soon to pass away, without leaving any permanent trace of its existence; neither the Gepids nor the Vandals left a historical name or monument behind them,² except indeed the old and improbable derivation of Andalusia from Vandalusia prove to be really correct. In this respect the Gepids and the Vandals contrast with the Burgundians and the Thuringians, whose kingdoms were overthrown, but whose names still survive.

It is a common remark that the extermination of the Vandal power by the Romans is a thing to be regretted rather than rejoiced in, and that Justinian removed what might have proved a barrier to the westward advance of the Saracens at the end of the seventh century.³ I think that this view can be shown to rest on a misconception. In the first place, it is

¹ I mention this to show that the office of praetorian prefect had not been abolished in Africa, as Mr. Hodgkin seems to suppose (*Italy and her Invaders*, iv. p. 45). See Novels clx. clxix. clxxiii. (ed. Zachariä). I assume in the text that the prefects were invested with military authority; it is possible, however, that in Justinian's reign there may have been both a prefect and a magister militum (σπαρταγός), and that both functions may

have been afterwards combined in the office of the exarch; but this does not seem so probable. When Solomon was praetorian prefect he seems to have been in command of the soldiers.

² Their name, however, has been perpetuated in the opprobrious word *vandalism*. Transdanubian Dacia was called *Gepidia* for a time. There was a remnant of the Gepids in the ninth century (Roesler, *Römische Studien*, p. 77).

³ Cf. Mr. Hodgkin, *op. cit.* iii. 695.

hard to believe that the Vandals would have been able to present any serious resistance to the Arabs; at the end of the fifth century their kingdom was in a state of decline, and it seems probable that it could never have lasted until the end of the seventh century. It seems more probable that if it had not fallen a prey to the Romans it would have fallen a prey to a worse enemy, the Moors; and it seems certain that, even had it escaped Moors as well as Romans, it would have collapsed when the first Saracens set foot on the land. For the domestic condition of the Vandal state must have absolutely precluded all chance of a revival of strength. The kingdom was divided against itself, the native provincials hated their conquerors, who were daily growing more supine and less warlike, and there is no likelihood that an amalgamation would ever have taken place. And, secondly, even granting—what seems utterly improbable—that the Vandals could have held Africa even as effectually as the Romans, it was far more in the interests of European civilisation that the Romans should occupy it, for Africa proved the safety of the Empire at one of its most critical moments—the occasion of the dethronement of Phocas; and on the Empire mainly depended the cause of European civilisation. But, thirdly, if we entertain the still wilder supposition that the Vandals would really have been able to stem the tide of the Asiatic wave which rolled through Africa to Spain, it is very doubtful whether that would have promoted the interests of Europe; for though the Saracen lords of Cordova were Mohammedans and Asiatics, it cannot be denied that their sojourn in Spain was conducive in a marked degree to the spread of culture in the West.

If we are to indulge in speculations of what might have been had something else not been, we might suppose that no Imperial revival of an expansive nature took place, that the Vandals continued to live at their ease and persecute the Catholics in Africa, and that Ostrogothic kings continued to be the “lords of things,” *domini rerum*, in Italy. Starting with this supposition, it would be natural enough to imagine further that the events of the Punic wars might be repeated; that the Goths of Italy might invade Africa and overthrow the effete Vandal kingdom just as the Romans had overthrown the Carthaginian republic; and that so the Ostrogoths, who were

already in southern Gaul neighbours of their kinsmen the Visigoths, might become their neighbours also at the Pillars of Hercules. And thus,—Italy, Sicily, Africa, Spain, and southern Gaul belonging to Visigoths and Ostrogoths,—we can form the conception of a Gothic empire round the western Mediterranean basin, an empire which might have spread northward and eastward like the Roman Empire of old. Such imaginary displacements of fact sometimes serve to illustrate the import of the events which actually took place.

Sicily, which performed the double function of being a stepping-stone to Africa and a stepping-stone to Italy for the "Roman" invaders, was placed soon after its conquest under the government of a praetor (*στρατηγός*), who was endowed with both civil and military authority.¹ Its administration remained, even after the conquest of Italy, independent of the governor, who resided at Ravenna. According to the old order which existed in the fifth century before the reign of Odovacar, Sicily was governed by a consular who was responsible to the vicar of Urbs Roma.

After the partial conquest of Italy by Belisarius the new acquisitions seem to have been placed under a praetorian prefect,² on the same basis as Africa, the military and the civil functions being kept distinct. But this arrangement was only temporary, and after the complete and final conquest of the land by Narses the system was adopted of combining the controls of civil, fiscal, and military affairs in the hands of one supreme governor. This principle had already been introduced in many provinces in the East, and had been adopted in Sicily. It is a little strange that it was not immediately adopted in Africa, where, however, the disturbed state of the country soon led to its introduction.

It is evident that a new name was required for the new governor. The title prefect, *ἐπαρχος*, from being originally

¹ The appointment of the praetor seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Hodgkin. It is proved by the 79th Novel (ed. Zacharia), which was issued before the end of 537.

² Maximin was appointed praetorian prefect of Italy in the latter part of 542, see Procopius, *B. G.* iii. 6; but this does not warrant the assertion

of L. Armbrust in his dissertation on *Die territoriale Politik der Päpste von 500 bis 800*: "neben ihm [the exarch] fungirte ein Präfectus Prætorio." If there was an officer called *prefect* at Ravenna, as some passages in Gregory's letters seem to prove, he was not a praetorian prefect of Italy.

purely military, had come to be associated with purely civil functions, while the title *magister militum* was, on the face of it, purely military. The new, or revived, names which Justinian had given to the governors of provinces in whose hands he united the two authorities, praetor, proconsul or moderator, were manifestly unsuitable for the governor-general of Italy. Italy was a large aggregate of provinces, as large as the prefecture of Illyricum, and it would have been absurd to place its governor on a level in point of title with the praetor of Sicily, the proconsul of Cappadocia, or the moderator of Helenopontus. It was eminently a case for a new name, and accordingly a nondescript Greek name, which was applied to various kinds of officers,¹ was chosen, and the governor of Italy was called the *exarch*; but as he was always a patrician, it was common to speak of him in Italy as the Patrician.

We are not informed into what provinces the exarchate of Italy was divided during the fifteen years of its existence before the Lombard invasion. The praetor of Sicily probably remained independent of the exarch, while on the other hand it is possible that the administration of Sardinia may have been separated from Africa, and, like her sister island Corsica, connected with Italy. We may say that the district governed by the exarch corresponded very closely to the joint dioceses of Italy and Illyricum; and we may suppose that, as in Africa, the old distribution of provinces was in the main adopted. In regard to these provinces, it is important to observe that the signification of the word Campania had altered as long ago as the fourth century, and now comprised Latium. Rome herself, however, was perhaps even at this time, as she certainly was in the eighth century, included not in Campania, but in Tuscia, as Etruria was now called. In old days men spoke of the Tuscan Tiber; in the Middle Ages men could speak of Tuscan Rome.

The circumstance that Romans not living at Latin Rome and regarded by the Italians as strangers should have conquered Italy is one of the curiosities of history. The Romans, Romaioi, who came with Belisarius were looked upon as Greeks,

¹ Some of the subordinates of the praefectus urbi of Constantinople are called ἑταρχοὶ by Constantine Porphyrogennetos.

and spoken of with a certain contempt by the provincials as well as by the Goths. They were not, however, all Greek-speaking soldiers, a very large number were barbarians; but it is probable that very few spoke Latin. Nevertheless it might be said that they represented a Latin power, for the native language of the Emperor Justinian was Latin. He often opposes "our native tongue" to the "common Hellenic speech," and laws were promulgated in Latin as well as in Greek. Latin Italy was not yet out of touch with the Roman Empire. Yet nothing illustrates more clearly the fact that the Empire was becoming every year more Greek in character than the history of its Italian dependencies. It succeeded in Hellenising the southern provinces, and it was just these provinces that remained longest subject to its authority.

The Greek characteristics of the Empire under Justinian are calculated to suggest vividly the process of ebb and flow which is always going on in the course of history. Just ten centuries before, Greek Athens was the bright centre of European civilisation. Then the torch was passed westward from the cities of Hellenism, where it had burned for a while, to shine in Latin Rome; soon the rivers of the world, to adapt an expression of Juvenal, poured into the Tiber. Once more the brand changed hands; it was transmitted from the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, once more eastward, to a city of the Greek world—a world, however, which now disdained the impious name "Hellenic," and was called "Romaic." By the shores of the Bosphorus, on the acropolis of Graeco-Roman Constantinople, the light of civilisation lived, pale but steady, for many hundred years, longer than it had shone by the Ilissus, longer than it had gleamed by the Nile or the Orontes, longer than it had blazed by the Tiber; and the church of St. Sophia was the visible symbol of as great a historical idea as those which the Parthenon and the temple of Jupiter had represented, the idea of European Christendom. The Empire, at once Greek and Roman, the ultimate result to which ancient history, both Greek history and Roman, had been leading up, was for nine centuries to be the bulwark of Europe against Asia, and to render possible the growth of the nascent civilisation of the Teutonic nations in the West by preserving the heritage of the old world.

CHAPTER XV

BYZANTINE ART

AN account of the reign of Justinian would be incomplete without a chapter on the architectural works of his reign and the school of the christian Ictinus, Anthemius of Tralles; and this leads us to speak of "Byzantine" art in general. "Romaic" art, one might think, would be a more suitable name to distinguish it from "Romanesque," which developed in the West on parallel lines and out of the same elements; for so-called Byzantine art was not confined to Byzantium, and "Byzantine" has no right to a wider signification.

In the first place, it may be observed that the antagonism of Christians to ancient art has often been misrepresented. Christians, like pagans, loved to decorate their houses with statues; the christian city of Constantine was a museum of Greek art. In the fourth century, at all events, little trace is left of the earlier prejudice against pictures and images which was derived from the Semitic cradle of the new religion. Christians adopted old mythological ideas, and gave them an interpretation agreeing with the conceptions of their creed. The representations of Christ as the Good Shepherd, which were so common, were closely connected with the Greek type of Hermes Kriophoros; and in the catacombs we find an Orpheus-Christ.¹ The nimbus² that surrounds the head of a saint in christian paintings was derived from the pictures of heathen gods of light; the rape of Proserpine is portrayed

¹ See the beautiful plate "Orphée jouant du luth" in Perret's *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. i. pl. 20.

² For the nimbus, see Didron's *Chris-*

tian Iconography (Bohn series), vol. i. p. 34. The subject of Byzantine typology is too technical to be entered upon here.

on the tomb of Vibia. With such symbolism we may compare the habit of dedicating churches on the sites of temples to some christian saint who offered some similitude in name or attribute to the god who had been worshipped in the old temple.¹ A church of St. Elias often replaced a sanctuary of Apollo the sun-god, on account of the Greek name Helios; and temples of Pallas Athene might be converted into shrines of the Virgin. It was the same clinging to old forms, in spite of their inconsistency with the new faith, that induced the Phrygians to call themselves Chrestianoï instead of Christianoi, and to speak of Chrestos instead of Christos.² In architecture and all branches of art the Christians had to accept and modify pagan forms; just as they employed the materials of Greek and Roman temples, especially the columns, in building their churches.

The two kinds of art which come before us at this period are architecture and mosaic. Sculpture had practically died out with the old Greek spirit itself. For in the first place there was no longer any comprehension of the beauty of the human form; the days of the gymnasia had passed away; and in the second place taste had degenerated, and men sought and admired splendour of effect rather than beauty of form. So it was that colossal pillars like that of Marcian, which seem imposing because they are monstrous, had become popular; and for the statues of Emperors and others, which were still executed, precious metals or showy substances like porphyry were selected in preference to marble. In addition to these circumstances there was another reason which tended to render sculpture obsolete. Christians had adopted the basilica as the most usual form of their places of worship, and it was evident that plaques or mosaics could fill the walls better. Work in mosaic was more permanent, more costly, and more brilliant than painting, and many splendid specimens are still preserved, especially in the churches of Ravenna and Thessalonica.³

¹ See Mr. Tozer's note, Finlay's *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 424, in which he refers to a paper of M. de Julleville, *Sur l'emplacement et le vocable des Églises chrétiennes en Grèce*. "The altar of the twelve gods is replaced by a church of the twelve apostles. . . . Where there stood two temples of Demeter there are now two

churches of St. Demetrius. On the site of a temple of Asclepius is a church of the Hag. Anargyri, i.e. the unpaid physicians SS. Cosmas and Damian."

² See Prof. Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii. 349.

³ As the scope of this chapter does not extend beyond the sixth century,

The basilica and the rotunda were the chief forms of christian churches in the fourth and fifth centuries. In each case there were problems to be solved. In the basilica the architect was met by the difficulty of combining the Roman arch with the Greek column. In the case of the rotunda it seemed desirable to associate the dome with other than circular buildings; and of this problem two solutions were attempted. In the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna we see the circular surrendered for a cruciform plan, and the cupola rising from the four corners. On the other hand the Byzantines enclosed the circular building in a square one, leaving a recess in each of the four angles, as in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, and the church of San Vitale at Ravenna.¹ The dome was ultimately to be united with rectangular buildings, but this union was peculiarly Byzantine. The practice of placing a dome over part of a rectangular edifice was seldom adopted in the western architecture of those days.

The problem of uniting the arch with the column weighed especially upon the architect of basilicas. It was solved first at Salona in the peristyle of Diocletian's palace, as has been shown by Mr. Freeman, whose own words it will be well to quote. "To reach anything like a really consistent and harmonious style the problem was to find some means by which the real Roman system of construction might be preserved and made prominent, without casting aside a feature of such exquisite beauty as the Greek column, especially in the stately and sumptuous form into which it had grown in Roman hands. The problem was to bring the arch and column into union—in other words, to teach the column to support the arch. It strikes us that in the palace at Spalato we may see a series of attempts at so doing, a series of strivings, of experiments, one of which was at last crowned with complete success. Of these experiments some would seem to have been already tried else-

no reference is made to the churches of Athens, whose dates are uncertain, nor to later buildings of ascertained date like St. Mark's at Venice, which, it need hardly be remarked, is in every sense a Byzantine church.

¹ At Bosra there is a temple externally square, internally circular.

The church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, now known as the little Aja Sofia, was erected by Justinian near the palace of Hormisdas, south-west of the hippodrome. St. George's at Salonica is an instance of a circular church with a dome.

where; of the successful one we know of no example earlier than Diocletian. . . . The arch was set over the column, but it was made to spring from the continuous entablature or from the broken entablature, or, as in the case of the Venetian windows, the entablature itself was made to take the form of an arch. All these attempts were more or less awkward . . . but in the peristyle the right thing was hit upon; the arch was made to spring bodily from the capital of the column, and was moulded, not with the fine mouldings of the entablature, but with those of the architrave only. . . . The germ of Pisa and Durham and Westminster had been called into life."¹

The method by which the architects at Ravenna endeavoured to mediate between the column and the arch constitutes a special feature of early Byzantine architecture. It was evident that the entablature was but an awkward link between arch and capital, and the Ravennate architects relinquished it for a new form, a kind of super-capital called by the French *dossieret*. This is a reversed blunted pyramid with sides either convex or concave, the decoration generally consisting of monograms, crosses, or acanthus leaves in very low relief. It is seldom found as a plain block. In Ravenna one pillar in the church of Sta. Agatha has a plain square block between arch and capital, and we find similar blocks represented in the mosaics of San Apollinare Nuovo on the pillars of the palace of Theodoric. This new feature is a distinct step in the development of art called Byzantine; the horizontal structure and all its connections are being abandoned in favour of arches. This link between arch and column is a special feature of Ravenna, but we find it in the churches of St. Demetrius, the Holy Apostles, and Eski Djouma at Thessalonica, and elsewhere.²

The architecture of Ravenna³ falls naturally into three periods, the age of Galla Placidia, the age of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, and the age of Justinian. San Giovanni in

¹ *Historical Essays*, 3d series, p. 61, note on "Diocletian's place in architectural history."

² We may perhaps attribute to Ravennate influence the appearance of the "dossieret" (German *Polster*) in a few churches at Rome (Sta. Agatha in Suburra, San Stefano Rotondo, San Lorenzo

fuori le mura, SS. Quattro Coronati), and in the crypts of some churches in southern Italy. See F. W. Unger, *Griechische Kunst*, p. 342, 346 in Brockhaus, *Griechenland*.

³ There is a special work on the churches of Ravenna by Quast, *Die altchristlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna*.

Fonte remains as an exquisite relic of the *Ecclesia Ursiana* built before the age of Placidia. Two churches built by Placidia herself were San Giovanni Evangelista and Sta. Croce. The former building now consists almost entirely of restorations; of the original work, executed to fulfil a vow made by the Empress when saved from a storm at sea, nothing remains but the pillars in the nave. Opposite Sta. Croce is the small dark church of SS. Nazario e Celso, built as a mausoleum by Placidia, and containing her own tomb. This building is in the form of a cross with neither nave nor pillars, adorned with arches and cylindrical vaults, and lined with mosaics. The walls outside are crowned by pediments with antique horizontal cornices. We see here an interesting example of the antique and Byzantine styles blended, and for the first time a cupola placed upon a four-cornered building. The palace of the Laurelwood (*Lauretum*), built by Placidia and her son Valentinian, in which Theodoric slew Odovacar, no longer exists.

In the second period, the reign of Theodoric, was built one of the finest Byzantine basilicas, San Martino in Caelo Aureo, now called San Apollinare Nuovo. The date of the "Rotunda of Theodoric" is not unchallenged, and the remains of his palace, now the front of the Franciscan cloister, have perhaps some claim to be considered genuine,¹ although the palace represented in the mosaics of San Apollinare points to a more antique style. Of the original San Martino only the nave remains, and in its gorgeous mosaics may be seen a further development of Byzantine art. Traces of the antique survive in some parts of the ornamentation and in the quasi-Corinthian capitals. No entirely new type of capital is seen in Byzantine architecture before the reign of Justinian; and until then the new art continued to use with more or less modification the old forms. In San Martino the Corinthian form is changed by a considerable widening at the top, and resembles the funnel shape of later Byzantine

¹ Low down in the wall of the façade is set a porphyry basin, purporting to contain the ashes of Theodoric, formerly placed in his mausoleum. The tomb still remains, but is called the church of Sta. Maria della Rotonda. See *Anonymus Valesii*, 16, 96: *se autem vivo*

fecit sibi monumentum ex lapide quadrato mirae magnitudinis opus et saxum ingens quod superponeret inquisivit. It has been supposed that this anonymous writer is no other than archbishop Maximian, represented in the mosaics of San Vitale (cf. vol. i. p. 253).

capitals. The wall veil of both sides of the nave is covered with mosaics; on one side is represented a line of martyrs going forth from Ravenna to the presence of Christ, and on the other a procession of virgins, clad in white, with palms in their hands, issuing from Classis, to offer adoration to the Virgin, who is waiting to receive them. In the representation of Ravenna the palace of Theodoric is conspicuous.¹

Two large and beautiful buildings erected in the reign of Justinian make that period remarkable in Ravennate architecture, the famous octagon San Vitale, the model of Charles the Great for the cathedral of Aachen,² and San Apollinare in Classe, one of the most important basilicas in existence. The church of San Vitale was begun under the archbishop Ecclesius before Italy had been reconquered by the Romans; the building was executed by Julian Argentarius,³ the Anthemius of Ravenna; and the church, completed after the imperial restoration, was dedicated by bishop Maximianus in 546. It is octagon in shape, and covered with a dome. To the east stretches a long choir, and seven semicircular niches break the walls of the seven other sides. A large portion of the interior is cased in slabs of veined marble of various colours. The apse, which is adorned with fine mosaics, is Byzantine in shape, semicircular within and three-sided without, and on either side is a semicircular chapel. The central mosaic represents the sacrifice of Isaac, while on either side is a picture, most suitable to decorate a building which may be considered the monument of the imperial restoration in Italy. On one side is represented Justinian in gorgeous apparel accompanied by the archbishop Maximianus, and attended by priests and officers; and on the opposite side another mosaic shows the Empress Theodora, also in magnificent attire, glittering with pearls and gems, and surrounded by her maidens. Justinian carries a casket and Theodora a goblet, probably containing thank-offerings to be placed on the altar. The original entrance to

¹ See Agnellus, *Lib. Pont.* p. 113 (*ap. Muratori, S. R. I.* vol. ii.), who relates that among other churches used by the Arian Ostrogoths and adapted by Justinian for Catholic use, St. Martinus, called *caelum aureum*, was embellished by mosaics "of the martyrs and virgins walking," *utrasque parietes*

de imaginibus martyrum virginumque incedentium tessellis decoravit.

² There appears to be an erroneous notion current that San Vitale was copied from St. Sophia at Constantinople, but the two buildings have no resemblance.

³ See Agnellus, *ib.* pp. 95, 107.

the building was on the west, but is now walled up, and the narthex, or, as it was called in Ravenna, the "ardica,"¹ is enclosed in the cloister. The columns have capitals of a new form, some funnel shaped, resembling the impost blocks, others basket shaped and adorned with network.

San Apollinare in Classe was begun under bishop Ursicinus, 534 A.D., and completed and consecrated by Maximian in 549. In plan this great church is like the other basilicas of Ravenna. It has three naves, spanned on each side by arches supported by twelve columns. The pillars, now deep sunken in the floor, many standing in water, rest on Attic bases, very various in form. Their basket-shaped capitals are decorated with acanthus. The narthex is a striking feature of the building, being remarkably high and broad. On the wall veil of the naves above the arches are mosaic medallions representing the archbishops of Ravenna.

A few years before the foundations of the church of San Vitale were laid, a cathedral was built at Parentium, on the peninsula of Pola, by Euphrasius. To the artistic interest of this edifice is joined an historical association, derived from the fact that Euphrasius was appointed bishop of Parentium by Theodoric but built his cathedral after the city had passed into the hands of the Romans. Thus the stately building and its founder suggest the transition from the Ostrogothic to the Justinianean period. The cathedral is thus described by Mr. Jackson²: "The church of Euphrasius is a specimen of the Byzantine style at its best. Classic tradition survives in the basilica plan, the long drawn ranks of serried marble pillars, and in the horizontal direction of the leading lines. But the capitals with their crisply ruffled foliage, emphasised by dark holes pierced with a drill which recall the fragility and brilliance of the shell of the sea echinus, belong to a new school of sculpture, and the massive basket capitals which are found among them as well as the second capital or impost block which surmounts them all, were novelties in architecture at the time of their erection. These buildings³ belong to the best school of By-

¹ See Agnellus, *Lib. Pont.* p. 107, in *ardica*. It seems evident that the collocation of the preposition led to the omission of the initial *n* of a Latinised form of *νάρθηξ*. In *nardica* became in

ardica, somewhat as a *natter* became an *aadder*.

² See Mr. Jackson's *Dalmatia*, vol. i.

³ St. Euphrasius and the duomo of Elias at Grado, 571-586.

zantine art, and were erected at the same period as those at Ravenna and Constantinople, which they resemble in every detail; and in the church of Parenzo especially one might imagine oneself in the ancient capital of the exarchs."

In the churches of Thessalonica¹ we find the new art in its perfection, especially in its most original and peculiar development, the adorning of the domes with mosaic. The date of many of the churches of Thessalonica is uncertain, and modern specialists are much at variance on the subject. In some cases the buildings themselves afford evidence of great antiquity; for example, the atrium in the nave of St. Demetrius once contained a fountain, which points to the custom of ablution practised by Christians only in the earliest times, and the mosaic pictures in St. George's church of saints who lived before the time of Constantine suggest an early period. The theory, too easily adopted by travellers, that many of these churches were built on the sites of heathen temples has been contradicted and almost disproved by recent research.

Of the more ancient buildings in Thessalonica the churches of St. Demetrius and St. George are the most remarkable. The church of St. Demetrius is a basilica (or *dromikon*) erected in honour of the saint early in the fifth century. The columns of the nave, of *verde antico* marble, are Ionic, and the carefully executed capitals might be called Corinthian but for the eagles with which they are adorned. The *dosserets*, which surmount the capitals, are marked with crosses, sometimes in the middle of foliage.² The only decoration of this church consists of coloured marbles, and the effect is more temperate than if it were also embellished with mosaics.

The ancient church of St. George belongs to the class of circular buildings called "tholi," most of which are supposed to have been erected in the early part of the fourth century.³ It is probable that the dome, which even in the time of

¹ For the churches of Thessalonica, see the work of Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, in which there are splendid reproductions of the mosaics. [Mr. Mahaffy however communicates the following note: "The colours of the mosaics, as reproduced in Texier, are too bright and staring, nor are they even a fair representation of the newest and

brightest condition of the originals."]

² Texier and Pullan, *op. cit.* p. 128.

³ Leo Allatius distinguishes five kinds of churches—1. *τρουλλωτά*, or *θολωτά* (tholi); 2. *καμαρωτά* (vaulted buildings); 3. *σταυρωτά* (cruciform); 4. *δρομικά*; 5. *mixta* (mixed style).—*De templis Græcorum recentioribus*, Ep. ii. (ed. 1645).

Constantine was used in christian architecture, was adopted from Persian and other oriental buildings. The opening at the top of the dome was convenient as an issue for the smoke of the fire-worshippers, while the followers of a mystic cult appreciated the gloom¹; for originally the cupola was lit from the top, as in the Pantheon at Rome. The octagon built by Constantine at Antioch was the model for numerous churches in the East. The entire decoration of the church of St. George consists of mosaics, and the eight pictures in the dome are perhaps the greatest work of the kind in existence. In these eight pictures are represented "rich palaces, in a fantastic style, resembling those painted on the walls of Pompeii; columns ornamented with precious stones; pavilions closed by purple curtains floating in the wind, upheld by rods and rings; arcades without number, friezes decorated with dolphins, birds, palm-trees; and modillions supporting cornices of azure and emerald. In the centre of each of these compositions is a little octagonal or circular house, surrounded by columns and covered by a cupola; it is screened off by low barriers, and veils conceal the interior. A lamp suspended from the ceiling indicates its character; it is the new tabernacle or *sanctum sanctorum* of the Christians."² A remarkable feature of this church are the eight quadrilateral chapels formed in the thickness of the walls at equal distances from one another. Some of these niches are ornamented with mosaic pictures of birds, flowers, and baskets of fruit.

The era of Justinian was the golden age of christian art, and St. Sophia, its most perfect achievement, still remains, a wonder displaying all the resources of the new art, and a perpetual monument of the greatness of the Emperor and of the genius of Anthemius of Tralles. Of this master Agathias gives the following account:—

"The city of Tralles was the birthplace of Anthemius, and he practised the art of inventions, by which mechanicians, applying the abstract theory of lines to materials, fabricate imitations and, as it were, images of real things.³ In this art he excelled greatly and reached the highest point of

¹ Compare Unger, *Griechische Kunst*, p. 354. Unger, however, seems to press too far the theory that the chief features of christian art came from the East.

² Texier and Pullan, *op. cit.* p. 136.

³ The ingenious contrivances of this Archimedes of the sixth century for tormenting his neighbours are related by Agathias and reproduced by Gibbon.

mathematical science,¹ even as his brother Metrodorus in so-called philology (γραμματικῶ). I would certainly felicitate their mother on having brought into the world a progeny replete with such various learning, for she was also the mother of Olympius, who studied law and practised in the courts, and of Dioscorus and Alexander, both skilful physicians. Dioscorus lived in his native city, where he gave many remarkable proofs of his skill, and Alexander dwelt in Rome, having received an honourable call thither. But the fame of Anthemius and Metrodorus spread everywhere and reached the Emperor himself, on whose invitation they came to Byzantium and spent the rest of their lives there, and gave remarkable proofs of their respective talents. Metrodorus educated many noble youths, instructing them in his honourable branch of learning, and instilling diligently a love of literature in all. But Anthemius contrived wonderful works both in the city and in many other places which, I think, even if nothing were said about them, would suffice of themselves to win for him an everlasting glory in the memory of man as long as they stand and endure."²

The church dedicated by Constantine to the Divine Wisdom (Ἀγία Σοφία) was twice burnt down, first in the reign of Arcadius, and again in the reign of Justinian during the Nika revolt. Forty days after the tumult had subsided the ruins were cleared away by order of the Emperor, and space was provided for a new church to be built on a much larger scale than the old. To Anthemius was entrusted the great work, and Isidore of Miletus and Ignatius were his assistants. The ancient temples of Asia and Greece were robbed of their most beautiful columns, and costly marbles, granite, and porphyry were brought from distant places, from Egypt, Athens, and the Cyclades, as well as from Proconnesus, Cyzicus, and the Troad.³ The length of the building is 241 feet, the breadth 224 feet; the ground plan represents a Greek cross, and the crowning glory of the work, the aerial dome, rises 179 feet above the floor of the church. Thus here, for the first time, the cupola is united on a large scale with a cruciform building.⁴ The dome is lit by forty windows built into the hemisphere itself, and rests lightly on four strong arches supported by massive pillars; its weight is lessened as much as possible by the use of light materials. On the east

¹ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κέντρον εἶναι καὶ σχῆμα χαράξαι (Paulus Silentiarius, *Descr. S. Sophiæ*, l. 271).

² Agathias, v. 8.

³ These marbles are mentioned in the *Descriptio S. Sophiæ* of Paul the Silentiary. This poem and Salzenberg's

splendid work, *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom 5 bis 12 Jahrhundert*, are both indispensable and sufficient for the study of St. Sophia.

⁴ Thus St. Sophia belongs to the fifth class of Leo Allatius; it is both σταυρωτὸν and τρουλλωτὸν.

and west are two large half-domes (*conchae*), each lit by five windows. The oval shape of the nave is determined by these half-domes. At either side of the apse there is a smaller side-apse,¹ and on the west, where the narthex corresponds to the apse, there are similar recesses. Two contemporary writers, Paul the Silentiary and Procopius the historian, were impressed with the marvellous brilliance of the interior owing to the skilful arrangement of the windows. "It is wonderfully filled with light and sun rays, you would say the sunlight grew in it" (*τὴν αἴγλην ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι*).² The enclosing walls of the building are built of brick concealed under a coating of marble, and the interior presents a brilliant spectacle of costly marbles, porphyry, jasper, and mosaics, which adorn the walls and cupolas.

In the apse, between four silver columns, were placed the seats of the Patriarch and the priests, also of silver, and a barrier (*κιγκλίδες*), 14 feet high, of the same metal, separated the bema from the nave of the church. This barrier contained the three sacred doors, and, resting on twelve columns, was a frieze, with medallions, on which amidst adoring angels were represented the Virgin, the Apostles, and the Prophets. A circular shield in the centre bore a cross and the united monograms of the Emperor and Empress. Before the barrier stood the golden altar supported by golden pillars, and over it the silver ciborium. The solea, immediately in front of the bema, and occupying the eastern extremity of the nave, contained seats for the lesser clergy; and in front of the solea was the ambo, a semicircular tribune approached by marble steps and covered with a pyramidal roof, borne by eight pillars and decorated with gems and precious metals. This tribune, under the eastern side of the central dome, was reserved for the singers and readers, and contained the coronation chair of the Emperor.

The aisles are separated from the nave and the four side-apses by arcades of pillars, and the upper rooms are domed. Of the hundred columns which adorn St. Sophia and form its stately arcades, the greater number are of green Thessalian marble³ (*verde antico*), and were the spoil of pagan

¹ Salzenberg calls them Exedrae, but Unger adopts the more convenient name *Nebenapsis*.

² *Proc. de Aed.* i. 1.

³ For Thessalian columns, cp. Paulus Sil. 545, 568.

temples. The eight large green columns in the nave were taken from the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and the eight columns of dark red Theban porphyry in the four side-apses originally stood in the temple at Heliopolis, whence Aurelian brought them to Rome; but, as the gift of a Roman lady, they were destined, with other spoils of paganism, to adorn a christian church. Their capitals present an infinite variety of form. They are of Proconnesian marble, and were manufactured in Byzantine workshops; they transgress in shape and execution the traditions of classic art. They lack, however, a characteristic feature of earlier christian architecture, the *dosseret* or impost block; Anthemius discarded the stilt. The larger and richer capitals are decorated with acanthus, palm leaves, or monograms, deeply cut,¹ and, like the marble friezes, are generally gilt; the smaller capitals are plain, and in shape like a die blunted at the corners. The bases of the pillars² (of the usual Attic form) the capitals and the cornices are of marble, chiefly white, but sometimes light gray. The pavement is of dark gray veined marble, chosen no doubt by the architect in pleasing contrast to the rich and varied colour of the interior, with its slabs of many-tinted marbles, its profuse gilding, and brilliant mosaics.³

There are nine entrances to the body of the church from the narthex, a narrow hall running across the whole extent of the building, and having at each end lofty vaulted halls. The space under the western semicupola communicates with the narthex by three doors, of which the largest in the centre was called the "king's door"; the west front of the narthex is coated with Proconnesian marble, and its upper story, connected with the rooms above the broad side-aisles, forms the *gynarkitis*, or women's gallery. Seven doors lead from the narthex into the outer narthex (exonarthex), a space enclosed by halls open from within, and vaulted and adorned with mosaic. In this court, where now stands a Turkish fountain and marble basin, stood a covered phiale (fountain),

¹ Salzenberg, p. 77, "tief unterarbeitet, fast frei auf dem Grunde liegend." The effect of this delicate carving, with the detached appearance of the ornamentation, suggests work in ivory.

² The eight pillars of Theban porphyry were not long enough, and were eked out by "eine Art Säulenstuhl" (*ib.* p. 78).

³ Cp. Paul. Sil. 606.

and in the niches of the walls were twelve lions' heads from which flowed a continuous stream of pure water.

Five years and eleven months after the laying of the foundations, St. Sophia was completed and consecrated by the Patriarch (26th December 237). Procopius thus describes it: "The church turned out a beautiful sight, colossal to spectators, and quite incredible to hearers; it was raised to a heavenly altitude, and like a ship at anchor, was eminent above the other edifices, overhanging the city."¹

When Anthemius saw his own handiwork in its stately strength towering over the city, or lingered under the mysterious firmament of the dome, he may have gloried in the success of his labours. One would think that the words used of Giotto in the cathedral at Florence might well have been said of Anthemius by a Politian of the Justinianean age: "His name shall be as a song in the mouths of men" (*hoc nomen longi carminis instar erit*); and yet how unfamiliar nowadays is the name of Anthemius.

St. Sophia became a model for the whole christian world, and was copied in all large towns during the sixth and following centuries. Among these lesser churches dedicated to the Divine Wisdom the cathedral of Thessalonica holds the first rank. It is certainly of the school of Anthemius, and was probably contemporary with the great St. Sophia. The mosaics in the dome are of the very best school, and preserve to some extent the traditions of Roman art. The hemisphere of the apse is adorned with a mosaic picture of the Virgin, seated and holding the infant Christ. Either this design or a colossal figure of Christ² was invariably chosen to decorate the hemisphere of Byzantine apses.

It has been already mentioned that sculpture in its classical form had died out, but smaller branches of the art were practised by the Byzantines. The reliefs on the Golden Gate and on the Pillars of Theodosius and Arcadius³ were not contemptible, and until the end of the fourth century gems were carved and coins struck in the antique style. After

¹ Procopius, *de Aed.* i. 1.

² As for example in the Greek mosaic in the church of San Miniato at Florence, and in the church of William the Good at Monreale near Palermo.

³ The reliefs on the pillar of Ar-

cadius and the frieze of the staircase leading up to it were copied by Gentile Bellini, who was sent to Constantinople in 1479 by the republic of Venice. The designs are now in the Royal Academy at Paris.

that period the workmanship of coins is inartistic and roughly executed, and the art of carving gems declines. Chief among the smaller branches of sculpture was ivory carving, especially in the form of diptychs, which it was customary to present to the senate and the consuls, also to churches, and they were much used as new year's gifts. Their value was sometimes increased by the name of some celebrated divine carved upon them, or by the consecration of an inscribed prayer. The bishop's chair in the cathedral at Ravenna is a beautiful example of carved ivory.

Painting, however, had superseded all other forms of decorative art, and even in the sculptured adornments and reliefs of the new style the influence and features of painting may be traced in the grouping and general execution of the designs. The writers of this period make frequent mention of paintings in molten wax, *κηρόχυτος γραφή*,¹ a method described in the famous handbook of Mount Athos.²

The illumination of manuscripts was a branch of art much cultivated by the Byzantines. M. Lenormant thus describes the famous *Codex Rossanensis* :—

"Rossano possesses in the archives of its cathedral one of the most precious and incontestably genuine monuments of Byzantine art of the period before the Iconoclasts, and probably of the age of Justinian. I mean the manuscript known to the learned by the name of *Codex Rossanensis*, and whose existence MM. Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack have recently been the first to discover. It is a magnificent volume, composed of 188 leaves of purple-tinted vellum, a foot long, on which the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark are written in large silver letters in the form of rounded uncials. . . . But what lends to the Greek gospels of Rossano such great interest is the twelve large miniatures, which are still preserved, a last relic of rich illustrations which have been for the most part unhappily destroyed. Each of these miniatures occupies a whole page and is divided in two parts, the upper containing a subject from the gospels, and the lower four half-length figures of the prophets who foretold the event, each accompanied by the words of his prophecy. The paintings are certainly of the same date as the text, namely the sixth century. The execution is remarkable, the drawing compact, the composition clear and simple, the design exquisite, and the style antique."³

¹ Two old Greek paintings in wax are found in the MS. of Dioscorides dedicated to Anicia, daughter of Olybrius, and in a MS. of the book of Genesis. See Unger, *op. cit.* p. 361.

² *ἐμπνεῖα τῆς ζωγραφικῆς*. Didron

obtained a copy on Mount Athos. It is a manual for the technique of painting as well as for the iconography. It has been translated into French by Durand and into German by Schäfer.

³ *La Grande-Grèce*, i. 347.

In the use of symbols, a striking feature in christian art, we observe the most frequent blending of pagan and christian ideas. The Byzantines adopted the Greek custom of personifying nature, and in many instances classical forms were introduced, even in church paintings. In a Ravenna mosaic of the baptism of Christ, the Jordan is personified, and Theodoric represented himself on the gate of his palace, standing between two figures symbolising Ravenna and Rome. The personifications of Victory and Fortune, Nike and Tyche, are frequent and familiar, and the gnostic sects employed a more intricate symbolism of abstract ideas on their engraved gems and inscriptions on metal.¹ Numerous symbols were used for Christ and God the Father, and display a curious adoption of antique forms; and the resemblance borne by the representations of Christ on early christian tombs to *Sol Invictus* and Serapis is remarkable. On christian gravestones we find the letters D. M., D. M. S., and Θ. K., which suggest the *Dis manibus sacrum* and the *θεοῖς καταχθονίους* of the ancients. Perhaps the consecrated ground hallowed the pagan words, just as gems with images of heathen gods were sanctified by a christian inscription or the monogram of Christ, and were countenanced by the Church.

Thus in the development of christian art the old classic traditions had been gradually abandoned, or remained only in allegory and mixed symbolism. The models of Greece and Rome became relics of the old world, curiosities to adorn museums. A new religion had displaced pagan mythology and philosophy, and naturally found an expression in new forms of art. And this new art, born in the atmosphere of triumphant Christianity, reached its perfection in Justinian's church of the Divine Wisdom, which still looks across the Bosphorus upon the sands of Chalcedon.²

¹ For example the curious symbol used by the followers of Basilides for the highest Being, called Abrasax, a form with serpents for feet, the body and arms of a man, the head of a cock, and holding in one hand a circle and in the other a whip. These represent

the five emanations of Abrasax, φρόνησις, νοῦς, λόγος, δύναμις, σοφία, and the letters of his name, taken numerically, are the number 365.

² *Chalcedonias contra despectat arenas* (Claudian, in *Rufinum*, Lib. ii. 55).

CHAPTER XVI

NOTES ON THE MANNERS, INDUSTRIES, AND COMMERCE IN THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN

THE population of Constantinople at the beginning of the sixth century has been calculated at about a million.¹ The greatest city in Europe, as it continued to be throughout the Middle Ages, and at the same time situated on the borders of Asia, it was full of Gepids, Goths, Lombards, Slaves, and Huns, as well as orientals; Abasgian eunuchs and Colchian guards might be seen in the streets. The money-changers in this mercantile metropolis were numerous, and probably lived in the Chalkoprateia, which in later times at least was a Jews' quarter. But the provincial subjects were not encouraged to repair to the capital except for strict purposes of business; and their visits were looked upon with such jealous eyes that as soon as their business was completed they were obliged to return home with all haste.

In the urban arrangements of Constantinople, for the comfort of whose inhabitants the Emperors were always solicitous, the law of Zeno, which provided for a sea prospect, is noteworthy.² The height of the houses built on the hills overlooking the sea was regulated in such a way that the buildings in front should not interfere with the view from the houses behind. Besides the corn, imported from Egypt, which was publicly distributed to the citizens in the form of bread,

¹ Krause, *Die Byzantiner des Mittelalters*, p. 17. As the book deals almost exclusively with the later Byzantines (eleventh to fifteenth century), it is of

little use for the period with which we are here concerned.

² *Cod. Just.* viii. 10, 12.

the chief food of the Byzantines was salted provisions of various kinds (*τράχη*)—fish, cheese, or ham. Wine was grown in the surrounding district, and there was a good vegetable market. Of public amusements there was no lack.¹ As well as the horse-races in the hippodrome, there were theatrical representations and ballets; and it is probable that troupes of acrobats and tight-rope dancers often came from Asia. A theatre, called by the suggestive name of “Harlots,” is mentioned and recognised by the pious Justinian without a censure or a blush. Combats of men with wild animals, which had been abolished by the mild and heterodox Anastasius, were once more permitted under the orthodox and severer dynasty of Justin. Curious animals and prodigies were exhibited and attracted crowds; we hear, for example, of a wonderful dog which had the power of distinguishing the characters and conditions of human beings. This animal, whose inspiration was more formidable than if it had been mad with hydrophobia, singled out the courtesan, the adulterer, the miser, or the woman with child; and when the rings of a multitude of spectators were collected and cast before it in a heap, it returned each to the owner without making a mistake.

The conversation which took place in the hippodrome on the eve of the Nika sedition, while it illustrates the political life of the time, is also interesting and important as an example of the language then spoken at Byzantium, and altogether is sufficiently noteworthy and curious to deserve reproduction.² In many places, however, the meaning is obscure. It was customary to permit the factions on special occasions to state their grievances to the Emperor. The demarch was the mouth-piece of the deme, and a *mandator* or herald replied for the sovereign.

¹ The programme for the consular shows, which lasted seven days, will be found in the 81st Novel of Justinian (ed. Zachariä). On the first day (1st January) the new consul was invested; second day, *mappa*, horse-races in the hippodrome; third day, the *theatro-cynegion*, or combats with beasts; fourth day, *monemerion*, beast-baiting; fifth day, scenic and musical performances at the theatre called “Harlots” (*πόρναι*); sixth, another *mappa*, or

horse-races; seventh, the consul laid down his office. Justinian speaks, in a tone of approval and satisfaction, of the exquisite delight which beast-baiting afforded to the populace.

² Theophanes, *Chron.* 6024 A.M. (ed. de Boor, p. 181). The heading is *ἀπὸ διὰ Καλοπύδιον τὸν κουβικουλάριον καὶ σπαθάριον*, and Theophanes probably copied the conversation from a document in the archives of the green deme.

Demarch of Greens. Long may you live, Justinian Augustus! *Tu vincas.* I am aggrieved, fair lord (*μόνε ἀγαθέ*), and cannot endure the oppression, God knows. I fear to name the oppressor, lest he be increased and I endanger my own safety.

Mandator. Who is he? I know him not.

Demarch of Greens. My oppressor, O thrice august! is to be found in the quarter of the shoemakers.¹

Mandator. No one does you wrong.

Demarch of Greens. One man and one only does me wrong. Mother of God, let him never raise his head (*μὴ ἀνακεφαλίσῃ*)!

Mandator. Who is he? We know him not.

Demarch of Greens. Nay, you know best, O thrice august! who it is that oppresses me this day.

Mandator. We know not that any one oppresses you.

Demarch of Greens. It is Calapodius, the spathar (guardsman), who wrongs me, O lord of all!

Mandator. Calapodius is not in power.²

Demarch of Greens. My oppressor will perish like Judas; God will requite him quickly.

Mandator. You come, not to see the games, but to insult your rulers.

Demarch of Greens. My oppressor shall perish like Judas.

Mandator. Silence, Jews, Manichaeans, and Samaritans!

Demarch of Greens. Do you disparage us with the name of Jews and Samaritans. The Mother of God is with all of us.

Mandator. When will ye cease cursing yourselves.

Demarch of Greens. If any one denies that our lord the Emperor is orthodox, let him be anathema, as Judas.

Mandator. I would have you all baptized in the name of one God.

The Greens (tumultuously). I am baptized in One God.³

Mandator. Really, if you won't be silent, I shall have you beheaded.

Demarch of Greens. Every person is anxious to be in authority, to secure his personal safety. Your Majesty must not be indignant at what we say in our tribulation, for the Deity listens to all complaints. We have good reason, O Emperor! to mention all things *now*.⁴ For we do not even know where the palace is, nor where to find any public office. I come into the city by one street only, sitting on a mule⁵; and I wish I had not to come then, your Majesty.⁶

¹ *εἰς τὰ τζαγγαρεία εὐρίσκεται.*

² *οὐκ ἔχει πρᾶγμα.*

³ The Greens apparently take up the words of the mandator, *εἰς ἓνα βαπτίζεσθαι*, in a monophysitic sense. The words *ὡς ἐκέλευεν Ἄντλας* are obscure. *Ἄντλας* can hardly be the name of the mandator. If it is correct, we may assume it to be a nickname of Anastasius. *Ἀντλει* or *Ἀντλησον* has been suggested in the sense of "fetch water" for the baptismal rite.

⁴ *ὀνομάζομεν ἄρτι πάντα.* The sense demands that *ἄρτι* should be the emphatic word.

⁵ *ὅταν εἰς βορδῶνην καθέζομαι.* Prisoners were drawn by mules to execution or punishment, and perhaps there is some such reference here. One might conclude from this that members of the green faction were not allowed to reside in the city, and were confined to quarters in Pera and Galata, on the other side of the Golden Horn.

⁶ *εἴθους μὴδὲ τότε, τρισαύγουστε.*

Mandator. Every one is free to move in public, where he wishes, without danger.

Demarch of Greens. I am told I am free, yet I am not allowed to exhibit my freedom. If a man is free but is suspected as a Green, he is sure to be publicly punished.

Mandator. Have ye no care for your lives that ye thus brave death?

Demarch of Greens. Let this (green) colour be once uplifted¹—then justice disappears. Put an end to the scenes of murder, and let us be lawfully punished. Behold, the fountain is overflowing; punish as many as you like. Verily, human nature cannot tolerate the two things together (to be murdered by the Blues and to be punished by the laws). Would that Sabbates had never been born, to have a son who is a murderer. The sixth murder has taken place in the Zeugma²; the victim was a spectator in the morning, in the afternoon, O lord of all! he was butchered.

Demarch of Blues. Yourselves are the only party in the hippodrome that has murderers among their number.

Demarch of Greens. When ye commit murder³ ye leave the city in flight.

Demarch of Blues. Ye shed blood for no reason. Ye are the only party here with murderers among them.

Demarch of Greens. O lord Justinian! they challenge us and yet no one slays them. Who slew the woodseller in the Zeugma, O Emperor?

Mandator. Ye slew him.

Demarch of Greens. Who slew the son of Epagathus, Emperor?

Mandator. Ye slew him too, and ye throw the blame⁴ on the Blues.

Demarch of Greens. Now have pity, O Lord God! The truth is in jeopardy. I should like to argue with them who say that affairs are managed by God. Whence comes this misery?

Mandator. God is incapable of causing evils.

Demarch of Greens. God, you say, is incapable of causing evils? Who is it then who wrongs me? Let some philosopher or hermit explain the distinction.

Mandator. Accursed blasphemers, when will ye hold your peace?

Demarch of Greens. If it is the pleasure of your Majesty, I am content, albeit unwillingly. I know all—all, but I say nothing. Goodbye, Justice! you are no longer in fashion.⁵ I shall turn and become a Jew. Better to be a "Greek" than a Blue, God knows.

¹ ἐπαρθῆναι τὸ χρῶμα τοῦτο καὶ ἡ δίκη οὐ χρηματίζει. It seems to me that this admits only of the rendering I have given. Marrast translates "Nos couleurs sont proscrites. Plus de justice pour nous dans l'empire." Mr. Hodgkin, "Take off that colour [the emblem of the Blues], and do not let justice seem to take sides."

² "It is twenty years since [one of our party] was murdered at the Yok-ing-place" (Mr. Hodgkin); but this is

pointless. De Boor prints εἰκότως ἔκτος.

³ πότε σφάζεις καὶ ἀποθνήσκεις, Mr. Hodgkin translates "Sometimes you murder and run away," but that would be ποτέ. πότε is vulgar for ὅτε.

⁴ τοὺς Βενέτους πλέκετε. πλέκω, a word of the common language not used in good prose, is evidently related to the Latin *plector*, which, as is well known, is used of vicarious punishment.

⁵ σώζου, δίκη, οὐκέτι χρηματίζεις μεταβαλὼν καὶ τότε Ἰουδαῖον.

Demarch of Blues. I hate you, I can't abide the sight of you,—your enmity harasses me.

Demarch of Greens. Let the bones of the spectators be exhumed !¹

[*Exeunt the Greens.*]

It will be noticed that in this dialogue the spokesman of the oppressed faction began with humble complaints ; and the scene ended with open defiance. When the Greens marched out of the hippodrome, the Emperor sitting in the cathisma was left for a few moments alone with the Blues ; but they quickly followed their enemies, and street conflicts ensued.²

If we pass from these stray details of external life to consider the morality of the age, we are confronted on the one hand by the stern laws of Justinian for the repression of what he considered immorality, and his clement laws for the encouragement of reformation ; on the other hand by a remarkable picture, painted by a secret hand, of the vice that prevailed in all classes of society. These data are not in opposition, for moral legislation presupposes the prevalence of immorality.

Two laws testify to the solicitude of Justinian for the liberty and protection of women. The earliest of them,³ issued in 534, made it illegitimate for any person to constrain a female, whether a freewoman or a slave, to appear against her will in a dramatic or orchestric performance. By the same act it was illegal for a lessee to prevent an actress from throwing up her theatrical engagement at any moment she pleased, and he was not even entitled to demand from her securities the money pledged for the fulfilment of her broken engagement. The duty or privilege of seeing that this law was carried out was assigned to the bishops as well as to the civil governors, against whose collusion with the managers of theatres episcopal protests may have been often necessary. It was also enacted that the profession of the stage, which in this age was almost synonymous with the trade of prostitution, should form no let or hindrance to the contraction of a legal marriage with the highest in the land. This liberation from disabilities of a degraded but necessary class is generally

¹ ἀνασκαφή τὰ δστέα τῶν θεωρούντων
—implying “let them be murdered and
...” This expression came into special
use for the deposition of a monarch.

² See vol. i. p. 340.

³ *Cod. Just.* i. 4, 33 ; compare v. 4, 29.

supposed to have been prompted by a personal episode in the life of the Emperor himself, whose wife Theodora seems to have been once an actress at Antioch.

The other law was published in the following year, and addressed to the citizens of Constantinople. It deals with the practice of enticing young girls away from their homes in order to hire them out for immoral purposes. It is best to quote a portion of Justinian's constitution on the subject¹ :—

“The ancient laws and former Emperors have regarded with extreme abhorrence the name and the trade of a brothel-keeper, and many laws have consequently been enacted against such. We have increased the penalties already defined, and in other laws have supplied the omissions of our predecessors. But we have been lately informed of iniquities of this kind which are being carried on in this great city, and we have not overlooked the matter. For we discovered that some persons live and maintain themselves in an outrageous manner, making accursed gain by abominable means. They travel about many countries and districts, and entice poor young girls by promising them shoes and clothes, and thus entrapping them, carry them off to this fortunate city, where they keep them shut up in their dens, supplying them with a miserable allowance of food and raiment, and place their bodies at the service of the public and keep the wretched fees themselves. And they draw up bonds by which girls bind themselves to this occupation for a specified time, nay, they even sometimes ask the money back from the securities [if a girl escapes]. This practice has become so outrageous, that throughout almost the whole of this imperial city and its suburbs over the water² [at Chalcedon and Pera], and, worst of all, in close proximity to churches and saintly houses, dens of such a kind exist; and acts so iniquitous and illegal are perpetrated in our times that some persons, pitying the girls, desired to deliver them from this occupation and place them in a position of legal cohabitation, but the procurers did not permit it. Some of these men are so unholy as to corrupt girls under ten years old, and large sums of money have been given to buy off the unfortunate children and unite them in a respectable marriage. This evil, which was formerly confined to a small part of the city, has spread throughout its whole extent and the circumjacent regions. We were secretly informed of this some time ago, and as our most magnificent praetors, whom we commissioned to investigate the matter, confirmed the information, we immediately determined to deliver the city from such pollution.”

This preamble is followed by prohibition of these abuses; procurers are banished from the Empire, and especially from the imperial city. It would appear from this law that all

¹ Novel xxxix. (ed. Zachariä): *περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι πορνοβοσκοὺς ἐν μηδενὶ τόπῳ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας.*

² *ἐν τοῖς περάμασιν αὐτῆς.*

disorderly houses were rendered absolutely illegal, and that the only form of prostitution countenanced by law was that of women who practised it on their own account.

Another constitution of the same year,¹ also addressed to the people of Constantinople, deals with the "heavier" or "diabolical" forms of licentiousness, and with the crime of blasphemy. Two bishops who rashly tasted of the Dead Sea fruit were subjected to a painful and shameful punishment by the inexorable Justinian, who adopted the principle that according to the scriptures whole cities as well as guilty individuals were reduced to ruin by the wrath of God in consequence of similar transgressions. The use of blasphemous expressions and imprecations is forbidden with equal severity, and the imperial notion of the law of causation is illustrated by the remark that on account of crimes of this kind "famines and earthquakes and plagues" visit mankind. We may finally mention the enactment of Justinian which suppressed gambling with dice, and other games of hazard.²

It is hardly possible to say much here of the curious evidence afforded by the *Secret History* on the subject of contemporary morals. The delicacy or affectation of the present age would refuse to admit the authority and example of Gibbon as a sufficient reason or valid excuse for rehearsing the licentious vagaries ascribed to Theodora in the indecent pages of an audacious and libellous pamphlet. If the words and acts which the writer attributes to Theodora were drawn, as doubtless is the case, from real life—from the green-rooms of Antioch or the bagnios of Byzantium—it can only be remarked that the morals of those cities in the sixth century did not differ very much from the morals of Paris, Vienna, Naples, or London at the present day. The story of Antonina's intrigue with Theodosius, which is quite credible and was probably derived from back-stair gossip, contains nothing more enormous than might be told of exalted personages in any court at any period of history.

There is no side of the history of societies in the remote past on which we are left so much in the dark by extant records as their industry, their commerce, and their economy ;

¹ Novel xxviii.

² *Cod. Just.* iii. 43.

and as these departments of life were continually affecting politics, their neglect by contemporary writers renders a reconstruction of political history always defective and often impossible. The chief technical industries carried on at Constantinople seem to have been as follows¹:—(1) The manufacture of silk fabrics was practised on a large scale before the production of the material was introduced by the two monks, as narrated in a previous chapter. Once the Romans were no longer dependent on the oriental nations for its production and importation, it is to be presumed that the manufacture of the fabric, which must have become considerably cheaper, was carried on on a much more extensive scale.² (2) The domestic utensils used by the Byzantine citizens were of glazed pottery, of black or gray colour, and were made at Byzantium. Glass was imported from Egypt, which in old days used to supply Rome. (3) The extensive use of mosaics in the decoration of christian churches and rich men's palaces made the manufacture of the coloured pebbles (*ψηφίδες*) quite a lucrative trade. (4) The symbolism of the christian religion gave rise to a new art, and the shops of crucifix-makers were probably a feature of Constantinople. Crosses were made of all sorts of materials, gold, silver, precious stones, lychnites, or ivory. The carving of religious subjects in ivory was an associated branch of this trade. (5) The art of the jeweller was doubtless in great requisition in the luxurious capital, and the pearls which decorate Theodora in the mosaic portrait in San Vitale at Ravenna indicate the style of the imperial court. (6) The implements of war, the arms of the soldiers, and the engines used in siege warfare were manufactured at Constantinople, and stored in a public building called the Mangana.

All these arts flourished in the imperial city, and made it an active industrial centre. In regard to the commercial relations of the Empire, it will be well to quote the words of Finlay, who made a special study of this side of its history³:—

¹ See Krause, *Die Byzantiner des Mittelalters*, p. 47 sqq.

² "It would not be just," writes Finlay, "to deny to Justinian some share in the merit of having founded a flourishing branch of trade, which tended

very materially to support the resources of the Eastern Empire, and to enrich the Greek nation for several centuries" (*Hist. of Greece*, i. 270).

³ *History of Greece* (ed. Tozer), vol. i. p. 267 sq.

"Several circumstances, however, during the reign of Justinian contributed to augment the commercial transactions of the Greeks, and to give them a decided preponderance in the Eastern trade. The long war with Persia cut off all those routes by which the Syrian and Egyptian population had maintained their ordinary communications with Persia; and it was from Persia that they had always drawn their silk and great part of their Indian commodities, such as muslins and jewels. This trade now began to seek two different channels, by both of which it avoided the dominions of Chosroes; the one was to the north of the Caspian Sea, and the other by the Red Sea. This ancient route through Egypt still continued to be that of the ordinary trade. But the importance of the northern route, and the extent of the trade carried on by it through different ports on the Black Sea are authenticated by the numerous colony of the inhabitants of central Asia established at Constantinople in the reign of Justin II. Six hundred Turks availed themselves, at one time, of the security offered by the journey of a Roman ambassador to the Great Khan of the Turks, and joined his train. This fact affords the strongest evidence of the great importance of this route, as there can be no question that the great number of the inhabitants of central Asia who visited Constantinople were attracted to it by their commercial occupations.

"The Indian commerce through Arabia and by the Red Sea was still more important; much more so, indeed, than the mere mention of Justinian's failure to establish a regular importation of silk by this route might lead us to suppose. The immense number of trading vessels which habitually frequented the Red Sea shows that it was very great."

Finlay goes on to make some instructive observations on the decline of Egypt and the importance of the Jews. "In the reign of Augustus, Egypt furnished Rome with a tribute of twenty millions of modii of grain annually, and it was garrisoned by a force rather exceeding twelve thousand regular troops. Under Justinian the tribute in grain was reduced to about five millions and a half modii, that is eight hundred thousand artabas; and the Roman troops, to a cohort of six hundred men. Egypt was prevented from sinking still lower by the exportation of its grain to supply the trading population on the shores of the Red Sea. The canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea afforded the means of exporting an immense quantity of inferior grain to the arid coasts of Arabia, and formed a great artery for civilisation and commerce." The Jews seem to have increased in numbers about the beginning of the sixth century. Finlay accounts for this increase "by the decline of the rest of the population in the countries round the Mediterranean, and by the general decay of civilisation in

consequence of the severity of the Roman fiscal system, which trammelled every class of society with regulations restricting the industry of the people. . . . The Jews, too, at this period, were the only neutral nation who could carry on their trade equally with the Persians, Ethiopians, Arabs, and Goths ; for, though they were hated everywhere, the universal dislike was a reason for tolerating a people never likely to form common cause with any other."¹

As for the Greeks, they "maintained their superiority over the other people in the Empire only by their commercial enterprise, which preserved that civilisation in the trading cities which was rapidly disappearing among the agricultural population." Barbarian monarchs, like Theodoric, used often to support the Jews in order to "render their country independent of the wealth and commerce of the Greeks."²

A writer at the beginning of the seventh century, Theophylactus Simocatta, gives a description of the empire of Taugast,³ which has been identified with China ; the intercourse with the Turks, which began in the reign of Justin II, brought the far East closer to the Roman Empire. He praises the wise laws which prevail in Taugast, and mentally contrasts the luxury of Byzantium with the law which forbids the Taugastians to wear silver or gold, while he attributes to Alexander the Great the foundation of the two chief towns of their realm. Syrian missionaries seem also to have kept up a connection between China and the West ; we read⁴ that "in the seventeenth year of the period Chêng kuan (= 643) the king of Fulin, Po-to-li [Po-to-li = the Nestorian Patriarch of Syria, Fulin = the countries in the East once under Roman sway], sent an embassy offering red glass . . . and other articles. T'ai-tsung favoured them with a message under his imperial seal, and graciously granted them presents of silk."

¹ The flourishing condition of the Jews in the reign of Heraclius indicates the prosperity they had enjoyed in the preceding century.

² See *Edict. Theod.* 143.

³ *Ecumenical History*, vii. 9. See R. von Scala, *Über die wichtigsten Beziehungen des Orients zum Occidente*, p. 33.

⁴ Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, ap. Scala, *ib.* p. 35.

BOOK IV

THE HOUSE OF JUSTIN

PART II

THE COLLAPSE OF JUSTINIAN'S SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

JUSTIN II AND TIBERIUS II

WE have seen that the Roman Imperium under Justinian reached the absolutism to which it had always tended, and Justinian realised that Caesaropapism at which the christian Emperors had been continually aiming. It has been pointed out that Justinian accomplished his great achievements by means of an artificial State system, which maintained the Empire in equilibrium for the time; but it was only for the time. At his death the winds were loosed from prison; the disintegrating elements began to operate with full force; the artificial system collapsed; and the metamorphosis in the character of the Empire, which had been surely progressing for a long time past, though one is apt to overlook it amid the striking events of Justinian's busy reign, now began to work rapidly and perceptibly.

Things which seemed of comparatively secondary importance under the enterprising government of Justinian, engage the whole attention of his successors. The Persian war assumes a serious aspect, and soon culminates in a struggle for life or death; the Balkan peninsula is overrun by Avars and Slaves; and consequently the Empire cannot retain any real hold on its recent conquests in Italy and Spain. Thus the chief features of the reigns of Justin, Tiberius,¹ and

¹ Our contemporary sources for Justin and Tiberius are the fragments of Menander; the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius (from an orthodox point of view); the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus (from a monophysitic point of view); a few fragments of

Theophanes of Byzantium (see *F. H. G.* iv. pp. 270, 271); a few Novels of Justin and Tiberius; some notices in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours. Besides these, we have for the first year of Justin's reign Corippus (of whom more will be said presently).

Maurice are: the struggle against the Persians, with whom the Romans become less and less able to cope, the sufferings of Illyricum and Thrace at the hands of Hunnic and Slavonic barbarians, the conquests of the Lombards in Italy, and the change in the political position of the Emperor, whose power sensibly declines. The general disintegration of the Empire reaches a climax in the reign of Phocas (602-610), and the State is with difficulty rescued from destruction and revived by the energy and ability of Heraclius.

In reading the history of the later years of Justinian we are conscious of a darkness creeping over the sky; the light that had illuminated the early part of his reign is waning. This change had become perceptible after the great plague. But after the death of Justinian the darkness is imminent; the Empire is stricken as it were with paralysis, and a feeling of despondency prevails; the Emperors are like men grappling with hopeless tasks. We are not surprised that an idea possessed men's minds that the end of the world or some great change was at hand¹; it expressed the feeling that the spiritual atmosphere was dark, and the prospect comfortless. "He that is giddy thinks the world turns round."

I. Justin II.

A struggle for the succession between the relations of Justin and those of Theodora had at one time seemed probable, but it had been forestalled by the alliance of the two families in the person of Justin, a nephew of the Emperor, and Sophia, a niece of the Empress. Justin held the position of *curopalates*, which we might translate "mayor of the palace," and on his uncle's death was at once recognised by the senate.² The panegyric of the African poet Corippus,³ written in four books

Theophylactus, who wrote his History of Maurice in the reign of Heraclius, has a valuable digression on the reign of Maurice's predecessor.

¹ John of Ephesus believed that Christ was coming very soon. Chosroes professed to know more precisely what would happen (Zon. iii. 295). Gregory the Great, *Ep.* v. 21, says that the claim of John Jejunator to the title *ecumenical* indicates the proximity of the time of Antichrist. Tiberius was

warned by an angel that he would be spared the spectacle of the approaching times of anarchy (Theophylact. i. 1, 2). Finlay speaks of the time as one of a "universal political palsy."

² The succession, however, seems to have been somewhat doubtful beforehand, for it apparently took the *demes* by surprise; cf. Evagrius, v. 1.

³ Flavius Cresconius Corippus, the author of the *Johannis*. His verses sometimes run smoothly enough, but are

of Latin hexameters, *de laudibus Justinii Augusti minoris*, giving a coloured account of the circumstances of the Emperor's accession, had probably a political intention. Justin required a trumpet.

According to the narrative in the poem of Corippus, which we may assume to represent, with sufficient accuracy, what actually happened, Justin was awakened before daybreak by the Patrician Callinicus, who announced that Justinian was dead. At the same time the senate entered the palace buildings, and proceeding to a beautiful room overlooking the sea, whither Justin had already repaired, found him conversing with his wife Sophia. Callinicus, as the spokesman of the senate, greeted Justin as the new Augustus, virtually designated by the late Emperor as his successor. All then repaired to the imperial chambers, and gazed on the corpse of the deceased sovereign, who lay on a golden bier. Justin is represented as apostrophising the dead, and complaining that his uncle left the world at a critical moment: "Behold the Avars and the fierce Franks, and the Gepids and the Goths (Getae, probably meaning the Slaves), and so many other nations encompass us with wars." Sophia ordered an embroidered cloth to be brought, on which the whole series of Justinian's labours was wrought in gold and brilliant colours, the Emperor himself in the midst with his foot resting on the neck of the Vandal tyrant.¹

In the morning Justin and his wife proceeded to the church of St. Sophia, and made a public declaration of the orthodox

very poor compared with the poetry of Claudian. In the *præfatio* he apostrophises Justin thus—

... tu quoque justitiæ nomen de nomine
sumens,
frenas regendorum retinens firmissima regum.
numinibus tribus his regitur quodcumque
movetur.

(The three divinities are Vigilantia, Justin's mother, who was still alive, Sophia, and Justin.)

certain gentes Romana ad foedera currunt.
principe pro justo Romanum nomen amatur
subique pio domino cuncti bene vivere quæ-
runt.

In the *dedicatio* the praises of the quæstor Anastasius are sung; he is said to have spurned money, and is compared to a tree, while the Emperor is the fountain which waters it. The general tone is concentrated in the line

felix est totus Justinio principe mundus.

In iii. 132 there is an allusion to the name of Justin's father,

ante oculos geniti genitor dulcissimus omni
tempore erit.

Throughout the poem Corippus plays on the names Justinus, Vigilantia, and Sapientia (*Σοφία*).

In giving a sketch of Corippus' outline of the proceedings which followed Justinian's death I have taken a hint from Ranke (see *Weltgeschichte*, iv. 2, p. 127).

I doubt whether Corippus had any authority in fact for this incident. The circumstance that the African poet chose the Vandal monarch as the type of the foes vanquished by Justinian makes us suspicious that it is entirely a poetical invention.

faith. Returning to the palace, Justin assumed the royal robes and ornaments, and was raised on a shield lifted by four guardsmen,¹ after which ceremony the Patriarch blessed him and placed the diadem on his head. The Emperor then delivered an inaugural speech from the throne, in which he enunciated his intention to pursue the principles of piety and justice, and regretted that important departments of the administration had been neglected or mismanaged in the last years of Justinian, who in his old age was careless of such matters, and cold to the things of this life.² After this oration, the senate in due form adored the new Emperor.

Then, attended by the senators and court, Justin proceeded to the hippodrome, and took his seat in the cathisma. When the jubilant greetings of the people, who had taken no part in his actual elevation, had subsided, the Emperor delivered another oration, exhorting the populace to be peaceable and orderly, and announcing his intention to assume the consulship and honour the following year with his name.³

Suddenly the benches which lined each side of the hippodrome were emptied, and crowds of people made their way to the space in front of the cathisma. They presented to the Emperor bonds for loans which his uncle had contracted, and implored or demanded to be repaid. Justin in his speech to the senators had signified his purpose of liquidating these debts,⁴ and he now commanded that the money should be paid on the spot. The scene is graphically described by the obsequious pen of Corippus. This popular act was followed by another example of clemency, and many prisoners were released at the prayers of their kinsfolk. Corippus seems to imply

¹ The Emperor, of course, stood on the shield, which was raised : *stetit ut sua rectus littera*, his own letter being the initial of Justinus, I, which is also referred to in i. 353, *sanctum sic Iota resurgens*, an expression which does not necessarily support the allegation of the *Secret History* that Justin the elder could not write.

² ii. 265—

nulla fuit jam cura seni : jam frigidus omnis
alterius vitæ solo fervebat amore.

In this speech Justin speaks of himself, the Emperor, as the head (representing the Deity), giving directions to the members of the State body. The

treasury, *fiscus*, is compared to the belly.

³ The inauguration of Justin as consul (1st January 566) is described in the fourth book of Corippus.

⁴ We cannot, of course, put much trust in the colouring which Corippus gives to this transaction. It is likely enough that he inserted in Justin's throne-speech the line which expresses an intention to pay the *debita* in order to make it appear that the payment was not extorted from the Emperor by a threatening demonstration ; and it is quite possible that in the hippodrome Justin was confronted, not by tearful suppliants, but by clamorous creditors.

that the prisons were entirely emptied, and takes pains to justify a hardly justifiable act.

The poet goes on to describe the obsequies of Justinian, the beauties of the imperial palace, and the reception of the Avaric ambassadors, but we need not follow him further. The Emperor appointed his son-in-law Baduarius, who had married his daughter Arabia, to the post of *curopalates*, which his own accession had rendered vacant.¹

The accession of Justin was not wholly unendangered or unstained with blood. A conspiracy of two senators² was detected and punished, and the Emperor's namesake Justin, the son of his cousin Germanus, was put to death in Alexandria as a dangerous and perhaps designing relation. The influence of Sophia may have been operative here, for enmity and jealousy had always prevailed between her aunt Theodora and the family of Germanus.

Sophia had the ambition, without the genius, of her aunt Theodora. Like her, she had been originally a monophysite. But a bishop had suggested that the heretical opinions of her husband and herself stood in the way of his promotion to the rank of Caesar; and accordingly the pair found it convenient to join the ranks of the orthodox, on whom they had before looked down as "synodites." It is perhaps to be regretted that Sophia was not content to induce her husband to alter his opinions and to retain her own faith. The administration of an orthodox Emperor and a monophysitic Empress had worked well in the case of Justinian and Theodora; the balance of religious parties had been maintained, so that neither was alienated from the crown. It is probable that if Sophia had remained satisfied with One Nature, the persecution of monophysitic heretics, which disgraced the latter half of Justin's reign, would not have taken place, and the eastern provinces would have been less estranged from the central power.

When Justin came to the throne he decided to make a fresh start and abandon the unpopular system of his uncle, as is clearly indicated in the poem of Corippus. An opportunity

¹ Justin and Sophia had one son, who died early.

² Aetherius and Addaeus (Evagr. v. 3).

of taking a first step in this direction was offered almost immediately by the arrival of an embassy of Avars to demand the payments which Justinian's policy was accustomed to grant.¹ Justin boldly refused to concede these payments any longer, and his refusal was the signal for a series of ruinous depredations, which prepared the way for a complete change in the population of the Illyrian provinces. This resolution of Justin was a direct break with a vital part of the Justinianean system, and was perhaps not unwise, for money payments could have hardly restrained the Avars and Slaves much longer from invading the cis-Danubian countries. It was a popular act, because it seemed brave, and might lead to the possibility of lightening the burden of taxation.

Justinian's religious doctrines in his last years had been erratic, and he was stigmatised as a heretic. In this respect, too, Justin's accession signalised a reaction. He published a manifesto (*πρόγραμμα*)² to all Christians strictly orthodox, from whom he expressly excluded the friends of one nature. But at this time he did not purpose to do more than withdraw the light of his countenance from the party which had, in recent years at least, been contented with Justinian. A monophysite expressly acknowledges that for the first six years of his reign Justin was mild and peaceable in his religious policy.³

Circumstances necessitated the reaction which Justin's

¹ Corippus gives an account of the embassy in the third book of his *de laudibus Justiniani*. In his reply to the ambassador Targites, Justin is made to say (l. 333)—

res Romana dei est, terrenis non eget armis.

The reception of the embassy took place seven days (l. 151) after Justin's accession, namely on 20th November. The amazement of the barbarians at the splendour of the court is thus described (l. 237 sqq.)—

*miratur barbara pubes
ingressus primos immensaue [atque?] atria
lustrans.
ingentes adstare viros. acuta aurea cernunt
pilaeque suspiciunt alto splendentia ferro
aurea et auratos conos cristasque rubentes.
horrescunt lanceas saevaeque instare secures;
ceteraque egregiae spectant miracula pompae
et credunt aliud Romana palatia caelum.*

² Quoted by Evagrius, v. 4.

³ John of Ephesus, iii. 1; this statement agrees with the date of the Novel concerning the Samaritans, 572 A.D. John of Ephesus is the author of an ecclesiastical history in Syriac, which has been partly translated and partly analysed by Dr. Payne Smith, the well-known Syriac scholar. Many details are to be found in it not only respecting the persecution of the monophysites, through which the writer himself was a sufferer, but also respecting the courts of Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice, and the Persian wars. This history seems to be known to comparatively few writers, and has been strangely neglected by Professor Rawlinson in his work on the Sassanids. It is especially interesting as a history written from the monophysitic point of view. I have used Smith's translation.

reign inaugurated, but they equally necessitated the failure of this attempt at a new policy. Justin was not a strong man, and the circumstances of the time were strong and inexorable. He was completely unsuccessful, as he owned before he died, and his mind was probably diseased long before he became undoubtedly insane. We can measure his want of success by the fact that even the orthodox did not approve of him; and ecclesiastical historians are prepared to forgive much for the grace of the two natures. Evagrius speaks of him in harsh terms, charging him with avarice and profligacy, and with trafficking in ecclesiastical offices. And he seems to have resorted to many modes of raising money which were not calculated to make his rule beloved; for though he wisely remitted¹ a burden of arrears which could not be profitably exacted, he levied on ship-cargoes taxes, which brought in large sums, and also taxed the bread² which was publicly distributed in the capital and called "political (or civil) loaves."

But the state of the Empire was such that popularity could only have been obtained by an almost unwise generosity, such as that by which Tiberius afterwards won general affection; and such a policy would have ultimately aided rather than arrested the forces of disintegration. The disintegration took place in two different ways.

(1) On the one hand the imperial power was no longer absolute. The Emperor found himself face to face with a number of wealthy and influential aristocrats, whose power had increased so much in the declining years of Justinian that they were almost able to assume an independent attitude.

¹ Novel i. Imp. Justinii (566 A.D.) *περὶ συγχωρήσεως λοιπῶν δημοσίων* (in vol. iii. of Zachariæ von Lingenthal's *Jus Græco-Romanum*). Arrears were remitted by this edict up to the eighth indiction (*ἐπὶ τέμῃσις*), that is up to 560 A.D. In this Novel the decline of the army is noticed. The second Novel permits the dissolutions of matrimony if both parties consent (*consensu*); it enunciates the principle that *γάμου σμύττερον ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν ἐστίν*. On this subject something will be said when we come to the legislation of the Isaurian Emperors in the eighth century. We may notice here that Justin built the *Χρυσοτάχιδος*, "golden chamber," a splendid room in the palace, adjoin-

ing the sleeping apartments of the Emperor and Empress. M. Paspatis has shown that it was situated to the west of the Pharos, which he has identified. See *Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ ἀνάκτορα*, p. 167 sqq.

² The tax on cargoes was a flagon on a cask of wine. The tax on the "civil loaves" was four darics. See John Eph. iii. 11. The flights of stairs, 107 in number, from which the distributions of bread (*panis gradilis*, as it was called in Latin) were made, were a feature of Constantinople. The tally which every householder had to show in order to receive his share was called *calamus*.

History shows us that the maintenance of law is least secure when aristocratic classes become predominant; turbulence waxes rife, attempts to override the rights of inferiors are sure to take place, and the only safeguard is a strong monarchical authority. Now this evil prevailed in the days of Justin. The noble lords were turbulent and licentious, and while Justin made praiseworthy efforts to enforce the law at all costs, there was, doubtless, a constant struggle, in which Justin was generally obliged to compromise; and we can thus understand a bitter allusion in a speech which he delivered on the occasion of Tiberius' elevation to the rank of Caesar.¹ He bade Tiberius beware of the lords, who were present at the ceremony, as of men who had led himself into an evil plight.²

Justin's desire to enforce the maintenance of justice, and the corruption with which he had to contend, are illustrated by an anecdote.³ The prefect of the city was a man who, knowing Justin's anxiety to protect the oppressed, had proposed himself for the post, and had promised that if he received for a certain time full powers, unrestricted by any privilege of class, the wronged individuals who were always addressing appeals to the throne would soon cease to trouble the sovereign. One day a man appeared before the prefect and accused a person of senatorial rank. The accused noble did not vouchsafe to notice the prefect's summons, and, on receiving a second citation, attended a banquet of the Emperor instead of appearing in court. During the feast the prefect entered the banqueting-hall of the palace, and addressed the Emperor: "I promised your Majesty to leave not a single oppressed person in the city within a certain time, and I shall succeed perfectly in my engagement if your authority come to my aid.

¹ See *post*, p. 78. God put it in his heart, says Evagrius (v. 13), to record his own errors and give good advice. Compare the account in Theophylactus, iii. 11, 4. Evagrius gives an unfavourable account of Justin's moral character (v. 1): "he wallowed in luxury and unnatural pleasures" (*ἡδοναῖς ἐκτόποις*); and he also dwells on his greed of money.

² The general feeling of the Empire's misfortunes in Justin's reign is reflected in the doggerel epigram written by some of the city wits and

fixed upon a tablet (John Eph. iii. 24)—

"Build, build aloft thy pillar,
And raise it vast and high;
Then mount and stand upon it,
Soaring proudly in the sky:
Eastward, south and north and westward,
Wherever thou shalt gaze,
Nought thou'lt see but desolations,
The work of thy own days."

(This is the translation of Dr. Payne Smith.)

³ See the account in Zonaras, Bk. xiv. cap. 10 (vol. iii. p. 286, ed. Dindorf), and Cedrenus, i. 681 *sqq.* (Bonn).

But if you shelter and patronise wrongdoers, and entertain them at your table, I shall fail. Either allow me to resign or do not recognise the wrongdoers." The Emperor replied: "If I am the man, take me." The prefect, thus reassured, arrested the criminal, tried him, found him guilty, and flogged him. The plaintiff was recompensed amply. It is said that people were so terrified by this example of strictness that for thirty days no accusations were lodged with the prefect.

(2) At the same time the bonds which attached the provinces of the Empire to the centre, and thereby to each other, were being loosened; and it is important to notice and easy to apprehend that this change was closely connected with the diminution of the imperial authority. For that authority held the heterogeneous elements together in one whole; and if the position of the Emperor became insecure or his hand weak, the centrifugal forces immediately began to operate. Now, it is to be noted that certain changes introduced by Justinian, which from one point of view might seem to make for absolutism, were calculated to further the progress of the centrifugal tendency if it once began to set in. I refer to the removal of some important rungs in the ladder of the administrative hierarchy; the abolition of the count of the East and the vicarius of Asiana.¹ These smaller centres had helped to preserve the compactness of the Empire, and their abolition operated in the reverse direction.

A remarkable law of Justin² (568 A.D.) is preserved, in which he yields to the separatist tendencies of the provinces to a certain extent. This law provided that the governor of each province should be appointed without cost at the request of the bishops, landowners, and inhabitants of the province. It was a considerable concession in the direction of local government, and its importance will be more fully recognised if it is remembered that Justinian had introduced in some provinces the practice of investing the civil governor, who held judicial as well as administrative power, with military authority also. It is a measure which sheds much light on the state of the Empire, and reminds us of that attempt of Honorius to give representative local government to the cities

¹ See above, Bk. iv. pt. i. cap. xii.

² Novel v. (ed. Zacharia).

in the south of Gaul, a measure which came too late to cure the political lethargy which prevailed.

The estrangement of the eastern provinces from the crown was further increased by the persecutions of heretics, which began about the year 572. The Emperor fell under the influence of the Patriarch, John of Sirimis (a place near Antioch), and to have been induced by him to make a new attempt at unifying the Church by means of persecution.¹ The procedure against the Samaritans² (572 A.D.) was so effective that that important people became quite insignificant. The monophysitic monks and nuns were expelled from their monasteries and convents, fleeing "like birds before the hawk." John of Ephesus, a monophysite, describes in his ecclesiastical history the details of this persecution. We may take as an example the case of Antipatra and Juliana,³ two noble ladies attached to the monophysitic faith. They were confined in a monastery at Chalcedon, and, because they would not accept the formula of the orthodox, were obliged to wear the dress of nuns, were shorn of their hair, and were "made to sweep the convent, and carry away the dirt, and scrub and wash out the latrinae, and serve in the kitchen, and wash the candlesticks and dishes, and perform other similar duties." Unable to endure these hardships, they submitted in form to the Chalcedonian communion. This, however, is said to have been a very mild case. The measure which the monophysites most resented was the annulling of the orders of their clergy. The Patriarch of Constantinople had hereby a welcome opportunity for interfering with the dioceses of Antioch, Alexandria, and Cyprus, over which he desired to exercise a jurisdiction like that which the bishop of Rome possessed over the see of Thessalonica, for example, or the see of Ravenna.

In the year 574 the Emperor became a hopeless and even

¹ It is perhaps doubtful whether Justin was personally a fervent believer. He introduced in the coinage of his solidi "a female figure which was generally compared to Venus." Tiberius discontinued this, and had a cross struck upon the reverse of his coins. It is remarkable that this act of Tiberius is regarded by John of Ephesus (iii. 14) as a public profes-

sion of Christianity. A coin of Justin with such a figure is given in Ducange's *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*, p. 70.

² Novel vii. (ed. Zachariä).

³ Juliana belonged to the house of Anastasius the Emperor; her father was the consul Magnes. She became the sister-in-law of Justin by marrying his brother. See John Eph. ii. 12.

dangerous lunatic, and his vagaries were the talk of Constantinople.¹ It was necessary to place bars on his windows to prevent him from hurling himself down, and in his fits he used to bite his chamberlains. The only charm by which they could then quiet his fury was the words, "The son of Gabolo is coming"—a reference to Harith, king of a tribe of Arabs.² When he heard this exclamation he was cowed at once. His favourite amusement was to sit in a little waggon, which his attendants used to draw about in the palace chambers, and a musical instrument was constantly played in his presence to calm his temper.

Sophia did not feel equal to carrying on the government without male assistance, especially as the Persian war was pressing the realm hard. Her representations of the unfortunate state of things in the capital had, it is said, induced Chosroes to grant a temporary peace, but the renewal of the war was certain at a near date, while the Avars were unceasing in their hostilities. A firm hand at the reins was indispensable. Accordingly, in the last month of 574, in one of his sane intervals, Justin, at her instance, created Tiberius,³ the count of the excubiti, a Caesar. On this occasion he delivered an unexpectedly candid and repentant speech, which made a deep impression on contemporaries.⁴

"'Know,' he said, 'that it is God who blesses you and confers this dignity and its symbols upon you, not I. Honour it, that you may be honoured by it. Honour your mother, who was hitherto your queen; you do not forget that formerly you were her slave, now you are her son.

¹ Our authority for Justin's madness is John of Ephesus, and the details he gives are quite credible. He professes to conceal some of the worst features of Justin's case. John, although he is a monophysite and detested Justin's later policy, is generally sufficiently moderate. In regard to these details, which orthodox writers suppress, he says (iii. 2): "The whole senate and city, natives as well as foreigners, bear witness to the truth and exactness of our details."

² Chorth, the son of Gabolo, was the Syriac equivalent of Harith, the son of Jabal.

³ For Tiberius, see Corippus, *de laudibus Justinii*, i. 212 sq.—

omnia disponens munivit providus arcem
Tiberius, domini semper cui maxima cura

utilitatis erat: namque illum maximus orbis
communis benefactor aleus et ab ubere matris
suscipiens primis puerum praelegit ab annis
utque pater genitum nutrit, fovit, amavit,
paulatimque virum summa in fastigia duxit.

Notice the quantity of *Tiberius*.

⁴ I translate from Theophylactus (iii. 11), who professes to quote the unadorned and unadulterated words of Justin (cf. Evagrius, v. 13, and Theophanes *ad ann.* 6070, who places this speech at the time of Tiberius' elevation to the rank of Augustus). I have translated very literally, to reproduce the effect of the disjointed sentences of the feeble speaker. John of Ephesus states (iii. 4) that scribes took down the speech in shorthand, and so it was preserved.

Delight not in the shedding of blood ; take no share in murder ; do not return evil for evil, that you may become like unto me in unpopularity. I have been called to account as a man, for I fell, and I received according to my sins ; but I shall sue those who caused me to err at the throne of Christ. Let not this imperial garb elate thee as it elated me. Act to all men as you would act to yourself, remembering what you were before and what you are now. Be not arrogant, and you will not go wrong : you know what I was, what I became, and what I am. All these are your children and servants—you know that I preferred you to my own blood ; you see them here before you, you see all the persons of the administration. Pay attention to the army ; do not encourage informers, and let not men say of thee, "His predecessor was such and such" ; for I speak from my own experience. Permit those who possess to enjoy their property in peace ; and give unto those who possess not."

The Patriarch then pronounced a prayer, and when all had said Amen, and the new Caesar had fallen at the feet of the Augustus, Justin said, "If you will, I live ; if you will not, I die. May God, who made heaven and earth, place in your heart all that I have forgotten to tell you."

But although Sophia approved and promoted the elevation of Tiberius to the rank of Caesar and the position of regent, she was determined to retain all her authority and sovereignty as Augusta, and above all she would not consent to the presence of another queen in the palace. Justin, with the good-nature of a man, suggested that Ino the wife of Tiberius should reside with him, for "he is a young man, and the flesh is hard to rule" ; but Sophia would not hear of it. "As long as I live," she said, "I will never give my kingdom to another," words that breathe the spirit of the great Theodora. Accordingly, during Justin's lifetime Ino and her two daughters lived in a house near the palace in complete retirement. The wives of noblemen and senators were much exercised in their minds whether they should call upon the wife of the Caesar or not. They met together to consider the important question, but were afraid to decide to visit Ino without consulting the wishes of Sophia. When they asked the Empress, she scolded them sharply ; "Go, and be quiet," she said, "it is no business of yours."¹ But when Tiberius was inaugurated Emperor in September 578, a few days before Justin's death, he installed

¹ I have inserted these details because they are almost unknown to historians, although they rest on contemporary authority (John Eph. iii. 7), and be-

cause Theophanes relates a discordant story, that on Tiberius' accession in 578 Sophia was ignorant of his wife's existence.

his wife in the palace, to the chagrin of Sophia, and caused the new Augusta to be recognised by the factions of the circus. It is said that a riot took place in the hippodrome, as the Blues wished to change her pagan name to "Anastasia," while the Greens proposed "Helena." Anastasia was adopted as her imperial name.

II. *Tiberius II.*

The independent reign of Tiberius Constantine (for he had assumed with the purple a new name) lasted only four years. Although during his regency the administration was in his hands, yet the influence of Sophia over the occasionally sane Justin had been a considerable limit on his powers and scope of action; for the Empress was determined to be queen in more than name. The limitation of the powers of Tiberius when he was only Caesar are fully apparent from the mere fact that Sophia and Justin retained the management of the exchequer in their own hands. Sophia judged, and not without reason, that the young Caesar was inclined to be too lavish with money; and her prudence withheld from him the keys of the treasury, while he was granted a fixed allowance. After the death of Justin, he did not delay to emancipate himself from her dictation, and she is said to have set afoot several conspiracies to dethrone him. It is related that she suborned Justinian, the son of Germanus, who had won laurels in the East, to join in a plot against Tiberius; but this treason was discovered in time. The clemency of the Emperor pardoned Justinian, but his "mother" was deprived of her retinue and subjected to a strict supervision.

It was thought that of all men Tiberius was the man, had he lived longer, to have checked the forces of dissolution that were at work, and placed the Empire on a new basis. Yet what we know of him hardly justifies such a conclusion. The fact that he was thoroughly well intentioned, and the fact that he was very popular, combined with the circumstance that his reign was prematurely ended by death, have prepossessed men strongly in his favour. No charges can be brought against him like those that have been brought against his predecessor Justin or his successor Maurice. But, notwithstanding, I think it may be shown that he did as much

harm as good to the Empire, and that he was not in any way the man to stem the tide.

The chief services rendered to the State by Tiberius consisted in the care which he bestowed upon strengthening the army and his attention to military matters. In this important department he had able supporters in Justinian, the son of Germanus, who is recorded to have revived the discipline of the army, which was beginning to relax, and in Maurice, who became Emperor afterwards. We are told that Tiberius expended large sums of money in collecting troops,¹ and it deserves to be specially noticed² that in the last year of his reign he organised a body of 15,000 *foederati*, which may be perhaps looked upon as the original nucleus or form of the bodyguard which in later centuries was called Varangian. Maurice was appointed general of this company, with the title "Count of the Federates."

But though he might have made a very good minister of war, Tiberius did not make a good Emperor. It was natural that his first acts should be reactionary, as Justin's government had been extremely unpopular. He removed the duty on the "political bread," and remitted a fourth part of the taxes throughout the Empire.³ Had he been contented with this he might deserve praise, but he began a system of most injudicious extravagance. He gratified the soldiers with large and frequent *Augustatica*, and he granted donations to members of all the professions—scholastics or jurists ("a very numerous profession"), physicians, silversmiths, bankers.⁴ This liberality soon emptied the treasury of its wealth. "What use," cried Tiberius, "is this hoarded gold, when all the world is choking with hunger?" a sentiment which was hardly relevant, as his generosity benefited the rich and not the hungry. The result was that by the end of the first year of his reign he had spent 7200 lbs. of gold, beside silver and silk in abundance; and

¹ Theophyl. iii. 12.

² Theophanes *ad ann.* 6074 (cf. Zonaras, iii. p. 290).

³ Novel xi. (ed. Zachariä), 575 A.D., *περὶ κομφισμῶν πολιτικῶν*. One year's tribute, or *canon*, was remitted to farmers and proprietors (*συντελεσταί*), but this year was distributed over four; *i.e.* $\frac{1}{4}$ of

the *canon* of 575-576 was remitted, $\frac{1}{4}$ of 576-577, etc. Arréars were remitted up to the end of the last (fifth) indiction.

⁴ John Eph. iii. 11. He sent to the army in Asia 800 lbs. of gold to be distributed. In ordinary times the *Augustaticum* was never higher than nine darics.

before he died he was obliged to have recourse to the reserve fund which the prudent economy of Anastasius had laid by, to be used in the case of an extreme emergency.¹ And, notwithstanding these financial difficulties, he laid out money on new buildings in the palace.

The consequence of this recklessness was that when Maurice came to the throne he found the exchequer empty and the State bankrupt. He was thus, by no fault of his own, compelled to be extremely parsimonious; and his scrupulous economy rendered him unpopular, while it endeared, by the force of contrast, the memory of the deceased, who had been really the cause of the perplexing situation. There is considerable reason, I think, to remove Tiberius from his pedestal.

Nor did his reign lack the distinction of a persecution of heretics; and yet his pleasant and easy fiscal system secured him such general popularity that even the monophysites were disposed to excuse him from the blame of the persecution, "because he was so much occupied with wars."² But his persecution of the Arians will perhaps reflect little credit on him in the eyes of humanity. When he enlisted Goths to compose his corps of foederati, they urged the modest demand that a church for holding Arian services should be granted to them. The bigots of Constantinople were furious at this impious prayer, and there arose a sedition of such formidable aspect³ that Tiberius, in order to quell it, resorted to the device of commanding or permitting a general persecution of the Arians, that he might thereby be acquitted of having entertained any intention of granting such an outrageous request.

Theophylactus, the historian of Maurice,⁴ remarked in praise of Tiberius that "he preferred that his subjects should share the imperial authority with him to their being tyrannically governed like slaves." The natural comment is that these two modes of State economy do not exhaust the alternative courses open to Tiberius; but this remark has a deeper

¹ See John of Ephesus, v. 20. This statement is inconsistent with the assertion of the writer of the *Secret History* that the hoard of Anastasius was spent during the reign of Justin I. (see vol. i. Appendix to cap. ii. of Bk. iv. pt. ii.) It is hardly to be supposed that this reserve fund was distinct from the im-

mense sum mentioned in the *Anecdota*.

² John Eph. iii. 21. Eutychius the Patriarch urged him to this course.

³ The cry of the people was, "Out with the bones of the Arians!" (John Eph. iii. 13).

⁴ Theophyl. iii. 16.

historical significance. The point is not the preference of Tiberius; the point is that the imperial power was drifting away from its old moorings at the promontory of absolutism.

Maurice returned from Persia in the summer of 582, to find the Emperor sick unto death, and to be elected by him to reign in his stead. The ceremony was performed on the 5th of August.¹ There were present not only the Patriarch (John the Faster) and the chief ecclesiastics, the guards of the palace, the aulic officials and senators, as in the case of Justin's accession, but also the "more distinguished men of the people," by which must be meant the demarchs and prominent persons in the circus factions.² In his oration on this occasion Tiberius expressed a hope that his fairest funeral monument might be the reign of his successor. A marriage was arranged between Maurice and Constantina, Tiberius' younger daughter³; and thus Maurice, as being the son-in-law of Tiberius, who was the adopted son of Justin and Sophia, may be regarded as belonging to the dynasty of Justinian. Eight days later Tiberius expired in the palace of Hebdomon, outside the walls.⁴

¹ So John of Ephesus, v. 13. The usual date given is 13th August; see Clinton, *F. R. ad ann.*

² Theophyl. i. 1: τοὺς ἐπισημοτέρους τοῦ δήμου. Tiberius renamed Maurice by his own name Tiberius, but Maurice did not adopt it in practice. Paul, the historian of the Lombards, remarks that Maurice was *primus ex Graecorum genere in imperio constitutus*, but Maurice traced his origin to Old Rome, though he was a native of Arabissus.

³ Clinton places the marriage on the same day as the investiture, but this is very improbable. The account of Theo-

phylactus, who places it after Tiberius' death, is more credible. The unusual splendour of the marriage festivities is noted by Evagrius, who describes the Emperor's gold-embroidered dress, trimmed with purple and decked with precious gems from the Orient. Religion and Royalty (*θεοσέβεια* and *βασίλεια*) presided jointly over the festival.

⁴ Theophylactus assigns the death of Tiberius to the day after the investiture of Maurice. I follow John of Ephesus (v. 13). Theodosius of Melitene states that Tiberius died of poison taken in a dish of mulberries.

CHAPTER II

MAURICE

Two years after his accession, a son was born to Maurice (4th August 584), whom he named Theodosius, in memory of Theodosius II, the last Emperor who had been born in the purple.¹ This event is said to have been the cause of great rejoicing, and when Maurice appeared in the hippodrome the people shouted, "God grant thee well, for thou hast freed us from subjection to many." This illustrates the fact that a feeling of uncertainty and apprehension always prevailed in the Roman Empire when there was no apparent heir marked out by birth; men dreaded a struggle for sovereignty. In regard to the question how far the principle of heredity was acknowledged, it is important to observe that there is no case of a difficulty arising as to the accession of an Emperor's legitimate son; he was always acknowledged to be the rightful successor.

Maurice occupied the throne for twenty years. During all that time the Empire was harassed by the troublesome hostilities of the Avars and Slaves, and for the first ten years of his reign the wearisome war with Persia was protracted. His great difficulty was want of money, which produced want of

¹ John of Ephesus, v. 14. For the reign of Maurice our contemporary authorities are Evagrius' *Ecclesiastical History*; a few fragments of John of Epiphania (*F. H. G.* iv. p. 272 *sqq.*); John of Ephesus for first two years. A semi-contemporary, if I may use the expression, is our most important source, Theophylactus Simocatta, who was born in the reign of Maurice, but must have been young when Maurice died. For

the Persian wars he drew upon John of Epiphania. For an account of Theophylactus, *see* below, p. 254. Maurice's own treatise on Strategy does not throw much light on actual historical events. For relations with the Franks we have some original documents in Bouquet's collection (vol. iv.) and notices in Gregory of Tours; for Italian affairs the works of Pope Gregory.

public confidence ; and the unavoidable parsimony, which he was forced to practise, naturally won for him the repute of avarice and meanness ; he was said to have a diseased appetite for gold. Soon after his accession he was obliged to purchase a temporary peace from the Avars, whom he was not prepared to oppose, by paying a considerable sum from the almost exhausted treasury. Perhaps the impecuniousness which pressed hard on him during the first years of his reign habituated him to a spirit of parsimony, which he continued to exhibit when circumstances both admitted and demanded a less scrupulous economy. It is certain that he attempted several times to retrench in the pay or commissariat of the army ; serious mutinies were the consequence ; and this unwise policy was one of the chief causes of his fall.

Evagrius, a contemporary ecclesiastical historian, says that Maurice was moderate, self-willed, and keen-witted.¹ He showed his self-will in his operations at Arabissus, which by no means tended to increase his popularity. Though a Roman by descent, he was born at Arabissus in Cappadocia, and he cherished such a curious love for this insignificant place (as Justinian had done for his birthplace in Dardania) that he determined to convert it into a splendid city, and began elaborate buildings, in spite of his parsimonious proclivities. When the buildings were considerably advanced, an earthquake destroyed them, and the self-will of Maurice, who had a touch of the Roman passion for building, caused them to be begun all over again.² To this strange affection of Maurice for his remote birthplace was joined a strong attachment to his kinsmen, whom he was anxious to advance into high places.³ He made his father Paul president of the senate, he gave all his relations rich palaces, and he divided the large property of Justin's brother Marcellus between Paul his father and Peter his brother.

He was also "moderate." His moderation appears especially in his ecclesiastical policy, for he completely rejected the prac-

¹ v. 19.

² John Eph. v. 22, 23.

³ *Ib.* 18. Maurice also "gave his sister and her husband Philippicus a large and strong-built house, on the western side of the city, in the suburb

called Zeugma ; while his other sister, the widow, received a new and well-built mansion, lately erected by the Patrician Peter, and which is almost as large as a city. He also gave to his other relatives large and noble houses."

tice of persecution adopted by his two predecessors, and passed a law that schismatics should not be compelled to conform. It is hard to say, however, whether the credit of this ought not to be ascribed to the Patriarch Johannes rather than to Maurice; we cannot be sure that if the former had urged persecution, the latter would not have acquiesced. For it is worthy of note that at this period the Emperors, feeling that their authority rested on an insecure footing, formed close alliances with the Patriarchs, who possessed immense influence with the people. Justin was prepared to adopt the ecclesiastical policy of John of Sirimis, Tiberius was ready to support Eutychius, and now we find Maurice standing fast by John Nesteutes in his contest with the see of Rome. It was the aim of the patriarchs of Constantinople to hold the same position in eastern Christendom that the bishop of Rome was acknowledged to hold in universal Christendom. In order to accomplish this aim they had two problems to solve. One problem was to reduce the large independent sees of the East, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, under the jurisdiction of Byzantium; the other problem was to prevent the interference of the Pope in the affairs of the East and thereby induce him to acknowledge the Patriarch of Constantinople as a pontiff of ecumenical position like his own. The first of these objects was directly aimed at, as we are expressly told, in the persecutions organised by John of Sirimis; the second was essayed by John the Faster, who assumed the title of "Ecumenical bishop." Gregory the Great, who occupied the chair of St. Peter from 590 to 604, was horrified and grieved at such presumption. He wrote a friendly letter of expostulation on the subject to Maurice, in which he said that he was "compelled to cry aloud and say, *O tempora! O mores!*" He also wrote a letter to the Empress Constantina, for he understood the art, which popes, bishops, and priests so easily learn, of bringing female influence into play. To the Empress he expressed his conviction that John's assumption of the title *universal* was a clear indication that the times of Antichrist were at hand.¹ His argument that Maurice ought to interfere in the matter is impressive. No one, he says, can govern on earth (*terrena regere*) rightly except he knows how to handle divine things; and the peace of the State depends on the peace

¹ *Epist.* v. 8, 20 and 21. Indict. xiii.

of the whole Church.¹ It is this peace, not any personal interest, that he himself is defending; it is this peace that John is troubling, by interfering with the established economy of Christendom. It consequently behoves Maurice, in the interests of the State, to inhibit the proceedings of his Patriarch. Maurice, however, was not convinced by the reasons of the Pope, but sympathised thoroughly with John's claims to ecumenical dignity. Hence a breach ensued between the Emperor and the Pope, and the latter complains that Maurice, touching another matter, had the indecency to call him "fatuous."

We may date the long struggle between the sees of Rome and Constantinople, which culminated in the final schism of 1055, from the reign of Maurice and the pontificate of Gregory I.

Maurice gives us the melancholy impression of a prince who, possessing many good qualities and cherishing many good purposes, was almost completely ineffectual. The army detested, and pretended to despise him, and the disaffection prevalent in the capital presented a favourable opportunity for revolution. In the year 599 he refused to ransom 12,000 captives from the chagan of the Avars, who consequently put them to death; and this refusal, which perhaps seems inhuman, increased the detestation in which he was held. Theophylactus, in his panegyrical history of the reign of Maurice, does not mention the matter, and his silence suggests that he did not feel able to palliate the act; but it has been conjectured that many of the prisoners were probably deserters,² and in any case it is evident that it was not to save money, but to punish soldiers who had been mutinous and intractable, that Maurice acted as he did. It was an impolitic measure, and two years later he attempted another measure, which under the circumstances was equally impolitic, and illustrates that self-will which Evagrius ascribes to him. He issued commands that the army which was defending the Balkan provinces should winter in the trans-Danubian lands of the Slovenes, in order to save supplies. This led to a rebellion. Peter, the general, was placed in a disagreeable predicament between the peremptory behests of his brother the Emperor and the undisguised dissatisfaction of the army. When the matter came to a crisis

¹ *Pacem Reipublicae ex universae eccl. pace pendere.* This expresses a principle

which underlies all medieval history.
² Finlay, i. 105. See *post*, p. 139.

at Securisca, the soldiers positively refused to cross the river, and raising the centurion Phocas on a shield, they conferred on him the title of captain (exarch).

When the news of the revolt reached Maurice he did not allow it to be published, but with an air of security which he was far from feeling he celebrated a series of equestrian contests in the hippodrome, and made light of the rumours which had reached the city concerning the military insurrection. His heralds or *mandatores* bade the demes not to be alarmed or excited by an unreasonable and unimportant disorder in the camp; at which proclamation the Blues shouted, "God, O Emperor! who raised you to the throne, will subdue unto you every conspirator against your authority. But if the offender is a Roman, ungrateful to his benefactor, God will subject him unto you without shedding of blood."

Three days later Maurice summoned to the palace Sergius and Cosmas, the demarchs of the green and blue factions respectively, and inquired the numbers of the members of their demes. Sergius counted fifteen hundred Greens, while on the list of Cosmas there were only nine hundred Blues. The object of Maurice's inquiries was to form the demesmen into a garrison for the protection of the city against the army, which was already advancing under the leadership of Phocas. They were set to guard the walls of Theodosius.

It is difficult to grasp the exact cause of this revolution and the intrigues which underlay it; but the following points may be emphasised. In the first place, there was not at the outset any intention of elevating Phocas to the throne; he was merely elected general of the rebellious army. In the second place, it was the purpose of the army to depose Maurice and elect a new Emperor, perhaps Theodosius, the son of Maurice, or Germanus, Theodosius' father-in-law. In the third place, the declaration of disloyalty on the part of the army was followed up in Constantinople by the movement of a disaffected party, on whose co-operation the military ringleaders had probably calculated. In the fourth place, the demes play an important part in this movement, and Maurice seems to have acted imprudently in arming them.¹

¹ In the preceding year they had shown a refractory and disloyal spirit, and even thrown stones at the Emperor, on account of scarcity of food; Maurice and Theodosius with difficulty escaped (Theophyl. viii. 5).

While the citizens and the sovereign were in a state of expectancy and anxiety as to the events which a few days might bring about, it happened that the young Emperor Theodosius and his father-in-law Germanus were hunting outside the walls of the city, near a place called Callicratea. A messenger suddenly accosted Theodosius and gave him a letter, purporting to come from the army. The contents of the letter were a request that either he or Germanus should assume the reins of government; "the forces of the Romaioi will no longer have Maurice to reign over them." The sportsmen were accompanied by an imperial retinue, and the incident of the letter soon reached the ears of Maurice, who immediately summoned his son. On the morning of the second day after this occurrence¹ Germanus was admitted to the presence of the Emperor, who, with tears in his eyes, charged him with being the prime promoter of the whole movement. Not only the letter, but the ambiguous fact that the ravages of the mutineers in the neighbourhood of the city had diligently spared the horses of Germanus, seemed to the suspicious monarch sure proofs of guilt. The accused indignantly denied the charge, but the Emperor either was not or feigned not to be convinced. Theodosius, who had been present at the interview, secretly admonished his father-in-law that his life was in danger, and Germanus betook himself to the asylum of the church erected by Cyrus² to the Mother of God. Towards sunset the Emperor sent the eunuch Stephanus, the tutor of the young princes, to persuade the suppliant to leave the altar, but members of the household of Germanus, who had attended him to the church, drove the tutor forth ignominiously. Under the cover of night Germanus stole to the surer refuge of the altar of the great church. In the meantime Maurice flogged his son, whom he accused of also tampering with treason. He then sent a body of guards to drag Germanus from St. Sophia, and a large multitude of indignant citizens gathered round the portals of the church. Germanus was at length persuaded to leave the altar, but as he approached the door a man named Andrew cried out,

¹ On the day following (*τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*) the incident of the letter, Maurice appointed Comentiolus commander of the garrison; on the next day (*τῇ ἐπαύριον*),

very early (*ὑπὸ πρῶτῃν ἔω*), he summoned Germanus.

² Prefect of the city in the reign of Theodosius II.

"Back to the shrine, Germanus, save thy life! An thou goest, death is in store for thee." These ominous words arrested the steps of Germanus, and repenting of his imprudent submission, he returned to the safety of the altar. The populace meanwhile loaded the name of the Emperor with execrations and abuse, calling him a *Marcionist*, a term which implied not only impiety but folly.¹ As the uproar increased, the demesmen, who were stationed on the walls under the command of Comen-tiolus, were excited by the significant sounds of tumult and sedition; they left their posts, and soon gave the menaces of the crowd a definite direction. The object of their fury was the house of Constantine Lardys, the praetorian prefect of the East, one of the most illustrious senators in the Empire and a trusted friend of the Emperor; it was burned down.

When the revolt had reached this point, Maurice dressed himself in the apparel of a private individual, and along with his wife Constantina, his children, and the faithful minister, whose house was even then in flames, embarked in a vessel which lay moored by the private stairs of the palace. The imperial fugitives reached the church of Autonomos the Martyr, on the bay of Nicomedia,² and the distress of a nocturnal flight was aggravated for Maurice by a severe attack of gout, a disease to which the luxurious inhabitants of Constantinople were peculiarly liable.³ As soon as they reached the shore of Asia, Theodosius was despatched to Persia to supplicate the assistance of Chosroes II for the Emperor, who had assisted that monarch in his own hour of necessity.⁴

It seemed possible that Germanus might be raised to the throne, and in that case the revolution might have been bloodless; but the rivalry of the factions decided that it was not to be so. He had always been a partisan and patron of the Blues, but it was now important for him to gain the united support of both factions, especially as the Greens were numerically stronger. Accordingly he opened negotiations with

¹ τῷ τε τῶν Μαρκιανιστῶν καταλόγῳ συνέταττον· αἵρεσις δὲ αὕτη μετὰ τινος μωρᾶς εὐλαβείας εὐθὺς τε καὶ καταγέλαστος (Theophyl. viii. 9). Marcion was a dualist who believed in two Gods, one good, the other just.

² Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Ecc.* 18, 40.

³ νόσοι ἀρθρίτιδες. ταύτης δὲ τῆς νόσου εὐθένεια καθέστηκε δυστυχῆς τοῖς τὸ βασίλειον αὐτοῦ κατοικοῦσι διὰ παντός (Theophyl. viii. 9). The writer hints that he knows the causes, but declines to digress.

⁴ See *post*, p. 112.

Sergius, the demarch of the Greens, and promised to favour them in case he were elected. The demarch communicated this proposal to the managing committee of his party, but they met it with a decided refusal. The Greens were convinced that Germanus would never really abandon the Blues. Recognising, then, that he had no chance of realising his ambitious aspiration, Germanus embraced the party of the winner, the centurion Phocas, to whom members of the green faction were already hastening to present their allegiance.

The question arises whether Germanus cherished any treasonable ambition before the suspicion of the Emperor fell on him, or did this suspicion first arouse in him the hope as well as the fears of a conspirator. The narrative of Theophylactus naturally suggests the latter alternative, but does not exclude the former. Another point, which must remain obscure, is whether the letter received by Theodosius really expressed the wishes of the army, or was a device of Phocas, intended to awaken the suspicions of Maurice. The fact that the news of its arrival reached the ears of Maurice so soon, coupled with the probability that Theodosius did not communicate its contents to any one save Germanus, suggests that the intention of the epistle was not what it seemed. If this conjecture is right, it will go far to establish the innocence of Germanus; for the object of Phocas must have been to divide the camp of his opponents by sowing discord between Germanus and Maurice.

The Greens, who had gone forth from the city to meet Phocas, found him at Rhegium, "and persuaded him to advance to Hebdomon." Theodore, one of the imperial secretaries, whose presence at Rhegium is not explained by our authorities, was sent to the city to bid the senate and the Patriarch¹ proceed to Hebdomon for the purpose of crowning Germanus, in whose interests Phocas still pretended to be acting. The name of Germanus moved the senators and the Patriarch Cyriacus; they hastened to the designated spot, only to see the diadem placed on the head of Phocas, amidst the acclamations of the demes, in the church of St. John the Baptist. On the morrow the new Emperor entered the city, carried in an im-

¹ On the preceding night the name of Cyriacus, as well as that of Maurice, had been abused by the rioters: *ἐπεί- κωπτόν τε καὶ τὸν λεράρχην, κ.τ.λ.*

perial litter drawn by four white horses, and his progress was marked by showers of golden coins among the people.¹ Horse-races celebrated his entry; on the following day he bestowed the usual donations on the soldiers, and his wife Leontia was crowned Augusta.²

On the occasion of the coronation of Leontia an incident occurred which indicated that the seat of Phocas was not yet secure. An important part of these ceremonies consisted in the procession from the palace to the great church, and it was customary for the various demes to post themselves at certain stages in the course of the processions, and to utter certain formulae or exclamations as the Emperor or imperial party passed. In certain cases the Emperor used to stop and receive the homage of the demes.³ The station of each deme was prescribed by custom, but on this occasion a dispute arose between the Greens and the Blues. The Greens desired to make their station in the portal of the palace called Ampelios, and there receive the Empress with the appropriate shouts of applause, but their jealous rivals objected to this arrangement as contrary to precedent. A tumult ensued,⁴ and Phocas sent out Alexander, who had made himself conspicuous in the revolt against Maurice, to calm the strife. Cosmas, the demarch of the Blues, entered into argument with the imperial emissary, and Alexander, with the insolence of an Emperor's friend, heaped abuse on the demarch, and even pushed him aside so roughly that he fell. Thereupon the insulted Blues gave vent to their wrath in ominous words, "Begone! understand the situation, Maurice is not yet dead!"⁵

The appearance of the usurper quieted the dispute of the

¹ *ὅλα νεφέλην χρυσὴν ὑετίζουσιν τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν ἐκπομπὴν τοῖς ἐν-τυγχάνουσι κατωμβρίσαστο*, a good example of the style of Theophylactus (viii. 10).

² According to *Chron. Pasch.*, Maurice fled on 22d November; Phocas was crowned 23d November, entered the capital 25th November, slew Maurice 27th November. Theophylactus does not allow a day to intervene between the coronation and the entry of the usurper (*see* viii. 10, p. 303, ed. de Boor, where, having mentioned the coronation, he proceeds with *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*). If Theophylactus is right, and the

revolt broke out on the 22d, Maurice's death took place on the 26th. Maurice was sixty-three years old when he died.

³ *See the de Caerimoniis of Constantine VII passim.*

⁴ The narrative of Gibbon is inaccurate, and seems to imply that the dispute took place in the hippodrome on the day before the coronation of Leontia.

⁵ *ἔπαγε, μάθε τὴν κατάστασιν· ὁ Μαυρίκιος οὐκ ἀπέθανεν*. Theophylactus has not changed the actual words, in the *ἰδιωτὶς φωνῇ*, as he calls it (viii. 10 *ad fin.*)

factions, but the words that the Blues had spoken sank into the heart of Phocas, and he decided that the death of Maurice and the extinction of Maurice's children were necessary to his own safety. Accordingly, on the morrow he sent Lilius over to Chalcedon to carry out this decision. In the harbour of Eutropius the four sons of Maurice were first slain, in their father's presence, and the Emperor, adopting the attitude of a philosopher or of a resigned Christian, is reported to have said, "Thou art just, Lord, and just is thy judgment." An incident took place which illustrates the faithfulness of a nurse and the steadfastness of an Emperor. The nurse concealed one of the imperial infants, and presented a child of her own to the sword of the executioner; but the sovereign was as superior as the servant to the promptings of nature¹ and declared the fraud.

Theodosius, the eldest son, did not escape the fate of his father and brothers. He had only reached Nicaea when Maurice, assuming a temper of dignified resignation, gave up all thoughts of struggling, and, disdaining to beg for the assistance of Chosroes, recalled his son. But the report gained ground and was afterwards made use of by the enemies of Phocas, that Theodosius, having reached Persia safely, had wandered to Colchis and ended his life in desert places. This report seemed to have some basis from the fact that Theodosius was not slain at the same time as his father. Phocas had entrusted his creature Alexander with the task of removing both the prince and Constantine Lardys, who had taken refuge in churches, and it was said that Alexander was bribed by Germanus not to slay his son-in-law.² Three distinguished men are mentioned as having shared the fate of their august master; Comentiolus "the general of Europe," George the lieutenant of Philippicus, and Praesentinus the *domesticus* of Peter.³

It is important to notice the part that the factions of the hippodrome played in this revolution; they strike us as suddenly reasserting a suppressed existence. There was still a strong spirit of rivalry; and although the Blues were obliged to acquiesce in the coronation of Phocas, they were

¹ νόμων φύσεως ὑψηλότερος.

² Theophyl. viii. 13. Alexander was slain by Phocas on account of this suspicion.

³ Constantina the Empress and her three daughters were placed in confinement in "the house of Leo" (Theophyl. iii. 15).

not friendly to him. Both parties were opposed to the government of Maurice, but they were not at one touching the question who should be his successor.

Here a conjecture may be put forward as to the significance of this opposition of the demes to Maurice. Finlay acutely suggested that the observation of Evagrius, that Maurice installed an aristocracy of reason in his breast and expelled the democracy of the passions,¹ contains a significance below the surface, and was intended as a hint at the circumstance that Maurice had allied himself with that aristocracy, which, as I said before, was endangering and limiting the extent of the imperial power. However this may be, there is no doubt that Maurice maintained his position as long as he did through the support of those men, of whose pernicious influence Justin had bitterly complained. Now, it seems almost certain that in this respect the attitude of Tiberius differed from that of Justin and from that of Maurice. Tiberius took Justin's advice to heart and assumed a position independent, as far as was possible, of the nobles, whose power was dangerously and unhealthily increasing. But in order to render himself independent of this class he was obliged to depend on another; and the organised demes of the hippodrome were an obvious resort. I conjecture, therefore, that he gave them and their leaders a political influence which they had not possessed since the revolt of 532.

Thus Tiberius and Maurice tried to meet the danger which was threatening the imperial power in divergent ways. Tiberius opposed the influence of the aristocrats by making an alliance with the demes, while Maurice tried to overcome the peril by an unnatural bond with the forces that were tending to undermine the throne, and thereby placed himself in opposition to both the army and the people. This difference partly explains the popularity of Tiberius and the unpopularity of Maurice, who seems to have been by temperament inclined to a certain aristocratic exclusiveness.²

¹ Evagrius, vi. 1: καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὅπως γενόμενος τὴν μὲν ὀχλοκράτειαν τῶν παθῶν ἐκ τῆς οὐκείας ἐξηγηλάτησε ψυχῆς ἀριστοκράτειαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς καταστησάμενος ζῶν ἀρετῆς ἔργαμα ἑαυτοῦ παρέσχετο, πρὸς μίμησιν ἐκταδεύων τὸ ὑπἥκοον. The historian

adds, "These things are not said for flattery, as the fact that the Emperor knows not of them sufficiently proves."

² It is worth noticing that the only popular acts of Maurice which his admirer Theophylactus can cite are his remitting on one occasion a third of

In support of these remarks I may add that in their light the observation of Theophylactus that Tiberius desired that his subjects should rule along with him, has a special point; the expression is strong and must mean more than the influence of court officials. Moreover, as a matter of fact, Tiberius recognised the demarchs and others as possessing political status.¹ Further, the words of Evagrius about Maurice, in accordance with Finlay's explanation, will be still more speaking; the expulsion of the democracy of passions will have the definite meaning that Maurice abandoned the democratic policy of Tiberius. Moreover, the important part that the factions played in the revolt of 602 seems to presuppose a considerable revival of their political power and almost a reorganisation since they had been crushed under the rule of Justinian; and this reorganisation I would attribute to the policy of Tiberius.

The testament of Maurice, which he had drawn up in the fifteenth year of his reign, on the occasion of a severe illness, was found more than eight years after his death, at the beginning of the reign of Heraclius. The document possessed considerable interest, for Maurice had conceived the design of adopting the Constantinian policy of dividing the Empire among his children. The fatal results to which this had led in the case of the sons of Constantine did not deter him. He assigned New Rome and "the East" to his eldest son Theodosius; Old Rome, Italy, and the western islands to his second son Tiberius; while the remaining provinces were to be sliced up among his other sons,² and Domitian of Melitene was appointed their guardian. This intention to recur to a fourth-century practice is worthy of note; and but for the revolution it might have been carried out.

the taxes, and his laying out 30 lbs. of gold ("talents") = £1350, on an aqueduct at Byzantium. As to the remission of the taxes, it is to be presumed it was only for a year; otherwise Theophylactus would have said so; and we do not know whether it was a spontaneous act of Maurice or exacted by a popular demonstration. I shall speak of Maurice's patronage of learning in another place.

¹ The presence of the demarchs at

Maurice's coronation shows this. Theophylactus, iii. 16, says of Tiberius, *εἰλετο συμβασιλεύειν αὐτῷ τὸ ὑπήκοον* (iii. 16).

² In the fifteenth year of his reign he had, I presume, only two other sons; of these, one would naturally receive Illyricum, including Greece, the other Africa. The words of Theophylactus are, *τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας τοῖς ἑτέροις παισὶ κατετεμαχίστατο*.

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN WAR (572-591 A.D.)

THE peace which Justinian and Chosroes had ratified in 562, although the long term of fifty years was fixed for its duration, was of necessity doomed to be short-lived, because its basis was a payment of money,¹ and neither party had entertained any expectation that it would last long. The Roman government was fully determined to renew the war, when the first ten years, for which term they made the stipulated payment in two sums, had expired; and Chosroes, though he would have been glad to protract the peace, was indisposed to make any concessions.

And so, as we might expect, the relations between the empires during the first seven years of Justin are strained; they collide in numerous ways, and causes for hostility accumulate. During the first few years fruitless negotiations² are carried on, in regard (1) to the cession of Suania to Rome, and (2) to the claims of the Persophil Saracens of Hirah to subsidies from the Roman Emperor, and these haggling negotiations tended to produce ill feeling and dissatisfaction which more important circumstances soon brought to a crisis.

One of these circumstances was the interference of Persia in the affairs of the kingdom of Yemen, in south Arabia. Yemen had been reduced under the sway of an Abyssinian

¹ This principle was apprehended and laid down by the Emperor Tiberius II, who said he would not purchase peace like an article for sale, as a bought peace cannot be permanent and firm (Men. fr. 47, *F. H. G.* iv. 249).

² It is to these embassies that Theophanes of Byzantium, the contemporary historian, must refer when he says that the peace was broken in the second year of Justin. They were certainly the first stage in the breach.

dynasty, with which the Roman Emperor was always on friendly terms. Saif, a descendant of the native Homerite kings, intolerant of the yoke of the strangers, sought refuge at the court of Chosroes, and by Persian assistance Yemen was conquered and the Homerite dynasty, in the person of Saif, restored. But Saif reigned only for a short time; his government was a failure; and Chosroes set a Persian marzpan (or margrave) over the country, which was placed in somewhat the same relation to Persia as the exarchate of Ravenna to Constantinople. But the Homerites found that the little finger of the marzpan was thicker than the loins of an Abyssinian prince, and sent an embassy to New Rome to beg for assistance.

In 571-572, when the term of ten years was approaching its close and a new payment would soon be due, another appeal to the Emperor, which he was only too ready to entertain, rendered an outbreak of war with Persia probable. Persarmenia, which was in a constant state of actual or intermittent rebellion, as the christian population could not remain happy under Persian domination, appealed to the Emperor of the Romans in the name of their common religion¹; he accepted their allegiance, and, when Chosroes remonstrated, replied that Christians could not reject Christians.

These relations with two peoples over which Chosroes exercised jurisdiction, and especially the protection accorded by the Emperor to the Persarmenian, were important causes of the ensuing war. But with these yet another cause concurred in producing the result. This was a newly formed relation of alliance with the Turks, who now for the first time appear in the West.² They were gradually taking the place of the Ephthalite Huns, whom they had made their tributaries,—those Huns who had been such formidable neighbours to Persia. The Chinese silk commerce and the trade on the Caspian, which had been hitherto monopolised by the Huns, were passing into their hands.

The Turks sent an embassy to the Byzantine court at the end of 568 or early in 569. They had previously tried to enter into commercial relations with Persia, but the Persian

¹ Evagr. v. 7.

² Formerly called Sacae (Men. fr. 19).

king had a wholesome horror of Turks, and did not wish his subjects to have any dealings with them. He poisoned some of their ambassadors,¹ so that they should not come again. Then Dizabul, khan of the Turks, determined to seek an alliance with the Roman Empire, which seemed to offer special advantages, as its inhabitants used more silk than any other nation.² Justin received the embassy kindly, and sent back Roman ambassadors in the autumn to see the Turkish chagan and conclude a treaty. These negotiations did not please Persia, and attempts were made by that power to waylay the ambassadors on their journey back to Byzantium.³

The dominion of Dizabul was not a kingdom; it was an empire whose sovereign held sway over four subject kingdoms and received tribute from other peoples, as for instance from the Ephthalites. This empire threatened now to become formidable to Persia, just as the Avars (who, once the subject of these very Turks, had revolted and migrated to the West) had become formidable to the Romans. In fact the Roman Empire and the Persian kingdom were in very similar circumstances. The former was placed between the Avars and the Persians, just as the latter was placed between the Turks (on the north) and the Romans.

The new allies of Justin were anxious that the forces of Persia should be occupied with a war on the western frontier, and did all they could to induce Justin to renounce the peace of fifty years.⁴

Any one of the causes mentioned might have been insufficient to produce a rupture, but all together were irresistible, and accordingly, when the time came for paying the stipulated annuity, Justin refused (572). The war which ensued lasted for twenty years; and its conclusion was due to the outbreak of a civil war in Persia. We may conveniently divide it into two parts, the death of Chosroes Nushirvan in 579 forming the point of division. The meagre accounts of the operations which we possess present little interest and much difficulty.

¹ In the case of the first embassy that was sent, he bought the silk and burnt it.

² He was not aware that they possessed the secret of its production.

³ Menander has given us the details of these embassies, which will be found reproduced in Gibbon.

⁴ Menander, p. 236, 7 (ed. Müller).

(1) Marcian, a senator and patrician, perhaps a cousin of Justinian, was appointed general in 572, and arrived in Osroene at the end of summer. Nothing took place in this year except an incursion of three thousand Roman hoplites into Arzanene. In 573 Marcian gained a great victory at Sargathon, but failed to take Nisibis, which he had blockaded. It was not for this failure alone that Marcian was deposed and Acacius appointed in his stead; a curious complication with the Saracens of Ghassan seems to have led to the recall of the general.¹ Harith, king of Ghassan, died and was succeeded by Mondir; and Kabus, king of the rival Saracens of Hirah, seized the opportunity to invade the Ghassanid dominion. But Mondir, having collected an army, defeated the invader, and followed up his success by invading the territories of Kabus, over whom he gained yet another victory. After these successes he ventured to address a letter to the Roman Emperor, with a request for money, and this presumption inflamed the indignation of Justin. The Emperor indited two letters, one to Mondir full of soft words and promises, the other to Marcian ordering him to assassinate the king of Ghassan. Through some mistake the missives were interchanged, and Mondir read with surprise and consternation the warrant for his own destruction. "This is my desert," he said bitterly. Full of resentment, he vowed vengeance against the Romans. At this juncture the Persians and Persophil Saracens invaded Syria and laid it waste as far as Antioch; but Mondir stood aloof, like Achilles, and retired into the desert. Justin bade the generals try to conciliate him, but he would not receive them. He held aloof for three years, at the end of which term he entered into communication with Justinian, the son of Germanus, whose honourable character had won men's confidence; and by his means a reconciliation was effected.²

The invasion of Syria just referred to took place under

¹ The affair of Mondir is related by John of Ephesus (vi. 3, 4), and may have been one cause of Marcian's deposition. It is not inconsistent with Theophylactus' expression (iii. 11), ἀσφάλων τε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀβουλίας περιστοιχίσαν αὐτὸν ἀτυχήμασιν, κ.τ.λ. The name Mondir was common to the dynasty of Ghassan and the dynasty

of Hirah, and hence mistakes have arisen. I have used *Alamundar* to designate the kings of Hirah, cf. vol. i. p. 373.

² After this reconciliation Mondir made a sudden attack on Hirah, the capital of Noman (son of Alamundar), and surprised it. This led to the union of the two realms under Mondir.

the leadership of Adormahun (Adarmanes), and the country, as has been said, was devastated up to the walls of Antioch. The city of Apamea was committed to the flames. Syria seems to have been entirely undefended; for thirty years the inhabitants had been exempt from hostile attacks, and had consequently become so unmanly and unaccustomed to the sights of war that they were unable to take measures for their own defence.¹ The captives who were led away to Persia are said to have numbered two hundred and ninety-two thousand.

From these captives Chosroes is recorded to have selected two thousand beautiful virgins, and ordered them to be handsomely adorned like brides and sent as a present to the chagan of the Turks. Two marzpanes and a body of troops were appointed to escort them to the land of the barbarians, and received express orders to travel at a leisurely pace. The virgins were dejected for their souls' sakes, because they could no longer hope to receive religious instruction, and they revealed their longings for death to other Syrian captives. When they had arrived within fifty leagues of the Turkish frontier, they came to a great river, and agreed among themselves to die rather than to pollute themselves with heathen ways and lose their Christianity. "Before our bodies are defiled by the barbarians and our souls polluted and death finally overtake us, let us now, while our bodies are still pure, and our souls free from heathendom, in the name and trusting to the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, offer unto him in purity both our souls and bodies by yielding ourselves up now to death, that we may be saved from our enemies and live for evermore. For it is but the pain of a moment which we have to endure in defence of our Christianity and for the preservation of our purity in body and soul." As the virgins were never allowed to be alone, they asked their conductors for permission to bathe in the river: "We are ashamed to bathe

¹ John of Epiphania (Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. 275), ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς προλαβούσης εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας ἥς ἱκανῶς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείας ἀπολεαύκασιν ἐξελέλυτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν πολεμικῶν παρασκευὴ τὸ δὲ ἀνδρεῖον τελῶς διέφθαρτο. This evidence regarding the state of Syria in the second half of Justinian's reign is noteworthy. Only short fragments remain of the history of the contem-

porary John of Epiphania, but Theophylactus, in his digressive resumption of the earlier portion of the Persian war in Bk. iii., follows John Epiph., as is quite clear from a comparison of his text with the extant fragments of John; so that for these years the authority of Theophylactus is perhaps nearly equivalent to the authority of the earlier writer.

if you stand by and look on." The permission to bathe and the seclusion which they requested were granted, and the whole company of virgins rushed suddenly into the water and were drowned. The Persians saw them floating and sinking, but were unable to rescue them.

This example of christian martyrdom, as it may be called, and of overpowering dread of the Turkish minotaur, so many centuries before he had set foot in Europe, is recorded only by John of Ephesus.¹

It seems that Marcian was recalled and Acacius sent to the East at the beginning of 574. When the Romans abandoned the siege of Nisibis, Chosroes swooped down upon Daras and besieged it, using against its walls the engines which the Romans had left behind them at Nisibis. But it was not easily taken, and the Persians almost despaired. Finally, overconfidence produced remissness in the garrison, and after a siege of six months the city passed into the hands of the Persians, about seventy years after its foundation by Anastasius. Thus Chosroes now held the two great fortresses of eastern Mesopotamia, Nisibis and Daras.

Besides these disasters, other difficulties beset the Roman government. It was perplexed by the hostilities of the Avars on the Danube and it was embarrassed by the mental aberration of the Emperor. Sophia was driven to write a letter of entreaty to Chosroes, and as her request was supported by a sum of 45,000 pieces of gold, she obtained the respite of a year's truce (spring 574 to spring 575).² As Justin's malady increased, Tiberius was made regent, or rather subordinate

¹ vi. 7.

² It is remarkable that Theophylactus, who had John of Epiphania before him, places the date of Tiberius' investiture with the insignia of a Caesar in December 575 instead of December 574. Observe that the seventh year of Justin (572) is marked by Theophylactus (iii. 9), who places the incursion into Arzanene in the autumn (iii. 10) of the same year, and the battle of Sargathon and the invasion of Syria and the siege of Nisibis in the following year, τοῦ ἐπιδόρωτος ἐνιαυτοῦ (573). The transition from 573 to 574 is not distinctly mentioned, but is naturally implied at the

beginning of cap. 11, when the appointment of Acacius and the recall of Marcian are stated. The siege of Daras occupies 574, and is followed by the ἀνακωχή τοῦ ἐπεστώτος ἔτους, which must be 575, as the last words of the chapter show. The expression τοῦ ἐπεστώτος ἔτους is intelligible, as Daras may have been taken in September or later, and this ἔτος may mean the period 1st September 574 to 1st September 575. But for the decisive authority of the contemporary John of Ephesus (iii. 5 and v. 13), I should be disposed to accept the date of Theophylactus for Tiberius' elevation to the rank of Caesar.

co-regent with Sophia, and although the new caesar had no intention of bringing the war to a conclusion, he saw that it was absolutely necessary to gain time and prolong the cessation of hostilities. Accordingly, when the truce had expired, a peace was made for three years,¹ not applying, however, to the war in Persarmenia, on condition that the Romans paid 30,000 pieces of gold annually.² For the following three years (576, 577, 578) therefore the war was confined to Persarmenia.³

Justinian, the son of Germanus, was appointed commander of the armies and repaired to Armenia (576). Chosroes advanced in person, intending to invest Theodosiopolis, but finding that it was too strong he proceeded westward, and, entering the Roman provinces, marched in the direction of Caesarea in Cappadocia through the country included between the Euphrates and the Lycus. The Romans marched to obstruct his advance in the Antitaurus mountains, in the north-east corner of Cappadocia, but when they approached Chosroes made a northward movement against Sebaste, which he took and burned. But he obtained no captives in that town, for when the rumour spread that the Persians were coming, all the inhabitants of those districts fled. Finding himself in serious difficulties in a hostile and mountainous country, and apparently not supported in the rear, Chosroes began to retreat. But he was not allowed by Justinian to depart with impunity; the Romans pressed on, and the Persians were forced to fight against their will. The battle was fought somewhere between Sebaste and Melitene, probably in the valley of the river Melas, and its details are described or invented by a rhetorical historian.⁴ It resulted in a complete victory for Justinian; Chosroes was forced to flee from his camp to the mountains,

¹ Chosroes took the first step in bringing about the peace by sending Jacobus. Sophia sent the physician Zacharias to negotiate at Ctesiphon. The Persians were very anxious that the duration of the peace should be for five years.

² John of Ephesus mentions these payments (vi. 8). Menander is not our only authority, as Prof. Rawlinson thought.

³ At this time Tiberius endeavoured to effect the recuperation of Syria by

remitting a year's tribute.

⁴ Theophylactus, iii. 14. It is worth noticing that the speech, which he puts in the mouth of Justinian before the battle began, contains a reference to the religious side of these wars—a side which was always becoming more prominent, and afterwards gave a crusade-like complexion to the wars of Heraclius. See iii. 13 (p. 137, ed. de Boor), οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν Θεὸς μαστιζόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἵππον χειροτονοῦμεν εἰς λάτρευμα, κ.τ.λ.

and leave his tent furniture, with all the gold, the silver, and the pearls which an oriental monarch required even in his campaigns, a prey to the conqueror. The booty, it is said, was immense.

The routed Persians grumbled at their lord for conducting them into this hole in the mountains, and Chosroes with difficulty mollified their indignation by an appeal to his gray hairs. Then the Sassanid descended into the plain of Melitene and burned that city, which had no means of resisting his attack. In the meantime, it may be asked, how was the Roman army occupied? It would seem that there was nothing to prevent the Romans from following the defeated and demoralised Persians, and at least hindering the destruction of Melitene, if they did not annihilate the host. This loss of opportunity is ascribed by a contemporary to the envy and divisions that prevailed among the Roman officers.¹

After the conflagration of Melitene, Chosroes retired towards the Euphrates, but he received a letter from the Roman general, reproaching him for being guilty of an unkingly act in robbing and then running away like a thief. The great king consented to accept offer of battle, and awaited the arrival of the Romans. The adversaries faced one another until the hour of noon; then three Romans rode forth, three times successively, close to the Persian ranks, but no Persian moved to answer the challenge.² At length Chosroes sent a message to the Roman generals that there could be "no battle to-day," and took advantage of the fall of night to flee to the river. The Romans pursued and drove the fugitives into the waters of the Euphrates. More than half of the Persian army was drowned; the rest escaped to the mountains. It is said by Roman historians that Chosroes signalised these reverses by passing a law that no Persian king should ever go forth to battle in person.

Thus the campaign of 576 was attended with good fortune for the Romans, notwithstanding the destruction of Sebaste and Melitene. Nor were the events to the west of the Euphrates the only successes. Roman troops penetrated into

¹ John of Ephesus (vi. 8), who gives the best account of this campaign.

² The account of this affair is given by John of Ephesus, who states that

he derived his information directly from the persons who acted as interpreters between the armies (vi. 9).

Babylonia,¹ and came within a hundred miles of the royal capital; the elephants which they carried off were sent to Byzantium.

The following year, 577, opened with negotiations for peace, which Chosroes, dispirited by his unlucky campaign, was anxious to procure. His general, Tamchosro, however, gained a victory over Justinian in Armenia. The Romans, in consequence of their successes, had become elated and incautious, and the Persians suddenly approached, surprised, and routed them. The victors, it is said, lost 30,000 men, the vanquished four times as many, so that the battle must have been an important affair.² Encouraged by the change of fortune, Chosroes no longer desired peace, and the negotiations led to no result.

A pious historian³ considers that this reverse was a retribution on the Roman soldiers for their irreligious behaviour in Persarmenia, a district where there were many christian settlers. When the Roman army invaded it, christian priests came out to meet them with the holy Gospels in their hands, but no reverence was shown to their pious supplications. The worst outrages were committed, without distinction of creed. The soldiers seized infants, two at a time, by their legs, and tossing them up in the air caught the falling bodies on the points of their spears; monks were plundered, hermits and nuns were tortured, if they could not or would not produce gold and silver to satisfy the greed of the depredators. This imprudent behaviour produced a reaction against Roman rule among the Christians of Persarmenia; twenty thousand immediately went over to the Persians,—all in fact except the princes, who escaped to Byzantium.

After this defeat Maurice, who held the office of *comes excubitorum* which Tiberius had filled before his investiture as Caesar, was sent to the East with full powers, and Gregory, the praetorian prefect, accompanied him to administer the military fiscus. Having collected troops in Cappadocia, his native province, Maurice assembled the generals and captains at Kitharizon, a fortress near Martyropolis, and assigned to

¹ This invasion is mentioned by both Theophylactus and John of Ephesus.

² The numbers are given by John of Ephesus. It is characteristic that

Theophylactus passes over this Roman defeat lightly (iii. 15), mentioning it in words which do not suggest that it was really serious.

³ John of Ephesus, vi. 10.

each his part. Tamchosro, the Persian general in Armenia, employed a stratagem to put the Romans off their guard. He wrote to the troops at Theodosiopolis, bidding them prepare for battle on a certain day, and in the meantime he left Armenia and invaded Sophene, devastating the country about Amida and thus violating the peace, which had not yet expired. Maurice retaliated by carrying his arms into Persian territory; he overran Arzanene, and penetrated into the province of Corduene, which no Roman army had entered since the days of Jovian. He did not, however, occupy any country except Arzanene; his invasion was the same sort of blow to Persia that the expedition of Adormahun in 573 had been to the Empire. More than ten thousand captives were taken, of whom most were christian Armenians, and a large number were located in Cyprus, where lands were allotted to them. Thus the current of Persian success has now been finally stopped.¹

There is no doubt that the successes of Chosroes had been due to the bad condition and the disorganisation of the Roman army, and the tide began to change when the generals Justinian and Maurice assumed the command in the East. Justinian reformed the degenerate discipline of the soldiers, and Maurice, who, though he had not enjoyed the advantage of a military training, had made a special study of warfare and afterwards wrote a book on Strategic, did much for the reorganisation of the army. As an example of the kind of reform which Maurice found necessary, I may notice that he was obliged to re-introduce the custom of entrenching a camp; the laziness and negligence of soldiers and officers had, it seems, come to such a pass that they dispensed with the foss as a useless expenditure of labour.

(2) The turn which affairs had taken would certainly, as Menander remarks, have led to a peace, and that on terms tolerably favourable to the Romans, but for the death of the

¹ These events are placed by John of Ephesus (vi. 13) in the same year as the defeat of Justinian, 577 (=888 of Alexandria). John of Ephesus has not left an account of the campaign of 578 and 579. Theophylactus does not mark the transition from 577 to 578; he marks the spring of 577 (cap. 15, p.

140, ed. de Boor), and the winter of 578 (cap. 16, p. 143). The question arises whether Maurice's invasion took place in 577 or 578; the latter date is indicated rather than the former by the narrative of Theophylactus, and I am inclined to accept it.

aged Chosroes in spring 579, a few months after the death of Justin (December 578). His son and successor Hormisdas, whose character has been painted in dark colours,¹ rejected the proposals which Tiberius made, and Maurice continued a career of partial success, which culminated in the important victory of Constantina in 581. It must be also observed that Tiberius purchased peace from the Avars for 80,000 aurei (£41,000), in order to throw all the energies of the Empire into the Persian war. Events on the Ister and events on the Euphrates constantly exerted a mutual influence.

The year 579 was marked by the invasion of Media by a portion of the Roman army.² In the following year, 580, Maurice combined forces with the Saracen king Mondir (Alamundar) for a grand invasion; but disputes arose between the Roman and the Saracen leaders in the neighbourhood of Callinicum; Mondir is said to have acted treacherously, and the expedition failed. Adornahun had harried Osroene, leaving not so much as a house standing, and had written to Maurice and Mondir, "Ye are exhausted with the fatigue of your march; don't trouble yourselves to advance against me. Rest a little, and I shall come to you." And he was allowed to retreat, says the historian,³ although 200,000 men were eating at the Emperor's expense. In 581 the Romans gained a great victory at Constantina.

When Maurice became Emperor, in the following year, he adopted the precedent of his predecessors and ceased to be a general. He appointed John Mystacon ("the Moustachioed") commander of the eastern armies, and the year 583 was marked by a defeat of the Romans in a battle on the river Nymphius, the Persians being led by a general entitled the kardarigan.⁴ The defeat was mainly due to enmity between John and a captain named Kurs, who was appointed to command the right wing, and disloyally took no part in the engagement.

At the beginning of 584 John Mystacon was deposed from his command as not sufficiently energetic, and was succeeded by Philippicus, the husband of Gordia the Emperor's

¹ Theophyl. iii. 16 (p. 144).

² *Ib.* (p. 145).

³ John of Ephesus, vi. 17.

⁴ Παρθικὸν τοῦτο ἄξιωμα, φίλον δὲ Πέρσαις ἐκ τῶν ἀξιωματῶν προσαγορεύεσθαι (Theophyl. i. cap. 9).

sister. In autumn Persia was invaded and the pursuit of the kardarigan was eluded, but nothing of consequence occurred. Early in 585 Philippicus invaded Arzanene, but he was soon obliged by sickness to retire to Martyropolis and entrust the command temporarily to a captain named Stephanus; but this year, like the preceding, was unmarked by any important event.

In the spring of 586 Philippicus, who had visited Byzantium during the winter, was met at Amida by Persian ambassadors, who had come to urge the conclusion of a peace, for which they expected the Romans to pay money. But the Romans had lately experienced no reverses, and therefore disdained the offer. The operations of this year took place in the neighbourhood of the river of Arzamon and the mountain of Izal. The Romans commanded the banks of the river, and as water was procurable from no other source in these regions, it was expected that, if the Persians advanced to the attack, thirst would be a powerful ally. But the Persians loaded camels with skins of water and advanced confidently, intending to attack the Romans on Sunday. Philippicus, informed on Saturday of their approach, suspected their design and drew up his army in array for fighting in the plain of Solachon. The right wing was commanded by Vitalius; the left wing by Wilfred (Iliphredas), governor of Emesa; the centre by Philippicus and his lieutenant Heraclius, the father of that Heraclius who was afterwards Emperor. On the Persian side, the centre was commanded by the kardarigan; Mebodes faced Wilfred; and Aphraates, a nephew of the kardarigan, opposed Vitalius. The Roman troops were encouraged by the elevation of a flag adorned with a picture of Christ, which was believed not to have been made by hands; it was known as a "theandric image." On the other hand the Persian general resorted to the desperate measure of destroying the water supply, in order that his soldiers might feel that life depended on success.

The battle was begun by the advance of the right Roman wing, which forced back the Persian left and fell on the baggage in the rear. But, occupying themselves with the plunder, the victors allowed the fugitives to turn and unite themselves with the Persian centre, so that the Roman centre had to deal with a very formidable mass. Philippicus, who had retired a

little from the immediate scene of conflict, resorted to a device to divert the troops of Vitalius from their untimely occupation with the baggage. He gave his helmet to Theodore Ilibinus, his spear-bearer, and ordered him to strike the plunderers with his sword. This device produced the desired effect; the soldiers thought that Philippicus himself was riding about the field, and returned to the business of battle. The left wing of the Romans was completely successful, and the routed Persians fled as far as Daras. But in the centre the conflict raged hotly for a long time, and it was believed by the Christians that a divine interposition took place to decide the result in their favour. The kardarigan fled to an adjacent hill, where he starved for a few days, and then hastened to Daras, whose inhabitants refused to receive a fugitive.

After the victory of Solachon, Philippicus invaded Arzanene. The inhabitants of that district concealed themselves in underground dwellings, and were dug out like rats by the Romans, who discovered them by the tell-tale subterranean sounds. Here Heraclius, who had been sent with a small force in the company of two Persian deserters, who undertook to point out a locality favourable for establishing a fortress, fell in with the kardarigan, but succeeded in eluding his superior forces by a dexterous retreat. A messenger was sent to Philippicus, who was besieging the fortress of Chlomari,¹ to apprise him of the approach of the enemy; and he ordered the trumpet to be sounded, to recall all the troops who were scouring the surrounding country. The kardarigan soon arrived, and the Persians and Romans found themselves separated by a large ravine, which prevented an immediate battle. At night the Persians, marching round this ravine, encamped behind the Romans, and apparently occupied such a dominant position on the hill that it would have been impossible to continue the siege of Chlomari.² On the following night in the first watch the Roman camp was suddenly alarmed by the departure of the general, whose conduct seems quite inexplicable, as the Persian forces led by the kardarigan were no match for his own, and there appears to have been no im-

¹ This word occurs only in genitive plural, so it may be Chlomari or Chlomara.

² I confess that I do not clearly

comprehend the exact details which Theophylactus attempts to describe in ii. 8.

minent danger. The soldiers followed him in confusion, with difficulty finding their way through the darkness of a moonless night; and if the enemy had known the actual state of the case the army might have easily been annihilated. But the movement was so unaccountable that the Persians suspected a stratagem, and did not leave their camp during the night. The fortress of Aphumon, whither Philippicus had made his way, received the Romans, who, harassed by the arrows of the slowly following Persians, arrived during the forenoon, and consoled themselves by deriding the general. The whole army retreated to Amida, the Persians still following and harassing, but not venturing on a general battle.

Philippicus did not carry on in person any further operations during this year, but his second in command, the able officer Heraclius, invaded and wasted the southern regions of Media.

In the spring of 587 Philippicus consigned two-thirds of his forces to Heraclius, and the remaining third to Theodorus of Rabdis¹ and Andreas, a Saracen interpreter, with instructions to harass the territory of the enemy by incursions. The general himself again suffered from illness, and was unable to take the field. Both Heraclius and Theodorus were successful; each of them laid siege to a strong fortress, and both fortresses were stormed.²

In winter Philippicus set out for Constantinople, leaving Heraclius in charge of the army, but before he reached Tarsus he learned that the Emperor had signified his intention of appointing Priscus commander-in-chief instead of himself.³ In spring, accompanied by Germanus the bishop of Damascus, Priscus arrived at Monokarton, where the army was stationed. It was usual for a new general on his arrival to descend from his horse, and, walking between the rows of the marshalled army, honour them with a salutation. Priscus neglected this ceremony; and a dissatisfaction which had been

¹ I adopt M. de Boor's suggestion that *ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πάβδιος ὀρμώμενος*, or something of the kind, underlies τῷ Τουραβδηνῷ. It is even possible that Του- may be due to a dittography of τῷ.

² The fortress taken by Theodorus was named Beiudaes.

³ Philippicus wrote from Tarsus to

Heraclius, ordering him (1) to inform the army of Maurice's ordinance touching the diminution of the rations, (2) to retire himself to Armenia and leave the command of the army to Narses, commandant of Constantina. Hence Heraclius was not present at the time of the mutiny, which his influence might have been able to prevent.

long brewing among the soldiers burst out into open mutiny. This dissatisfaction was caused, not only by the deposition of Philippicus, who was popular among the troops, notwithstanding his strange flight in 586, but by an unpopular innovation of Maurice, who ordained that the rations of the soldiers should be reduced by one-quarter. The injudicious haughtiness or indifference of Priscus offended the soldiers, already disposed to murmur; and the camp became a scene of disorder. Priscus was thoroughly frightened, and resorted to the expedient of sending Wilfred to march through the camp with the holy "theandric" standard in his hands; but such was the excitement that the mystic symbol was received with contumely and stones. The general escaped, not unwounded, to the city of Constantina, where he had recourse to the services of a physician; and he despatched letters to the governors of the surrounding cities and forts, with reassurances that the soldiers would not be deprived of any portion of what they were in the habit of receiving. He likewise sent a messenger to the camp at Monokarton, to announce that the Emperor had changed his mind and that the rations would not be diminished. The old bishop Germanus went on this mission, but the soldiers meanwhile had elected an officer named Germanus,¹ not to be confounded with the bishop, as their general. The representations of the prelate were not listened to, and the soldiers urged the inhabitants of Constantina to expel Priscus.

Informed of these events, Maurice recalled Priscus and reappointed Philippicus, but the mutineers were not satisfied, and refused to submit to the command of their former general. The Persians meanwhile attacked Constantina; but the provincial commander Germanus, who seems to have acted through constraint rather than inclination, induced a thousand men to accompany him, and relieved the menaced city. He then restored order so far as to enable him to organise a company of four thousand for the invasion of Persia, and at the same time Aristobulus, an emissary of Maurice, succeeded by

¹ This Germanus was the duke of Phoenicia Libanesis, *see* Evagr. vi. 5. Besides him and the bishop of Damascus, two other persons of the same name occur in the history of the time;

Germanus, whose daughter was married by Theodosius, the son of Maurice, and Germanus, who was commander of the eastern army at the time of Maurice's death (Theophyl. viii. 15).

gifts and promises in mollifying the exasperated troops. While Philippicus, diffident and uncertain, was still at Hierapolis, a battle was fought at the "City of the Witnesses"¹—to adopt the style of our historian Theophylactus—and the Romans obtained a brilliant victory.

Early in 589 the Persians captured Martyropolis by the treachery of a certain Sittas, who introduced four hundred Persians into the city on the plea that they were deserters to the Romans, while the truth was that he was himself a deserter to the barbarians. Philippicus surrounded the city, but Mebodes and Aphraates arrived with considerable forces, and the Romans were defeated. Thus Martyropolis passed into the hands of the Persians.

At this juncture Comentiolus succeeded Philippicus, and almost immediately after his assumption of the command he worsted the enemy in an important battle near Nisibis, which was fatal to the general Aphraates, and it is specially mentioned that Heraclius performed signal acts of valour. In the Persian camp rich spoils were obtained.

In the same year² the Roman arms won minor successes in the northern regions of Albania. Persia had been encompassed by several dangers at the same time. Arabs invaded Mesopotamia from the south, the Turks threatened in the north, and in the north-west the Chazars poured into Armenia and penetrated to Azerbiyan. The general Varahran was victorious in an expedition against the Turks, and was then sent to Suania, but as he returned thence he was twice defeated by Romanus in Albania on the banks of the Araxes.

But now the course of events in Persia took a turn which proved decidedly favourable to the Romans, and led to a conclusion of the war. Hormisdas deposed Varahran from the command in consequence of his ill success in Albania, and is said to have insulted him by sending him the garment of a woman and a distaff. This story may be true, but we cannot help remembering that it was told long ago of a Cypriote king and a queen of Cyrene, and in recent years of Sophia and Narses.³ Varahran revolted against the unpopular monarch,

¹ Martyropolis.

² In the last five months of 589; for Theophylactus marks the eighth year of Maurice, which began in August.

³ See below, p. 146. For the king of Cyprian Salamis, Euclthon, who sent a distaff and wool to Pheretima, queen of Cyrene, see Herodotus, Bk. iv. 162.

and the result of the civil war was that (September 590) Hormisdas was slain, and the rebel was proclaimed king. The second act of the drama was the contest between Chosroes Eberwiz,¹ a son of Hormisdas, and the usurper, which by the help of Roman arms was decided in favour of the legitimate heir. Chosroes fled for refuge to Roman territory, and sent an appeal for help to the Roman Emperor. The difficulties in which Persia was involved offered an excellent opportunity to New Rome, and Chosroes was fully conscious of this fact. We are informed that the ambassadors who bore Chosroes' letter used thirteen arguments to persuade Maurice; and especially worthy of notice, even if it be due, not to the brain of Chosroes, but to the pen of Theophylactus, is the argument drawn from the example of Alexander the Great. The Persian empire was at this moment implicated in such serious difficulties that it seemed by no means a chimerical idea or an impossible undertaking for the Roman "Republic," in spite of its degenerate condition, to make an attempt to reduce the Persian kingdom beneath its sway. Consequently the envoys of Chosroes are represented as being at pains to point out that while Alexander had subdued Persia, he had not succeeded in forming a lasting empire; his vast dominion had been broken up among his successors. The nature of men, the ambassadors are reported to have observed, makes it impossible that a single universal kingdom, reflecting the unity of the divine government, should exist on earth.²

This contemporary comparison of a possible undertaking on the part of the Emperor Maurice with the actual undertaking of Alexander more than nine centuries before is interesting. We pause, as we read Theophylactus, and reflect that this "Romaic" Empire, ruling chiefly over lands which had submitted to the sway of Alexander—Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt,—and Greek not Latin in its speech, was in a stricter sense the successor of Alexander's empire than the Roman Empire had been when it reached to the northern seas. It was as if the spirit of Alexander had lain dissolved in the universal spirit of Rome for seven hundred

¹ The title Eberwiz or Parwiz is explained by Mirkhond as either "powerful king" or "victorious."

See Rawlinson, *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 493.

² Theophyl. iv. 11.

years, and were now once more precipitated in its old place, changed but recognisable.

Maurice was not emulous of Alexander's glories and dangers ; the Roman Empire at that moment had not the heart to aspire to new conquests. He undertook to restore Chosroes to the throne of the Sassanids, on condition that Persarmenia and eastern Mesopotamia, with the cities of Daras and Martyropolis, should be ceded to the Romans. The terms were readily accepted, and two victories gained at Ganzaca and Adiabene sufficed to overthrow the usurper and place Chosroes II on the throne (591). The peace was concluded, Maurice withdrew his troops from Asia to act against the Avars in Thrace, and for ten years, as long as Maurice was alive, the old enmity between Rome and Persia slept.

A word must be said of the state of Persia under the rule of Chosroes Nushirvan, whose reign extends over nearly half of the sixth century, and may be called the golden or at least the gilded period of the monarchy of the Sassanids.¹ It was a period of reforms, of which most seem to have been salutary. In order to prevent the local tyranny or mismanagement of satraps, who were too far from the centre to be always under the "king's eye," he adopted a new administrative division, which was perhaps suggested to him by the Roman system of prefectures. He divided Persia into four parts, over which he placed four governors, whose duty was to keep diligent watch over the transactions of the provincial rulers. And for greater security he adopted the practice of periodically making progresses himself through his dominions. He was greatly concerned for the maintenance of the population, which seems to have been declining, and he employed two methods to meet the difficulty ; he settled captives in his dominions, and he enforced marriages. He introduced a new land system, which was found to work so well that after the fall of the Sassanid monarchy the Saracen caliphs adopted it unaltered. But perhaps his most anxious pains were spent on the state of the army, and it is said that when he reviewed it he used to inspect each individual soldier. He succeeded in reducing its cost and increasing its efficiency. Like Peter Alexiovitch or Frederick

¹ Here I have availed myself of Prof. Chosroes in the *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*.
Rawlinson's account of the reign of

the Great, he encouraged foreign culture at his court, he patronised the study of Persian history, and caused a *Shah nameh* (Book of the kings) to be composed. Of his personal culture, however, the envy or impartiality of Agathias speaks with contempt, as narrow and superficial¹; on the other hand, he has received the praises of an ecclesiastical historian. "He was a prudent and wise man," writes John of Ephesus,² "and all his lifetime he assiduously devoted himself to the perusal of philosophical works. And, as was said, he took pains to collect the religious books of all creeds, and read and studied them, that he might learn which were true and wise and which were foolish. . . . He praised the books of the Christians above all others, and said, 'These are true and wise above those of any other religion.'"

¹ Agathias, ii. 28. Agathias asks how one brought up in the luxury of an oriental barbarian could be a philosopher or a scholar.

² vi. 20. John apologises for thus

eulogising a Magian and an enemy. What he says about Chosroes' christian proclivities is more edifying than probable.

CHAPTER IV

SLAVES AND AVARS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

THE great Slavonic movement of the sixth and seventh centuries was similar in its general course to the great German movement of the fourth and fifth. The barbarians who are at first hostile invaders become afterwards dependent, at least nominally dependent, and christianised settlers in the Empire; and as they always tend to become altogether independent, they introduce into it an element of dissolution. Slaves too are employed by the Romans for military service, though not to such an extent as were the Germans at an earlier date.

This resemblance is not accidental; it is due to the natural relations of things. But it is curiously enhanced by the circumstance that just as the course of the German movement had been interrupted or modified by the rise of the Hun empire of Attila in the plains which are now called Hungary, so the course of the Slavonic movement was modified by the establishment of the Avar empire, in the latter half of the sixth century, in the same regions. And as the power of the Huns, after a brief life, vanished completely, having received its death-blow mainly from Germans, so the power of the Avars, after a short and formidable existence, was overthrown early in the seventh century by the Slaves, for whom the field was then clear. The remnant of the Avars survived in obscure regions of Pannonia until the days of Charles the Great.

The Avars probably belonged to the same Tartaric group as the Huns of Attila. In the last years of Justinian's reign, about the time of the invasion of the Cotrigurs, they first appeared on

the political horizon of the West. They had once been tributaries of the Turk in Asia, and having thrown off his authority had travelled westward; but we are assured that they had no right to the name of Avars, and that they were really only Wars or Huns, who called themselves Avars, a name of repute and dread, in order to frighten the world.¹ These pseudo-Avars persuaded Justinian to grant them subsidies,² in return for which they performed the service of making war on the Utrigurs, the Zali, and the Sabiri. But while Justinian paid them, and they professed to keep off all enemies from Roman territory, their treacherous designs soon became apparent; they invaded Thrace (562), and refused to accept the home which the Emperor offered them in Pannonia Secunda. In this year Bonus was stationed to protect the Danube against them, as Chilbudius in former times had protected it against the Slaves.

At first the Avars were not so formidable as they afterwards became. They harried the lands of the Slaves (Antae) who dwelled beyond the Danube,³ but they did not venture at first to harry the lands of the Romans. When Justin refused to continue to pay the subsidy granted by Justinian,⁴ they took no steps for redress, and, turning away from the Empire, directed their arms against the Franks and invaded Thuringia, a diversion which had no consequences.

But now a critical moment came, and a very curious transaction took place which had two important results. The Lombard king Alboin made a proposal to Baian, the chagan or king of the Avars, that the two nations should combine to overthrow the kingdom of the Gepids, over whom Cunimund then reigned. The conditions were that the Avars should receive half the spoil and all the territory of the Gepids, and also, in case the Lombards secured a footing in Italy, the land of Pannonia, which the Lombards then occupied. The last condition is curious, and, if it was more than a matter of form, remarkably naïve; the Lombards must have known that, in the event of their returning, they would be obliged to recover

¹ Theophylactus, vii. 8; he calls them *Ψευδαβάρις*.

² Sarosius, the lord of the Alans, "introduced" the Avars to Justin, who was stationed as general in Lazica; and Justin introduced them to his uncle. The ambassador of the Avars on this

occasion was Kandich. See Menander, frags. 4, 5.

³ See Menander, fr. 6, who relates the murder of the Antic ambassador Mezamer by the Avars.

⁴ For Justin's refusal, see above, p. 72.

their country by the sword. The character of the Gepids seems to have been faithless; but the diplomacy of Justinian had succeeded in rendering them comparatively innocuous to the Empire. Justin now gave them some half-hearted assistance; but they succumbed before the momentary combination of Avars and Lombards in the year 567.

The two results which followed this occurrence were of ecumenical importance: the movement of the Lombards into Italy (568), and the establishment of the Avars in the extensive countries of the Gepids and Lombards, where their power became really great and formidable, and the Roman Empire had for neighbours a Hunnic instead of a German people,—*colubrimodis Abarum gens nexa capillis*.

The chagan, Baian, was now in a position to face the Roman power and punish Justin for the contemptuous rejection of his demands. From this time forward until the fall of the Avar kingdom there is an alternation of hostilities, and treaties, for which the Romans have to pay. At the same time the Balkan lands are condemned to suffer from constant invasions of the Slaves, over whom the Avars acquire an ascendancy, though the relation of dependence is a very loose one. At one time the Avars join the Romans in making war on the Slaves, at another time they instigate the Slaves to make war on the Romans; while some Slavonic tribes appear to have been occasionally Roman allies.¹ The Slaves inhabited the larger part of the broad tract of land which corresponds to modern Walachia²; while the Avar kingdom probably embraced most of the regions which are now included in Hungary.

The great object of the Avars was to strengthen their new dominions by gaining possession of the stronghold of Sirmium, an invaluable post for operations against the Roman provinces. As, however, Bonus held it with a strong garrison, they could not think of attacking it, and were obliged to begin hostilities by ravaging Dalmatia. An embassy was then sent to Justin, demanding the cession of Sirmium, and also the pay that Justinian used formerly to grant to the Cotrigur and Utrigur Huns, whom they had subdued. It is to be observed that they claimed to be looked upon as the successors of the Gepids.

¹ The Antae or Wends, see Theophylactus, viii. 5, 13. (602 A.D.)

² See Roesler, *Rom. Stud.* p. 323.

Their demands were refused ; but when Tiberius, who afterwards became Emperor, was sent against them and suffered a defeat, the disaster led to the conclusion of a treaty, which seems to have been preserved for the next few years, and the Romans paid 80,000 pieces of gold.

We may notice that in these transactions a difference is manifest between the policy of Justin and the would-be policy of Tiberius. Justin is bellicose, and refuses to yield to the Avars, whereas his general is inclined to adopt the old system of Justinian and keep them quiet by paying them a fixed sum. We may also notice a circumstance, which we might have inferred without a record, that the Haemus provinces, over which a year seldom passed without invasions and devastations, were completely disorganised and infested by highwaymen. These highwaymen were called *scamars*, a name which attached to them for many centuries ; and shortly after the peace of 570 they were bold enough to waylay a party of Avars.¹

For the next four years we hear nothing of Avar incursions, nor is anything recorded of the general Tiberius. We may suppose that he resided at Constantinople, ready to take the field in case of need ; and in 574, when the enemy renewed their importunities for the cession of Sirmium, he went forth against them, and was a second time defeated. Before the end of the year he was created Caesar, and, as he determined to throw all the forces of the realm into the Persian war, he agreed to pay the Avars a yearly tribute of 80,000 pieces of gold.

But now the Slaves, who for many years seem to have caused no trouble to the Romans, began to move again, and in 577 no less than a hundred thousand poured into Thrace and Illyricum. Cities were plundered by the invaders and left desolate. As there were no forces to oppose them, a considerable number took up their abode in the land and lived at their pleasure there for many years.² It is from this time that we

¹ *Σκαμάρεις* (Menander, fr. 35). The earliest instance of the word, as far as I know, is in Eugippius' *Life of Severinus*. See vol. i. Bk. iii. p. 286. In the seventh century the word occurs in the Lombard laws ; in the eighth century we shall hear of the *scamars* in the reign of Constantine V.

On this occasion Tiberius forced the robbers to give some satisfaction to the Avars.

² John of Ephesus, vi. cap. 25 ; cf. Menander, fr. 47 *ad fin.*, where Thrace is said to have been ravaged, and the number of Slaves is stated to have been 100,000 ; and fr. 48 : *κεραιζομένης τῆς*

must date the first intrusion of a Slavonic element on a considerable scale into the Balkan peninsula.

It was a critical moment for the government, and the old policy of Justinian, which consisted in stirring up one barbarian people against another, was reverted to. An appeal for assistance was made by John the prefect of Illyricum to the chagan of the Avars, who had his own reasons for hostility towards the unruly Slaves, and he consented to invade their territory.¹ The Romans provided ships to carry the Avar host across the Ister, and the chagan burned the villages and ravaged the lands of the Slaves, who skulked in the woods and did not venture to oppose him.

But Baian had not ceased to covet the city of Sirmium, and the absence of all the Roman forces in the East was too good an opportunity to lose. In 579 he encamped with a large army between Singidunum (Belgrade) and Sirmium, pretending that he was organising an expedition against the Slaves, and swearing by the Bible as well as by his own gods that he entertained no hostile intention against Sirmium. But he succeeded in throwing a bridge over the Save and came upon Sirmium unexpectedly; and as there were no provisions in the place, and no relief could be sent, the city was reduced to such extremities that Tiberius was compelled to agree to its surrender (581). A peace was then made, on condition that the Avars should receive 80,000 aurei annually.

The loss of Sirmium is a turning-point in the history of the peninsula, as it was the most important defence possessed by the Romans against the barbarians in western Illyricum.

¹ Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Σκλαβηνῶν καὶ ἀπανταχόσε ἀλλεπαλλήλων αὐτῇ ἐπληρημένων τῶν κινδύνων, on which account Tiberius, not having sufficient forces at his disposal, applied to Baian. The words of John of Ephesus are: "The same year (581) was famous also for the invasion of an accursed people called Slavonians, who overran the whole of Greece and the country of the Thessalonians and all Thrace, and captured the cities and took numerous forts, and devastated and burnt, and reduced the people to slavery, and made themselves masters of the whole country, and settled in it by main force, and dwelt in it as though it had been their own without fear.

And four years have now elapsed and still . . . they live at their ease in the land, and dwell in it, and spread themselves far and wide, as far as God permits them, and ravage and burn and take captive. . . . And even still (584) they encamp and dwell there."

¹ The chief of the Slaves was Daurantius, that is Dovrat, Menander, fr. 48. He had put to death the ambassadors of the Avars, and thus Baian had a private reason for his expedition. There was another invasion of the Slaves in 579, see Johannes Biclaensis, *Chronicon* in Roncalli's collection, ii. p. 389.

The shamelessness of the Avaric demands now surpassed all bounds. When Maurice came to the throne he consented to increase the tribute by 20,000 pieces of gold, but in a few months the chagan demanded a further increase of the same amount, and this was refused.¹ Thereupon (in summer 583) the Avars seized Singidunum, Viminacium, and other places on the Danube, which were ill defended, and harried Thrace, where the inhabitants, under the impression that a secure peace had been established, were negligently gathering in their harvest. Elpidius, a former praetor of Sicily, and Comentiolus, one of the bodyguard, were then sent as ambassadors to the chagan, and it is recorded that Comentiolus spoke such "holy words" to the Lord Baian² that he was put in chains and barely escaped with his life. In the following year (584) a treaty was concluded, Maurice consenting to pay the additional sum which he had before refused.

It was, however, now plain to the Emperor that the Avars had become so petulant that payments of gold would no longer suffice to repress their hostile propensities, and he therefore considered it necessary to keep a military contingent in Thrace and modify the arrangement of Tiberius, by which all the army, except garrison soldiers, were stationed in Asia. Accordingly, when the Slaves, instigated by the Avars, invaded Thrace soon after the treaty, and penetrated as far as the Long Wall, Comentiolus had forces at his disposal, and gained some victories over the invaders, first at the river Erginia, and afterwards close to the fortress of Ansinon in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople.³ The barbarians were driven from Astica, as the region was called which extends between Hadrianople and Philippopolis, and the captives were rescued from their hands.

The general tenor of the historian's account of these Slavonic depredations in 584 or 585 implies that the depredators were not Slaves who lived beyond the Danube and returned thither after the invasion, but Slaves who were

¹ The Emperor sent the chagan, at his own request, an elephant and a golden bed, but both were sent back disdainfully to the donor (Theophyl. i. 3).

² I adopt this expression, used of Marina and the Lord Lysimachus in

Pericles, as a sort of modern parallel to the curious expression of Theophylactus, who says that Comentiolus spake boldly, "*θαλαμείων* the Romaic freed-dom like a chaste wife."

³ Ardagast was the leader of the Slovenes.

already settled in Roman territory. Comentiolus' work consisted in clearing Astica of these lawless settlers.¹ It is a vexed question whether the Slaves also settled in northern Greece and the Peloponnesus as early as the reign of Maurice. There is evidence to show that the city of Monembasia, so important in the Middle Ages, was founded at this time on the coast of Laconia, and it seems probable that its foundation was due to Greek fugitives from the Slaves, just as Venice is said to have been founded by fugitives from the Huns.²

In autumn (apparently 585) the peace was violated. The chagan took advantage of the pretext that a Scythian magician,³ who had indulged in carnal intercourse with one of his wives and was fleeing from his wrath, had been received by Maurice in Constantinople. The Emperor replied to the Avar demonstrations by imprisoning the chagan's ambassador Targitios⁴ in Chalcis, an island in the Propontis, for a space of six months, because he presumed to ask for the payment of money while his master was behaving as an enemy.

The provinces beyond the Haemus, Lower Moesia, and Scythia, were harried by the Avars, indignant at the treatment of their ambassador (586). The towns of Ratiaria, Dorostolon, Zaldapa, Bononia,—there was a Bononia on the Danube as well as in Italy and on the English Channel,—Marcianopolis, and others⁵ were taken, but the enterprise cost the enemy much trouble and occupied a considerable time.⁶

Comentiolus was then appointed general, perhaps *magister militum per Illyricum*, to conduct the war against the Avars.

CAMPAIGN OF 587.—The nominal number of the forces under the command of Comentiolus was 10,000; but of these only 6000 were capable soldiers. Accordingly he left 4000 to guard the camp near Anchialus, and divided the

¹ Compare especially Theophylactus' expression, τῆς Ἀστικῆς αὐτῆς ἀπελαύ-
νεται (i. 8, p. 53).

² See Phrantzes, p. 398 (ed. Bonn).
See Note at the end of this chapter.

³ He was called *bookolabras* = magician. He seems to have been a Turk by race.

⁴ Targites was the name of the Avaric ambassador who visited Byzantium

after Justin's accession.

⁵ The others were Akys, Pannasa, and Tropaeum. It is impossible to identify all the small places in the highlands of Moesia and Thrace.

⁶ Hopf refers the notice of Evagrius, vi. 10—a passage much discussed in the Fallmerayer controversy—to the Avar expeditions of 583 and 586 (587). See Note at the end of this chapter.

fighting men into three bands, of which the first was consigned to Martin, the second to Castus, and the third he led himself.

Castus proceeded westward towards the Haemus mountains and the city of Zaldapa, and falling in with a division of the barbarian army, cut it to pieces. Martin directed his course northwards to Tomi, in the province of Scythia, where he found the chagan and the main body of the enemy encamped on the shore of a lake. The Romans surprised the chagan's camp, but he and most of the Avars escaped to the shelter of an island. Comentiolus himself accomplished nothing; he merely proceeded to Marcianopolis, which had been fixed on as the place of rendezvous for the three divisions. When the six thousand were reunited they returned to the camp, and taking with them the four thousand men who had been left there, proceeded to a place called Sabulente Canalin, whose natural charms are described by Theophylactus, in the high dells of Mount Haemus.¹ Here they awaited for the approach of the chagan, who, as they knew, intended to come southwards and invade Thrace. It would appear that the spot in which the Romans encamped was close to the most easterly pass of Mount Haemus.

In the neighbourhood of Sabulente there was a river which could be crossed in two ways, by a wooden bridge, or, apparently higher up the stream, by a stone bridge.² Martin was sent to the vicinity of the bridge to discover whether the Avars had already crossed, while Castus was stationed at the other passage to reconnoitre, and, in case the enemy had crossed, to observe their movements. Martin soon ascertained that the barbarian host was on the point of crossing, and immediately returned to Comentiolus with the news. Castus, having

¹ Somewhere in the vicinity of Anchialus. The passage in Theophylactus does not state directly, but leads us to suppose that Sabulente Canalin was in the most easterly extremities of the Haemus range, near Anchialus (vi. 5, *ad init.* γίνεσθαι οὖν ἡμέρα τρίτη εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Σαβουλέντε Κανάλιν εἶτα τῇ Ἀγχιάλῳ προσέμειξεν). Otherwise one might identify it with the region of Kazanlyk, in the neighbourhood of the Sipka pass. Perhaps the Avars crossed the Balkan range by the pass of Luda Kamčija. It would be interesting to

know whence Theophylactus derived his description of the amenities of Sabulente. Did he visit it himself? was it described to him by another? or is it merely a rhetorical description, such as might have been written as an exercise (*μελέτη*) by Choricus, and equally applicable to any other spot? Evagrius, whose later years were contemporary with the youth of Theophylactus, has left us a picturesque description of Chalcedon.

² τὴν λιθίνην διάβασιν; this can hardly mean stepping-stones.

crossed to the ulterior bank, met some outrunners of the Avars, and cut them to pieces; but instead of returning to the camp by the way he had come, he pressed on in the direction of the bridge, where he expected to fall in with Martin. He was not aware that the foe were already there. But the distance was too long to permit of his reaching the bridge before nightfall, and at sunset he was obliged to halt. Next morning he rode forward and suddenly came upon the Avar army, which was defiling across the bridge. To escape or avoid observation seemed wellnigh impossible, but the members of the little band instinctively separated and sought shelter in the surrounding thickets. Some of the Roman soldiers were detected and were cruelly tortured by their captors until they pointed out where the captain himself was concealed in the midst of a grove.¹ Thus Castus was taken prisoner by the enemy.

The want of precision in the narrative of the historian and the difficulty of the topography of the Thracian highlands make it impossible to follow with anything like certainty the details of these Avaric and Slavonic invasions. The chagan, after he had crossed the river, divided his army into two parts, one of which he sent forward to enter eastern Thrace by a pass near Mesembria.² This pass was guarded by 500 Romans, who resisted bravely, but were overcome. Thrace was defended only by some infantry forces under the command of Ansimuth, who, instead of opposing the invaders, retreated to the Long Wall, closely followed by the foe; the captain himself, who brought up the rear, was captured by the pursuers.

The other division of the Avars, which was led by the chagan himself, probably advanced westward along that intermediate region which lies between the Haemus range and the Strédna Gora, and crossed one of the passes leading into western Thrace.

Comentiolus, who had perhaps also moved westward after the chagan along Mount Haemus, descended by Calvomonte and Libidourgon to the region of Astica. It was on this occasion, perhaps as they were defiling along mountain passes, that the

¹ οὐδ' ὅπως ἐπιφυλλίδα τινα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
ἑλῆς ἀποκρυπτόμενον.

² Probably the pass of Nadir Derbend
or Boghazdere.

baggage fell from one of the beasts of burden, and the words, "torna torna fratre" (turn back, brother),¹ addressed by those in the rear to the owner of the beast, who was walking in front, were taken up along the line of march and interpreted in the sense of an exhortation to flee from an approaching enemy. But for this false alarm the chagan might have been surprised and captured, for he had retained with himself only a few guards, all the rest of his forces being dispersed throughout Thrace. Even as it was, the Avars who were with him fell in unexpectedly with the Roman army, and most of them were slain.

After this the forces of the Avars were recalled and collected by their monarch, who for the second time had barely escaped an imminent danger. They now set themselves to besiege the most important Thracian cities. They took Moesian Appiaria, but Diocletianopolis, Philippopolis, and Hadrianopolis withstood their assaults.²

An incident characteristic of those days determined the capture of Appiaria. A soldier named Busas, who happened to be staying in the fortress, had gone out to hunt, and "the huntsman became himself a prey." The Avars were on the point of putting him to death, but his arguments induced them to prefer the receipt of a rich ransom. Standing in front of the walls, the captive exhausted the resources of persuasion and entreaty, enumerating his services in warfare, and appealing to the compassion of his fellow-countrymen to redeem him from death; but the garrison of the town, under the influence of a man whose wife was reputed to have been unduly intimate with Busas, were deaf to his prayers. Indignant at their callousness, the captive did not hesitate to rescue his own life by enabling the Avars to capture the town, and at the same time he had the gratification of avenging himself on the unfeeling defenders of Appiaria. He instructed the ignorant barbarians how to construct a siege-engine, and by this means the fortress was taken.

While the enemy were besieging Hadrianople, Maurice

¹ Theophylactus only mentions *τόρα*, Theophanes adds *φράρεν* or *φάρρε*. The words possess considerable interest, as the earliest extant specimen of the Roumanian or Walachian language,

the eastern daughter of Latin; cf. Roesler, *Römische Studien*, p. 106.

² Evag. vi. 4; Theophyl. ii. 15, 16, 17. Theophylactus apparently thought that Appiaria was south of Mount Haemus.

appointed to the post of general in Thrace John Mystacon, who had formerly commanded in the Persian war; and Mystacon was assisted by the ability and valour of a captain named Drocton, of Lombard origin. In a battle at Hadrianople the Avars were routed, and compelled to retreat to their own country. Shortly before this event Castus had been ransomed.

The misfortunes of the army of Comentiolus and the capture of Castus seem to have produced a spirit of insubordination in the capital, and increased the unpopularity of Maurice. Abusive songs were circulated, and though the writer of the panegyrical history of this reign makes light of the persons who murmured, and takes the opportunity of praising the Emperor's mildness in feeling, or at least showing, no resentment, yet the mere fact that Theophylactus mentions the murmurs proves that they were a notable signification of the Emperor's unpopularity, especially as the events which caused the discontent were not directly his fault.

During 588 the provinces of Europe seem to have enjoyed rest from the invaders, but in 589 Thrace was harried by Slaves, and apparently Slaves who lived permanently on Roman soil.¹

The position of affairs was considerably changed when in the year 591 peace was made with Persia, and Maurice was able to employ the greater part of the forces of the Empire in defending the European provinces. He astonished the court by preparing to take the field himself, for an Emperor militant had not been seen since the days of Theodosius the Great. The nobles, the Patriarch, his own wife and children, assiduously supplicated him to give up his rash resolve; but Maurice was firm in his determination. His progress as far as Anchialus is described by the historian of his reign²; but

¹ Theoph. iii. 4 : τὸ δὲ Γετικόν, ταῦτ' ὅν δ' εἰπεῖν αἱ τῶν Σκλαυηρῶν ἀγέλαι τὰ περὶ τὴν Θράκην ἐς τὸ κάρτερον ἐλυμαίνοντο. We are told by Evagrius that the mutiny of the soldiers in the East against Priscus seemed a favourable opportunity for incursions.

² We may note the stages of Maurice's journey to Anchialus : (1) Hebdomon ; (2) Selymbria, where he took ship for

Heraclea, but was driven by a storm into port at (3) Daonion, where he spent the night. Thence he rode to Heraclea (Perinthus), where he visited the church of the Martyr Glyceria ; and advancing four parasangs northwards he encamped at (4) a pleasant and populous place, not named. The next halting-place was in the neighbourhood of (5) Enaton, where the

when he arrived there the tidings that a Persian embassy was awaiting him recalled him to the capital, and his speedy return seems to have been also caused by signs and portents. This ineffectual performance of Maurice, who had never been popular with the army, discredited him still more in the eyes of the troops; they had now a plausible pretext for regarding him with contempt. He was skilled in military science, and wrote a treatise on tactics; but henceforward the soldiers doubtless thought that he might be indeed a grand militarist "who had the whole theoric of war in the knot of his scarf," but that certainly his "mystery in stratagem" was limited to theory.

I may mention an incident which occurred in the progress of Maurice, and which transports us for a moment to the habitations of a curious, if not fabulous, people on the Baltic Sea. The attendants of the Emperor captured three men who bore no weapons, but carried in their hands musical instruments. Being questioned by their captors, they stated that they were Slaves who dwelled by the "western ocean."¹ The chagan of the Avars had requested their people to help him in his wars, and these three men had been sent as envoys by the ethnarchs or chiefs of their tribes, bearing a message of refusal. Their journey had occupied the almost incredible period of fifteen months. The chagan had prevented them from returning home, and they had resolved to seek refuge with the Roman Emperor. They had no arms, because the territory in which they lived did not produce iron; hence their occupation was music, which, they said, was much more agreeable, and they lived in a state of continual peace. We are not told what subsequently became of these extraordinary Slaves, except that Maurice, struck with admiration at their splendid stature, caused them to be conveyed to Heraclea.

Emperor remained for three days and nights. While he was there the three musical Slaves were captured. On the fourth day he advanced, and while the retinue was crossing a narrow bridge over the stream of Xerogypson, in a marshy place, a confusion arose which forced the Emperor to dismount and preserve order with a staff. Two stadia (*στυμια*) beyond this bridge (6) he encamped for the night; and on the following day reached (7) Anchialus, where he abode a fortnight. It appears,

then, that the journey from Heraclea to Anchialus was equivalent to a four days' leisurely march for cavalry. It is evident that Maurice did not follow the high road, which ran by Drizipera, Hadrianople, and Tarpodizus, but marched due north from Heraclea, crossing the Strandža range probably somewhere near Bizya.

¹ This name was applied to the northern as well to the western seas of Europe.

When Maurice returned to Byzantium he was waited on not only by a Persian embassy but by two envoys, Bosos and Bettos, of a king of the Franks,¹ who proposed that the Emperor should purchase his assistance against the Avars by paying subsidies. Maurice consented to an alliance, but refused to pay for it.

During the last ten years of Maurice's reign hostilities were carried on both with the Avars and with the Slaves. As the narrative of our original authority, Theophylactus, is in some points chronologically obscure,² it will be most convenient to treat it in annual divisions.

(1) 591 A.D.—The operations of the Avars began at Singidon, as the Greeks called Singidunum, on the Danube. Having crossed the river in boats constructed by the labour of subject Slaves, the host of the barbarians laid siege to the city, but when a week had passed and Singidon still held out, the chagan consented to retire on the receipt of two thousand aurei, a gilt table, and rich apparel. It will be remembered that the capital of Upper Moesia had been captured by the Avars in 583; we must presume that they did not occupy it, for in that case its recapture by the Romans would certainly have been mentioned by the historian.

The chagan then directed his course to the region of Sirmium, where, with the help of his Slavonic boatbuilders, he crossed the Save; thence marching eastwards he approached Bononia on the fifth day. The chief passage of the Timavus (Timok) was at a place called Procliana, and here the advance guard of the Avars was met by the Roman captain Salvian with a thousand cavalry. Maurice had appointed Priscus "General of Europe," and Priscus had selected Salvian as his captain or "under-general." A severe engagement took place,

¹ Called Theodoric by Theophylactus. One of Childebert's sons was really named Theoderic, but Childebert did not die till 596, and so there must be a mistake either in the name or in the date. It seems easier to assume that Theophylactus erred in the name, but as far as we know from our other sources (Gregory of Tours and the letters in Bouquet, vol. iv.), the embassies between Childebert and Maurice related only to co-operation against

the Lombards and the restoration of Athanagild (*see below*, cap. vi.) M. Gasquet, assuming a double mistake, refers the embassy to 599 A.D., and supposes that by Theoderic (then king of Burgundia) his brother Theodebert, king of Austrasia, is meant (*L'empire byzantin*, p. 203).

² See a note by the author on the "Chronology of Theophylaktos Simokatta" in the *English Historical Review*, April 1888.

in which the Romans were victorious; and when on the following morning eight thousand of the enemy advanced under Samur to crush the small body of Salvian, the Avars were again defeated. The chagan then moved forward with his whole army, and Salvian prudently retreated to the camp of Priscus, of whose movements we are not informed.

Having remained some time at Procliana,¹ the Avars came to Sabulente Canalin,² and thence, having burnt down a church in the vicinity of Anchialus, entered Thrace, about a month after they had crossed the Danube. Drizipera, the first town they besieged in Thrace, is said to have been saved by a miracle, and, having failed here, the enemy marched to Heraclea, where the general of Europe was stationed. Priscus seems to have gradually fallen back before the advancing enemy, and now, when an engagement at length took place, he was routed. Retreating with the infantry to Didymoteichon, he soon shut himself up in the securer refuge of Tzurulon, where he was besieged by the chagan. In order to drive away the barbarians, the Emperor adopted an ingenious and successful stratagem. A letter was written, purporting to come from the Emperor and addressed to Priscus, in which the general was informed that a large force had been embarked and sent round by the Black Sea to carry captive the families of the Avars left unprotected in their habitations beyond the Danube. This letter was consigned to a messenger, who was instructed to allow himself to be captured by the enemy. When the alarming contents of the letter, whose genuineness he did not suspect, became known to the chagan, he raised the siege and returned as speedily as possible to defend his country, having made a treaty with Priscus, and received, for the sake of appearance, a small sum of money. In autumn Priscus retired to Byzantium, and the troops took up their winter quarters in Thracian villages.

(2) 592 A.D.—This year was remarkable for a successful

¹ Four days were spent at Procliana; three days were occupied with the march to Sabulente; and four days with the march to Drizipera, which was besieged for seven days. On the fifth day after the siege was abandoned, Heraclea was reached. The siege of Tzurulon lasted either seven or eleven

days (according as we interpret *ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα καί*, Theophylactus, vi. 5 *ad fin.*) Thus the whole campaign lasted about two months, probably August and September.

² Canalion, shortened colloquially to Canalin (*ω* for *ωω* is a feature of modern Greek).

expedition against the Slaves beyond the Ister, who, under the leadership of Ardagast, had been harrying Thrace. The Emperor had at length come to the conclusion that the invaders should be opposed at the Danube, and not, as the practice had been for the last few years, at the Haemus. Priscus, who continued to hold the position of commander-in-chief, and Gentzon, who had the special command of the infantry, collected the army at Heraclea and marched to Dorostolon,¹ or Durostorum, which is now Silistria, with the intention of crossing the river and punishing the Slaves in their own country. At Dorostolon, Koch, an ambassador of the Avars, arrived in the Roman camp, and remonstrated with Priscus on the appearance of an army on the Danube after the treaty which had been made at Tzurulon. It was explained that the expedition was against the Slaves, not against the Avars, and that the Slaves had not been included in the treaty. Having crossed the Ister, Priscus surprised the camp of Ardagast at midnight, and the barbarians fled in confusion. Ardagast himself was almost captured, for in his flight he was tripped up by the stump of a tree; but, fortunately for him, the accident occurred not far from the bank of a river. Plunging in its waves, perhaps remaining under water and breathing through a reed as the amphibious Slaves were wont to do, he eluded pursuit.

This victory was somewhat clouded by a mutiny in the army. When Priscus declared his intention of reserving the best of the spoils for the Emperor, his eldest son, and the rest of the imperial family, the soldiers openly showed their displeasure and disappointment at being put off with the refuse of the booty, or perhaps receiving none at all. Priscus, however, succeeded in soothing them, and three hundred soldiers, under the command of Tatimer, were sent with the spoils to Byzantium. On their way, probably in Thrace, they were assailed by a band of Slaves as they were enjoying the relaxation of a noonday rest. The plunderers were with some difficulty repulsed, and fifty were taken alive. It is plain that

¹ The march from Heraclea to Drizipera (Drusipara) occupied four days (*τέσσαρες χάρακας*), just the time in which the severe march was accomplished by the Avars in the preceding

year. Ten days were spent at Drizipera, and the journey thence to Dorostolon was performed in fifteen days. Thus the Danube was reached a month after the army had left Heraclea.

these marauders belonged to the Slaves who had permanently settled in Roman territory.

Priscus meanwhile sent his lieutenant Alexander across the river Helibakias to discover where the Slaves were hiding. At his approach the barbarians fled to a safe retreat in a difficult morass, where they could defy the Roman troops, who were almost lost in attempting to penetrate the marsh. The device of setting fire to the woody covert in which the fugitives were concealed failed on account of the dampness of the wood. But a Gepid Christian, who had associated himself with the Slaves, opportunely deserted and came to the aid of the foiled Alexander. He pointed out the secret passage which led into the hiding-place of the barbarians, who were then easily captured by the Romans. The obliging Gepid informed his new friends that these Slaves were a party of spies sent out by the King Musokios,¹ who had just learned the news of the defeat of Ardagast; and when Alexander returned triumphantly with his captives to Priscus, the crafty deserter, who was honoured with handsome presents, arranged a stratagem for delivering Musokios and his army into the hands of the Romans. The Gepid proceeded to the presence of the unsuspecting Musokios and asked him for a supply of boats to transport the remnant of the Slavonic army of Ardagast across the river Paspirion. Musokios readily placed at his disposal 150 monoxyles and thirty oarsmen, and he crossed the river. Meanwhile Priscus, according to the preconcerted arrangement, was approaching the banks, and at midnight the Gepid stole away from the boatmen to meet the Roman army, and returned to the river with Alexander and two hundred soldiers. At a little distance from the bank he placed them in an ambush, and on the following night, when the time was ripe, and the barbarians, heavy with wine, were sunk in slumber, the Romans issued from their hiding-place, under the conduct of the Gepid. The signal agreed on was an Avaric song, and the soldiers halted at a little distance till their guide had made sure that all was safe. The signal was given, the boatmen were slaughtered as they slept, and the boats were in the possession of the Romans. Priscus transported three thousand

¹ τὸν λεγόμενον ῥήγα τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ (Theophyl. vi. 9 *ad init.*) The writer seems to be ignorant that *rex* is a Latin word.

men across the river, and at midnight Musokios, who, like his boatmen, was heavy with the fumes of wine—he had the excuse of celebrating the obsequies of a brother—was surprised and taken alive. The massacre of the Slaves lasted till the morning. But for the energy of the second officer, Gentzon, this success might have been followed by a reverse; the sentinels were careless, and some of the Slaves who escaped rallied and attacked the victors. Priscus gibbeted the negligent guards.

At this juncture Tatimer arrived with an imperative message from the Emperor, that the army should remain during the winter in the Slavonic territory. The unwelcome mandate would certainly have been followed by a mutiny on this occasion, and perhaps the events of 602 would have been anticipated by ten years, if the commander had been another than Priscus, who had always shown dexterity in managing intractable soldiers. Priscus did not comply with the wishes of Maurice; he broke up his camp and crossed the Ister. Hearing that the chagan of the Avars, indignant at the successes of the Romans, was meditating hostilities, he sent Theodore, a physician, as an envoy to the court of the barbarian. Theodore is said to have reduced to a lower key the arrogant tone of the chagan by relating to him an anecdote about Sesostris, and the barbarian said that all he asked was a share in the spoil which had been won from the Slaves. Priscus, in spite of the protests of the army, complied with the demand and sent him five thousand captives. For this “folly” he incurred the resentment of the Emperor, who some time previously had determined to depose Priscus and appoint his own brother Peter to the command in Europe.

(3) 593 A.D.¹—The new general, Peter, proceeded by Heraclæa and Drizipera (Drusipara) to Odessus, where the army

¹ “Turning to Theophanes, whose sole authority for these wars was Theophylactus, we find that he has hammered out the metal thin, so as to make it extend over the years which are not accounted for. The first campaign of Priscus and the battle of Heraclea took place in 6084, that is 592; the expedition against the Slaves is placed in 593, the mission of Tatimer and the recall of Priscus in 594. The campaign of Peter is drawn out to extend over three

years—595, 596, 597—and thus the deposition of Peter at the end of 597 agrees with the date of Theophylactus, assuming that he assigned the decease of Johannes Jejunator to 594.” See the author’s note on the chronology of Theophylactus in the *English Historical Review*, April 1888, p. 312. The implication made in that article that Priscus spent the winter 592-593 beyond the Danube I believe, on second thoughts, to be erroneous.

accorded him a kind reception. But unfortunately he was the bearer of an imperial mandate, containing new dispensations, highly unwelcome to the soldiers, concerning the mode in which they were to be paid. The whole amount of the stipend was to be divided into three portions, of which one was to be delivered in clothes, another in arms, and the third in money. When the general read aloud the new ordinance all the soldiers with one accord marched out of the camp, leaving the general alone with the paper in his hands, and took up their quarters at a distance of about half a mile. But Peter was the bearer of other imperial commands also, which were of a more acceptable character, and he decided, by communicating these immediately, to calm the wrath of the soldiers at this attempt to cheat them of their pay. The angry troops were holding a seditious assembly, and loading the name of Maurice with objurgations, when Peter appeared and, procuring silence, informed them from an elevated platform, that the Emperor whom they reviled had resolved to release from service and to support at the public expense those soldiers who had exhibited special bravery and conspicuously endangered life and limb in the recent campaigns; and that he had also decreed that the sons of those who had fallen in battle were to be enrolled in the army list instead of their parents. At these tidings resentment was turned into gratitude, and the Emperor was extolled to the heavens. It is not stated, but it seems highly probable, that the new arrangement in regard to the mode of payment was not pressed; we are only told that Peter sent an official account of these occurrences to the Emperor.

Three days later the army moved westward to Marcianopolis, and on reaching that city Peter sent forward a reconnoitring body of one thousand cavalry under Alexander. These soon fell in with a company of six hundred Slaves, driving waggons piled up with the booty which they had won in depredations at the Moesian towns of Akys, Zaldapa, and Scopis. As soon as they saw the Romans, their first care was to put to death the male prisoners of military age; then, making a barricade of the waggons, they set the women and children in the enclosed space, and themselves stood on the carts brandishing their javelins. The Roman cavalry feared to approach, lest the darts of the enemy should kill the horses under them; but

their captain Alexander gave the command to dismount. The engagement which ensued was decided by the valour of a Roman soldier who, leaping up on one of the waggons, felled with his sword the Slaves who were nearest him. The barricade was then dissolved, but the barbarians were not destroyed themselves until they had slain the rest of their captives.

About a week later Peter, who lingered in this region perhaps for the pleasures of the chase, met with an accident in a boar hunt. The furious animal suddenly rushed upon him from a thicket, and in turning his horse he sprained his left foot, which collided with the trunk of a tree. The severe sprain compelled him to remain for a considerable time longer in the same place, to the disgust and indignation of Maurice, who seems to have regarded the cause as a pretext, and wrote chiding letters to his brother. Stung by the imperial taunts, Peter ordered the army to move forward, intending to cross the Danube and invade the territory of the Slaves, even as Priscus had invaded it in the preceding year. But two weeks later a letter from Maurice enjoined on him not to leave Thrace—Thrace is here used in the sense of the Thracian diocese, including Lower Moesia and Scythia—because it was reported that the Slaves were contemplating an expedition against Byzantium itself. Peter accordingly proceeded to Novae, passing on his way the cities of Zaldapa and Iatrus and the fortress of Latarkion. The inhabitants of Novae gave the general a cordial reception, and induced him to take part in the feast of the Martyr Lupus, which was celebrated on the day after his arrival.

On quitting Novae, Peter advanced along the Danube by Theodoropolis and Securisca—or, as it was generally called, Curisca—to Asemus, a city which had been always especially exposed to the incursions of the barbarians from beyond the river, and had therefore been provided with a strong garrison. A circumstance occurred here, which illustrates the quarrels that probably often arose between cities and generals, and which also shows that the firm temper of the men of Asemus had not changed since the days when they defended their city with triumphant valour against the Scythian host of Attila. Observing the splendid men who composed the garrison of Asemus, Peter determined to draft them off for his own army. The citizens

protested, and showed Peter a copy of the privilege which had been granted to them by the Emperor Justin. Peter, bent on carrying his point, cared little for the imperial document, and the soldiers of the garrison prudently took refuge in a church. Peter commanded the bishop to conduct them from the altar, and when the bishop declined to execute the invidious task, Gentzon, the captain of the infantry, was sent with soldiers to force the suppliants from the holy place. But the solemnity of the church presented so forcibly the deformity of the act which he was commanded to commit, that the captain made no attempt to obey the order, and Peter deposed him from his office. On the morrow a guardsman was sent to hale the disobedient bishop to the camp, but the indignant citizens assembled and drove the officer out. Then, shutting the gates, they extolled Maurice and reviled Peter, who deemed it best to leave the scene of his discomfiture without delay.

It is to be presumed that the army advanced westward; but we are merely told that a few days later a thousand horsemen were sent forward to reconnoitre. They fell in with a party of Bulgarians¹ equal in number to themselves. These Bulgarians, subjects of the Avars, were advancing carelessly, confiding in the peace which existed between the chagan and the Emperor. But the Romans assumed a hostile attitude, and when the Bulgarians sent heralds to deprecate a violation of the peace, the commander sent them to appeal to Peter, who was still about a mile behind the reconnoitring party.

Peter brooked as little the protest of the Bulgarians as he had brooked the protest of the men of Asemus, and sent word that they should be cut to pieces. But, though the barbarians had been unwilling to fight, they defended themselves successfully and forced the aggressors to flee; in consequence of which defeat the Roman captain was stripped and scourged like a slave. When the chagan heard of this occurrence he sent ambassadors to remonstrate with Peter, but the Roman general

¹ οὗτοι ἑκατοντάσι δέκα Βουλγάροις προσπίπτουσιν (Theophyl. vii. 4, 1). This passage is important; it shows that the Bulgarians maintained throughout the sixth century a distinct, though subordinate and dependent, existence in the neighbourhood of the

Danube, and upsets the theory, which Hopf affirms with certainty, that the Bulgarians who harried the Thracian provinces in the reign of Anastasius became completely amalgamated with the Slaves.

feigned complete ignorance of the matter and cajoled the Avars by plausible words.

At this point the narrative of the historian who has preserved the memory of these events suddenly transports us, without a word of notice, into a totally different region,—into the country beyond the Danube, where Priscus had operated successfully in 592. And he transports us not only to a different place, but to a different time; for, having recorded the ill success of Peter and his deposition from the command, he makes it appear, by a chronological remark, that these events took place at the end, not of 593, but of 597.¹

We are thus left in the dark concerning the events of 594, 595, and 596; while as to 597, we know that Peter was commander of the army, we know some of the details of an expedition against the Slaves beyond the Danube, and it appears probable that in this year the Avars invaded the Empire and besieged Thessalonica. From a Latin source we know that in 596 the Avars made an expedition against Thuringia.

(4) 597 A.D.—At the point where we are first permitted to catch sight of the operations of Peter in Sclavinia, as we may call the territory of the Slaves, he is sending twenty men across an unnamed river to spy the movements of the enemy. A long march on the preceding day had wearied the soldiers, and towards morning the twenty reconnoiters lay down to rest in the concealment of a thicket and fell asleep. Unluckily Peiragast, the chief of a Slavonic tribe, came up with a party of riders and dismounted hard by the grove. The Romans were discovered and taken, and compelled to reveal the intentions of their general as far as they knew them. Peiragast then advanced to the ford of the river and concealed his men in the woods which overhung the banks. Peter, ignorant of their proximity, prepared to cross, and a thousand soldiers, who had reached the other side, were surprised and hewn in pieces by the enemy, who rushed forth from their lurking-places. The general then determined that the rest of the army should cross, not in detachments, but in a united body, in the face of the

¹ Theophylactus, vii. 6, *ad init.* αὐθις γνώμεθα) Ἰωάννης (the Patriarch)
 πρὸ τεττάρων τοῖνυν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν . . . τὸν τῆδε βίον ἀπέλειπεν.
 (πρὸς γὰρ τὰ πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἱστορίας

barbarians who lined the opposite bank. Standing on their rafts in mid-stream, the Roman soldiers received and returned a brisk discharge of missiles, and their superior numbers enabled them to clear the bank of the Slaves, whose chief, Peiragast, was mortally wounded. As soon as they landed they completely routed the retreating adversaries, but want of cavalry rendered them unable to continue the pursuit. To explain this circumstance, we may conjecture that the thousand men who had crossed first and were slain by the Slaves were a body of horse.

On the next day the guides lost their way, and the army wandered about unable to obtain water. They were obliged to appease their thirst with wine, and on the third day the evil was aggravated. The army would have been reduced to extreme straits if they had not captured a barbarian, who conducted them to the river Helibakias, which was not far off. The soldiers reached the bank in the morning and stooping down drank the welcome element. The opposite bank was covered with an impenetrable wood, and suddenly, as the soldiers were sprawling on the river margin, a cloud of darts sped from its fallacious recesses and dealt death among the helpless drinkers. Retreating from the immediate danger, the Romans manufactured rafts and crossed the river to detect the enemy, but in the battle which took place on the other side they were defeated.

In consequence of this defeat Peter was deposed and Priscus appointed commander in his stead.

Of the circumstances which led to the attack of the Avars on Thessalonica in this year we are left in ignorance. For the fact itself our only authority is a life of St. Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica, who on this occasion is said to have protected his city with a strong arm.¹ As this work is, like most lives of saints, written rather for edification than as a record of historical fact, we are not justified in using it further than to establish that the Avars besieged the city and were not successful, and that the ordinary evils of a siege were aggravated by the fact that the inhabitants had recently been afflicted by a plague.

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. iv. p. 13.

In the period of history with which we are dealing we are not often brought into contact with the rich and flourishing city of Thessalonica, the residence of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum. It is not that Thessalonica has been always exempt from sieges and disasters, but it so happens that during the period from the death of Theodosius to the end of the eighth century it enjoyed a remarkably untroubled existence. Just before the beginning of this period its streets were the scenes of the great massacre for which Ambrose constrained Theodosius the Great to do penance at Milan,—an event of which a memorial remained till recently in Salonica, a white marble portico supported by caryatids, called by the Jews of the place “*Las incantadas*,” the enchanted women. And a century after the close of this period, in the year 904, the city endured a celebrated siege by the Saracens; while in later times it was destined to suffer sorely from the hostilities of Normans (1185) and of Turks (1430), under whose rule it passed. In the seventh and eighth centuries the surrounding districts were frequently harried by the Slaves who had settled in Macedonia, but with the exception of the siege in 597 and three successive sieges in the seventh century (675-680 A.D.), the city of Demetrius was exempted from the evils of warfare. Its prosperity is indicated by the fact that it was always a headquarters for Jews, and at the present day Jews are said to form two-thirds of the population.¹

(5) 598 A.D.—The two chief events of this year were the relief of Singidunum, which was once more besieged by the Avars, and their invasion of Dalmatia.

Priscus collected his army in the region of Astica in Thrace, and discovered that the soldiers had become demoralised under the ungenial command of Peter; but his friends dissuaded him from reporting the matter to the Emperor. Having crossed the Danube, he proceeded to a town known as Upper Novae, and was met by ambassadors from the chagan, to whom he explained his presence in those regions by the circumstance that they were good for hunting. Ten days later news arrived that the Avars were besieging Singidunum, with the intention

¹ See Mr. Tozer's book on the *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 146. It is worth noticing that the fortifications round Salonica are dated in a brick

inscription as belonging to the pontificate of Hormisdas (514 A.D.), a fact which Mr. Mahaffy has recently communicated to me.

of transporting the inhabitants beyond the Ister, and Priscus hastened to its relief. Encamping provisionally in the river-island of Singa, from which the adjacent town derives its name, the general sailed in a fast dromon to Constantiola, where he had an unsatisfactory interview with the chagan.¹ Returning to Singa, Priscus ordered his forces to advance against the besiegers of Singidunum, who speedily retired. The walls of the city, which were unfit to stand a serious siege, were strengthened.

About ten days after this the chagan proceeded to invade the country of Dalmatia. He reduced the town of Bonkeis, and captured no less than forty forts. Priscus despatched a captain named Gudwin, whose German nationality is indicated by his name, with two thousand infantry, to follow the Avaric army. Gudwin chose bypaths and unknown difficult routes, that he might avoid inconvenient collisions with the vast numbers of the invaders. A company of thirty men, whom he sent forward to observe the movements of the enemy, were fortunate enough, as they lay hidden in ambush at night, to capture three drunken barbarians, from whom they learned something of the dispositions of the hostile army, and especially the fact that two thousand men had been placed in charge of the booty. Gudwin, delighted at obtaining this information, concealed his men in a ravine, and as the day dawned suddenly fell upon the guardians of the spoils from the rear. The Avars were cut to pieces, and Gudwin returned triumphantly with the recovered booty to Priscus.

We are told that after these events the chagan desponded,² and that for more than eighteen months, from about the early summer 598 to the late autumn of 599, no hostilities were carried on in the Illyrian and Thracian lands.

(6) 599 A.D.—The chagan invaded Lower (or Thracian) Moesia and Scythia, and Priscus, learning that he intended to besiege the maritime town of Tomi, hastened to occupy it. The siege began at the end of autumn and lasted throughout the winter.

(7) 600 A.D.—In spring the Roman garrison began to

¹ The historian, Theophylactus, delights to couch the speeches both of the barbarian and the Roman in impossibly grandiloquent language. Pris-

cus speaks of *τὴν ἡμέραν . . . ῥοδοειδῆ τε καὶ κροκινίζουσας*.

² *ἀθυμία πολλὴ κατεβέβλητο* (vii. 12).

feel the hardships of famine. When Easter approached, Priscus was surprised at receiving a kind message from the chagan, who offered to grant a truce of five days and to supply them with provisions.¹ This unexampled humanity on the part of an Avar was long remembered as a curiosity. On the fourth day of the truce a messenger from the chagan requested Priscus to send his master some Indian spices and perfumes. Priscus willingly sent him pepper, which was still as great a delicacy to the barbarians as it had been in the days of Alaric and Attila, Indian leaf, cassia, and spikenard; "and the barbarian, when he received the Roman gifts, perfumed himself, and was highly delighted." The cessation of hostilities was protracted until the Easter festivities were over, and then the chagan raised the siege.

Meanwhile, as Priscus was shut up in the chief town of Scythia, the Emperor had commissioned Comentiolus to take the field in Moesia. The chagan advanced against him and approached the city Iatrus, on the river of the same name, where the general had taken up his quarters. In the depth of night Comentiolus sent a message to his adversary, challenging him to battle on the following day, and at the same time commanded his own army to assemble in fighting array early in the morning. But the soldiers did not comprehend that this order signified a real battle, and, under the false impression that their commander's purpose was merely to hold a review, they appeared in disorder and defectively equipped. Their surprise and indignation were great when, as the rising sun illumined the scene, they beheld the army of the Avars drawn up in martial order. The enemy, however, did not advance, and they had time to curse their general and form in orderly array. But Comentiolus created further confusion by a series of apparently unnecessary permutations; changing one corps from the left wing to the right, and removing some other battalion from the right wing to the left. The right wing fled, and there was a general flight, but the Avars did not pursue. During the following night Comentiolus made provision for his own escape, and next morning left the camp on the pretext of hunting. At noon the army discovered tha

¹ 10th April. Theophylactus, vii. 13, *Geschichte*, p. 91) ". . . schliesst
1: περὶ θημέρους σκοπῶν συστησάμενοι, Priscus . . . einen 50 tägigen Waffen-
which Hopf mistranslates (*Griechische* stillstand."

their general had deserted them, and hastened to follow him. But they were pursued by the Avars, who occupied a mountain pass or *cleisura*, — perhaps the Šipka pass, — and the Romans, now leaderless, were not able to force a passage until many were slain. When Comentiolus appeared before the walls of Drizipera he was driven away with stones and taunts, and was obliged to pass on to Byzantium. The fugitive troops, with the barbarians close at their heels, arrived soon afterwards at Drizipera, and the Avars sacked the city.

But the triumph of the chagan was soon turned into mourning. A plague broke out in his army, the plague of the *bubo*, and seven of his sons who had accompanied the expedition died on the same day. Meanwhile the citizens of Byzantium were so much alarmed at the menacing proximity of the Avar army, before which Comentiolus had fled, that they entertained serious thoughts of migrating in a body to Chalcedon. Maurice first manned the Long Wall with infantry and with companies formed of members of the blue and green factions, and then, by the advice of the senate, sent an ambassador to the chagan. When Harmaton arrived at Drizipera he found the great barbarian in the throes of parental grief, and was obliged to wait ten days ere he could obtain an audience in the tent of mourning. Soothing words with difficulty induced the Avar to accept the gifts of an enemy, but on the following day he consented to make peace, as his family affliction had rendered him indisposed for further operations. He bitterly accused Maurice of being the peacebreaker, and the Roman historian admits the charge.

The terms of the peace were these: the Ister was acknowledged by both parties as the frontier between their dominions, but the Romans had the privilege of crossing it for the purpose of operating against the Slaves¹; twenty thousand aurei were to be paid by the Romans to the Avars.

It was on this occasion that Maurice refused to ransom twelve thousand captives from the chagan, who consequently executed them all. The author of the panegyrical history of Maurice makes no reference to the matter, and his silence is remarkable.² He would certainly have mentioned it if he

¹ The Slaves were not inactive in the year 600; we learn from a letter of Pope Gregory (x. 36) that they plundered Istria, Dalmatia, and even Italy.

² Our authority is Theophanes *ad ann.* See above, p. 86.

could have made any apology for this unpopular act of Maurice.

The Emperor had no intention of preserving the peace, and unblushingly commanded his generals, Priscus and Comentiolus, to violate it. Comentiolus had been reappointed commander, notwithstanding the complaints of the soldiers concerning his recent behaviour. The generals joined their forces at Singidunum, whither Priscus seems to have proceeded after the siege of Tomi, and advanced together down the river to Viminacium (Kastolatz). The chagan meanwhile, learning that the Romans had determined to violate the peace, crossed the Ister at Viminacium and invaded Upper Moesia, while he entrusted a large force to four of his sons, who were directed to guard the river and prevent the Romans from crossing over to the left bank. In spite of the barbarians, however, the Roman army crossed on rafts and pitched a camp on the left side, while the two commanders sojourned in the town of Viminacium, which stood on an island in the river. Here Comentiolus is said to have acted the part of a *poltroon*, according to a now exploded derivation of the word (*pollice truncus*). He employed a surgeon's lancet to mutilate his hand, and thereby incapacitated himself for action. His poltroonery was probably conducive to the success of Roman arms, for Priscus, untrammelled by an incompetent colleague, was able to win a series of signal triumphs.

Unwilling at first to leave the city without Comentiolus, Priscus was soon forced to appear in the camp, as the Avars were harassing it in the absence of the generals. A battle was fought which cost the Romans only three hundred men, while the ground was strewn with the corpses of four thousand Avars. This engagement was followed by two other great battles, in which the strategy of Priscus and the tactics of the Roman army were brilliantly successful. In the first, nine thousand of the enemy fell, while the second was fatal to fifteen thousand, of whom the greater part, and among them the four sons of the chagan, perished in the waters of a lake, into which they were driven by the Roman swords and spears.

Such were the three battles of Viminacium, fought on the left bank of the Danube. But Priscus was destined to win yet greater victories and to vanquish the chagan himself, who,

unable to recross the river at Viminacium, had returned to his country by the region of the Theiss (Tissos). Thither Priscus proceeded, and, a month after his latest victory at Viminacium, he defeated the forces of the barbarians on the banks of the Theiss. He then sent four thousand men to the right bank of that river to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy. This was the territory in which the kingdom of the Gepids had once flourished, and certain regions of it were still inhabited by people of that nation, living in a state of vassalage under the Avars. The reconnoitring party came upon three of their towns, and found the inhabitants engaged in celebrating a feast. Before the dawn of day, when the barbarians were overcome by their debauch, the Romans fell upon and slew thirty thousand; it seems, however, doubtful whether all these were Gepids.¹ A few days later the energy of the chagan had assembled another army, and another battle was fought on the banks of the Theiss. Three thousand Avars, a large number of Slaves, and other barbarians were taken alive; an immense number were slain by the sword; many were drowned in the river. The captives were sent to Tomi, but Maurice was weak enough to restore them to the chagan without a ransom.

When winter approached, Comentiolus proceeded to Novae, and thence, having with considerable difficulty procured a guide, followed the road, or rather the path, of Trajan to Philippopolis.

(8) 601 A.D.—Comentiolus, who had wintered at Philippopolis and proceeded to Byzantium in spring, was again appointed commander, but the summer was marked by no hostilities. In August, Peter the Emperor's brother was created "General of Europe." Having remained for some time at Palastolon on the Danube, he proceeded to Dardania, for he heard that an army of Avars, under a captain named Apsich,

¹ Hopf has reproduced these events in a strangely confused manner for so careful a writer; he seems to have been unable to follow with ease the Greek of Theophylactus. He utterly neglects the chronology, placing the defeat and flight of Comentiolus after the success of Priscus, but that is of small consequence when we compare it with his account of the operations on the Theiss. "Das kaiserliche Heer, aufgezett von

dem ehrgeizigen Phokas, bedrohte den Kaiser mit Rebellion. Dies war insoweit günstig für die Avaren, als die Söhne des Khagans mit 13,000 Mann 601 einen Streifzug nach der Theiss unternahmen und gegen 30,000 'Gepiden' niedermachten. Allein Priscus vernichtete sie und besiegte selbst den zu Hilfe eilenden Khagan." Even Carl Hopf is not infallible in using his authorities.

was encamped at a place in that province called the Cataracts. After an ineffectual interview between the Avar commander and the Roman general, the former retreated to Constantiola and the latter withdrew to Thrace for the winter.

(9) 602 A.D.—No martial operations took place during spring, but in summer Gudwin, the officer second in command to Peter, invaded the land of the Slaves beyond the Ister and inflicted terrible slaughter upon them. One Slavonic tribe, the Antae (or Wends), were allies of the Romans, and the chagan accordingly sent Apsich against them by way of a reply to the invasion of Gudwin. We are not informed whether Apsich was successful, but it is recorded that about the same time a large number of Avars revolted from their lord and sought the protection of Maurice.

The last scene in the reign of Maurice has been related in a previous chapter; and at this point our historian, Theophylactus, concludes his work. As no other writer continued where he left off, we hear no more of the Avars and Slaves for sixteen years. Of their doings during the reign of Phocas and the first eight years of the reign of Heraclius our scanty authorities are silent, with the exception of the single notice that in the second year of Phocas the tribute to the Avars was raised. We can, however, entertain no doubt that the Balkan provinces were subjected to sad ravages during the disorganisation which prevailed in the reign of Phocas and the consequent paralysis from which the Empire suffered in the first years of Heraclius. The hostilities of Asiatic enemies were generally wont to have an effect on events in the vicinity of the Danube, and the barbarians can hardly have been disposed to miss such an unrivalled opportunity as was offered to them when Asia Minor was overrun by the Persians.

NOTE ON SLAVONIC SETTLEMENTS IN GREECE

THE groundlessness of Fallmerayer's famous theory that "not a drop of genuine and unmixed Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the christian population of modern Greece" has been shown by Hopf in his *Griechische Geschichte*. One of the passages on which Fallmerayer throws especial weight is Evagrius, vi. 10. It will be advisable to quote it in full:—

οἱ Ἀβάρες δις μέχρι τοῦ καλουμένου μακροῦ τείχους διελάσαντες Σιγγιδόνα Ἀγχιάλόν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις τε καὶ φρούρια ἐξεπολιόρκησαν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσαντο ἀπόλλυντες ἅπαντα καὶ πυρπολοῦντες, τῶν πολλῶν στρατευμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἑῴαν ἐνδιατριβόντων.

Now, in the first place, the Avars, not the Slaves, are the invaders mentioned by Evagrius, and therefore the passage does not support Fallmerayer's Slavonic theory. The Avaric invasions of 583 and 587 seem to be referred to. In the second place, the verbs ἀπόλλυντες and πυρπολοῦντες cannot fairly be taken in the sense (which Fallmerayer assigns to them) of extermination. Similar expressions were used long before of Visigothic and Hunnic devastations.

Another comment of Hopf is not so convincing. By Hellas, Fallmerayer naturally understood Thessaly and Greece north of the Isthmus. Hopf says (p. 91): "Nur Unkenntniss der Geographie konnte den Syrer Evagrius veranlassen nächst den bekannten Städten Singidon und Anchialos noch 'von ganz Hellas und andern Städten und Burgen zu reden'; entweder dachte er sich unter Hellas eine Stadt oder Burg, was am wahrscheinlichsten, oder er übertrug den antiken Namen des eigentlichen Griechenlands auch auf die thrakisch-makedonischen Provinzen des Römerreichs." Hellas was a division of ecclesiastical geography, and it is almost impossible to believe that a man like Evagrius, Syrian though he was, did not know what it meant. ἑτέρας either refers loosely back to Singidunum and Anchialus, or is used, like ἄλλος in classical Greek, in the sense "besides." It is quite possible that in one of these

years the Avaric ravages extended south of Mount Olympus; the alternative being that Evagrius recorded an exaggerated rumour.

The passage in John of Ephesus, quoted above, p. 118, is not so easily disposed of, and Hopf, though he shows that it may not necessarily imply Slavonic settlements in Greece between 577 and 584, hardly succeeds in proving that such settlements were not made. The most natural interpretation of the passage in John is that the Slaves settled in Hellas as well as in the northern provinces; and as there is no proof to the contrary, we are bound to accept it? Hopf says (p. 104): "Dass die Slawinen, die 577 auch in Hellas plündern, mit denselben Slawen identisch sind, die unter Ardagast, 584-597 die Reichslande verheeren, kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen; wo sie sich sesshaft gemacht hatten, geht aus dem gesagten hinlänglich hervor, nämlich in den Nordprovinzen, zumeist an der Donau." This is a very weak argument. Probably the Slaves who plundered Greece in 577 belonged to the same tribes as those led by Ardagast (though this assumption is not certain); but why should not some of them have settled in Greece? Unless Hopf means by *identisch* individually the same, his argument falls to the ground; and identity in that sense is certainly a gratuitous assumption.

If there is no evidence to support, there is none to contradict Phrantzes' statement that Monembasia was founded in the reign of Maurice, and this may have some slight weight (*see* above, p. 120) in corroborating the statement of John of Ephesus, according to its simplest interpretation. But we may admit Slavonic settlements in Greece before 600 and yet be very far from accepting Fallmerayer's theory. It may be considered certain that these settlements were only in the open country and not in the cities.

CHAPTER V

THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY

THE character of the medieval history of Italy was decided in the sixth century. We can hardly overrate too highly the importance of its reconquest by Justinian, which brought it into contact again with the centre of Graeco-Roman civilisation. The tender hotbed plant of Theodoric's Ostrogothic *civitas*, which had never looked really promising, had perished before a bud was formed; the thing intermediate between barbarism and high civilisation was put away; and the future development of Italy was to result from the mixture of centuries between the most rude and the most refined peoples dwelling side by side.

The extirpation of the Ostrogoths was almost immediately followed by the invasion of the Lombards; the whole land was imperial for a space of but fifteen years (553-568). These two events, the imperial conquest and the Lombard conquest, possessed a high importance not merely for Italy but for the whole western world. The first secured more constant intercourse between East and West, the second promoted the rise of the papal power.

After the battle in which the allied Avars and Lombards destroyed the monarchy of the Gepids (567 A.D.), Alboin, the Lombard king, with an innumerable host, including many nationalities, even Saxons, advanced from Pannonia to the subjugation of Italy (568 A.D.)¹ The greater part of northern

¹ The story that Narses, the exarch (who had been lately superseded), enraged at an insulting message from the Empress Sophia, revenged himself by

inviting the Lombards to invade, may be rejected as a fable. Sophia is said to have sent him a distaff, suggesting that he was not a *man* (Paulus, *Historia*

Italy, Venetia,¹ and Gallia Cisalpina, of which a large region was afterwards to be called permanently by the name of the new conquerors, had no means of defence. Milan was occupied without resistance; and in these regions the invaders were perhaps supported by a remnant of the Ostrogoths. Pavia, the ancient Ticinum, destined to be the capital of the new Teutonic kingdom, held out. The exarch Longinus, who had succeeded Narses, could do little more than make Ravenna and the Aemilia secure. The bishop of Aquileia had fled to Grado,² and Honoratus, the bishop of Milan,³ to Genoa, but Ticinum defended itself so long and so firmly that the irritated Lombard is said to have vowed that he would massacre all the inhabitants. But when the place was taken after a siege of three years, he relented and chose it for his capital. Milan and Ticinum were the cities which Alboin was destined to possess; Ravenna, the Aemilia, and the Pentapolis⁴ stood out against the invaders, and Ravenna was probably not even attacked by them. Alboin himself did not penetrate farther south than Tuscany,⁵ but his nobles, with bands of followers, pressed forward and formed the duchies of Spolegium and Beneventum. Most of the towns in these districts were totally undefended⁶; the walls of Beneventum

Langobardorum, ii. 5). The same story is told of Hormisdas and Varahran; it was told in ancient times of a king of Cyprus and a queen of Cyrene (Herodotus, iv. 162). See above, p. 110.

¹ These districts were in ecclesiastical opposition to Justinian and the Roman see, a circumstance which probably favoured the conquest of Alboin. At this time the Franks were allies of the Lombards and Avars. Cf. Menander, fr. 24. Alboin married Chlotsinda, a daughter of Chlotar I. (Paul, i. 27).

² *Ib.* ii. 10.

³ Alboin entered Liguria *indictione ingrediente tertia* = September 569 (*ib.* 25).

⁴ *Ib.* 14. A difficulty has been felt as to the identity of the cities of the Pentapolis and the Decapolis (so often mentioned in eighth-century history). I believe it has been finally solved by L. Armbrust in his neat little essay, *Die territoriale Politik der Päpste von 500 bis 800* (pp. 54, 55). The Pentapolis = Ariminum, Pisathum,

Fanum, Senegallia, Ancona; the Decapolis = Auximum (Osimo), Humana (Umana), Aesis (Jesi), Forumsempronii (Fossombrone), Montemferetrum (Montefeltro), Urbinum, Territorium Valvense, Callis (Cagli), Luceoli, and Eugubium. The Aemilia contained the *civitates* of Ferrara, Bologna, Cesena, Imola, etc.

⁵ According to Paul (ii. 26), he subjugated all the land *usque ad Tusciam* during the siege of Ticinum; and Paul attributes this celerity to the exhaustion of the inhabitants by the recent plague and a famine. It is doubtful, however, whether the conquest was really so soon accomplished. Alboin captured Verona and Vincentia, but Patavium and Cremona were not taken till the days of Agilulf.

⁶ The undefended state of the towns of southern Italy in the time of the Gothic war is proved by the notices of Procopius. The only fortified town in Lucania was Acerenza, on the Calabrian borders (*περ' Ἀχερωντίδα καλοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι*, B. G. iii. 23); Rossano

had been destroyed by Totila; and thus the conquests were effected without difficulty. The name Zotto, and he is little more than a name, is well known as that of the first duke of Beneventum; he ruled for twenty years, and as his successor Arichis was appointed in 591, the foundation of the duchy of Beneventum is fixed to 571.¹ At first small, the duchies of Spolegium and Beneventum soon expanded at the expense of their Roman neighbours, and the dukes were afterwards able to maintain a position independent of the Lombard kings, in consequence of their geographical separation from the northern duchies by the strip of Roman territory which extended from Rome to the lands of the Pentapolis.

King Alboin was slain in 573. Fate is said to have overtaken him by the hands of his second wife Rosamund, the Gepid princess, who cherished feelings of revenge towards her lord on account of the death of her father Cunimund, and a dark legend has associated itself with her name. The existence of a king was not a necessary element in a Lombard's political vision; royalty could easily be dispensed with. Accordingly, after the short reign of Clepho, Alboin's successor, the dukes did not elect a new sovereign, and for about eleven years there was no central Lombard power.² But in 584 the invasions of the Franks compelled the dukedoms³ to form a united resistance, and necessitated the renewal of the kingly office for the purpose of this unity. Autharis, Clepho's son, was elected king. At the same time the Emperor Maurice appointed a new exarch, Smaragdus, to succeed Longinus.

For a moment it seemed possible that the Lombard power in Italy might be extinguished in the cradle. The activity of Smaragdus succeeded in forming a great coalition against the invaders (588 A.D.); the Franks and the Avars united with the Romans for their destruction. But the Franks were not really earnest supporters of the Roman cause; and the enter-

(*Pouca*) was the chief fort in Bruttii; on Naples and Cumae the whole defence of Campania devolved.

¹ Compare F. Hirsch, *Das Herzogthum Benevent*, p. 3.

² Paul, ii. 32: *per annos decem*. During this interregnum the Lombards were active in devastating and conquering. The Benedictine monks of

Monte Cassino were forced to flee from their monastery, which was pulled down (590 A.D.) and remained desolate for more than a hundred years. Cf. Paul. Diac. iv. 18. It was rebuilt about 720 by the abbot Petronax in the days of Pope Gregory II.

³ Apparently thirty-five in number (Paul, ii. 32).

prise came to nothing.¹ A year or two later we find the ambassadors of the Franks at Constantinople, attempting to induce Maurice to make them grants of money.

In 590 Agilulf succeeded Autharis. He conquered the eastern parts of northern Italy which were still ruled by the exarch; especially the cities of Patavium and Cremona, in the east. The Lombard conquests were not accomplished as rapidly as is sometimes represented, not as rapidly by any means as the conquest of the Vandals in Africa. It was not till the reign of Rotharis (636-652) that the coast of Liguria and the city of Genoa were won. The conqueror of Liguria is now celebrated as the compiler of the Lombard code of laws; but he also deserves to be remembered as the victorious combatant on the banks of the Scultenna (Tanaro), where the exarch and the Romans suffered a great defeat (642 A.D.)² After this the geographical limits of the Romans and Lombards altered but little; towns were taken and retaken, but the general outline of the territories remained the same.

The exarchate of Ravenna, including the Pentapolis and the Aemilia, naturally maintained itself, as the imperial power was concentrated there. Rome, although in a state of sad decline and often hard pressed, was able to keep the Lombards at bay, chiefly through the exertions of the Popes, who possessed influence over the Lombards themselves. Naples and Amalfi also remained imperial, and the land of Bruttii, for a moment occupied by the Teutons, was soon won back by the Empire. In the north, Venice and Istria were under the immediate jurisdiction of the exarch of Ravenna.

It is apparent that the imperial possessions tended to break up into three groups. Venice, Grado, and Istria, the nucleus of the future sovereignty of Venice, formed a group by themselves in the north; the exarchate of Ravenna, with which Rome was both administratively and territorially connected, formed a group in the centre, although Rome tended to become independent of the exarch; Naples sometimes seemed to belong to this group, and at other times to fall in with the southern group, which comprised Sicily, Calabria, and Bruttii.

The distribution of the Lombards corresponds, and each group

¹ See von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iv. 2, p. 156.

² Paul, iv. 45.

fulfils its special function. (1) The northern group includes Pavia, the royal residence, the duchies of Bergamo, Brescia, Friuli, Trient, etc., and Tuscany: this group was associated more especially with the Lombard kings, for in it they possessed a real as well as a nominal jurisdiction. Its function was to oppose the Frank invasions in the north-west and to threaten the exarchate, while on the dukes of Friuli in their march-land devolved the defence of Lombardy against the Slaves and Avars, who pressed on the frontier. (2) The Lombard territory in central Italy was the duchy of Spoletium, which endeavoured to extend its limits to the north at the expense of the Pentapolis and to the west at the expense of Rome. This duchy tended to join Tuscany and include the isthmus of land which lay along the Flaminian road between Rome and the Adriatic. (3) In the south, the duchy of Beneventum included almost all the territory east of Naples and north of Consentia.

But this description of the geographical demarcation of Lombard and Roman territory is not sufficient to explain the relations of the powers. There are two facts which should be emphasised, as having exercised a decisive influence on the development of Italy. The first is, that the Lombards were a military nation with no aptitude for cultivating the soil. They consequently at first left the landowners in possession of their land, exacting from them a tribute of one-third of the produce, but afterwards occupied a third of the land themselves, employing of course slave labour. The result was that no violent change was produced in the character of the population. The other fact was the wide extent of the possessions of the Church, the patrimony of St. Peter; but to understand the importance of this we must consider the development of the papal power, which the kingdom of the Lombards largely effected, and become acquainted with Pope Gregory I., the greatest figure in Europe at the end of the sixth century.

The greatness of Gregory I.¹ is due to the fact that he

¹ For the study of Gregory's letters, so important for the condition of Italy at this time, a new foundation has been laid by the work of the late Paul Ewald in his "Studien zur Ausgabe des Registers Gregor's I." (in the *Neues Archiv*). Ewald's great discovery was

that our present collection of the letters is the result of three different collections, which were welded together. Ewald also showed that the earliest Life of Pope Gregory was that in a St. Gall Codex, composed by an Englishman.

gathered up and presented in a new form and with new emphasis the most lively religious influences that had operated in the Latin world, namely the theological system of St Augustine and the monastic ideal of St. Benedict; and that, on the other hand, he seized and made the most of the gracious opportunities which the time offered for increasing and extending the influence of the Roman see.

The events of his life peculiarly fitted him for achieving these results. From the diverse characters of his parents he inherited both a capacity for worldly success and a spiritual temperament; his father was a civil magistrate in Rome and his mother Silvia was a saint. He studied law with a view to a secular career, but his leisure hours were spent in reading Jerome and Augustine. The inner voice triumphed in the end, for, when he attained the high dignity of prefect of the city (574), the circumstances of state and the gilded pomp which surrounded him struck him with a sort of terror; he felt that the temptations lurking in them might assail and win; and he fled, as if from foes, to the shelter of cloister life, having broken with the world by spending the patrimony of his father on the foundation of seven monasteries. But the ascetic rigours to which he zealously submitted himself began to harm his health, and Pope Pelagius, kindly interfering, caused him to leave his cell and enter the ranks of the clergy, and sent him as an *apocrisiarius*, or nuncio, to Constantinople, where he remained for six years (579-585). On his return to Rome he became abbot of the monastery which he had himself founded there, and it was at this time that he observed the Anglo-Saxon slaves in the market-place and conceived the idea of a mission for the conversion of Britain. He had made all the necessary preparations to set out for that obscure island, which had already become a land of fable to the inhabitants of the Empire, but was prevented from carrying out his intention by Pope Pelagius, to whom he was far too useful to be lost. Pelagius died in 590, and Gregory was unanimously elected to succeed him, but sorely, it appears, against his own will. It is a remarkable coincidence that the contemporary Patriarch of Constantinople was also forced unwillingly to accept his chair, and that he also, like Gregory, practised the most rigorous asceticism; and yet that John Jejunator tenaciously clung to

the title "Ecumenical," while Gregory won for the Roman bishop a more ecumenical position than he had ever held before. In these men there seems to have been a real union of pride in their office with personal humility.

From this sketch it will be seen that Gregory had three different experiences. He had the experience of civil affairs, he had the experience of monastic life, he had the experience of ecclesiastical diplomacy. Thus he was peculiarly fitted to carry on the various forms of activity which the papal dignity and the difficult circumstances of Italy rendered possible; and his strong nature, of somewhat coarse fibre, was well adapted to contend with and take advantage of the troubled times. We may consider, in order, his relation to the Lombards, his position in western Christendom, his relation to the Emperor, his theological and literary work.

The hands of the Roman Emperors, Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice, were so full with the wearisome Persian and Avaric wars that they had no money or men to send to the relief of Italy. The exarch could do little, for though he was invested with military as well as civil authority, his attention was chiefly confined to the collection of taxes. While the Pope was naturally concerned for the defence of Rome in the first place, his concern extended also to the rest of Italy, especially to the southern provinces. It was Pelagius, and not the exarch of Ravenna, who sent entreaties for assistance to the Emperors. One of the missions assigned to Gregory when he was apocrisiarius was to obtain aid against the Lombards; but Tiberius was unable to send succour, and advised the Pope either to buy off the enemy, or by a bribe to persuade the Franks to invade Cisalpine Gaul.¹ Shortly after this the Franks were induced to undertake three successive invasions; but these came to nothing, as no intelligent co-operation was carried out between the invaders and the military forces of the exarchate.

In the year in which Gregory became Pope, Autharis died, and his widow, the Bavarian Theudelinda, married Agilulf, who became the new king. Agilulf was an Arian, but Theudelinda was a Catholic, and Gregory possessed so much influence over her that her husband allowed their son to be baptized into the

¹ Tiberius, however, relieved the famine which affected Rome in his reign.

Catholic faith and ceased to place the Catholics in his realm under any disabilities. Thus in Gregory's time the see of Rome and the Lombard court were generally on very good terms, although on one occasion (593) Agilulf threatened Rome, and it was necessary to buy him off. The Pope was the mediator of a peace between Pavia and Ravenna in 599.¹

Thus it was not the king of Lombardy who was a thorn in the side of the Pope, but the dukes of Beneventum and Spolegium. The former pressed on the Roman territory in the south, the latter pressed on it in the east. Now, while it was of course necessary to defend Rome and other important cities against Lombard aggressions, it was also extremely desirable for the Popes to be at peace with the Lombard rulers, as the lands of the Church were scattered through their dominions. Thus the Pope had a far greater interest in maintaining peace than the exarchs, who had no pledges in the hands of the enemy. This circumstance was apparent when, in 592, Gregory concluded a peace with the duke of Spoleto, who was threatening Rome; and the Emperor Maurice called him "fatuous" for so doing.

Gregory practically managed all the political and military affairs in the south of Italy, though this was strictly the duty of the exarch. He appointed the commanders of garrisons and provided for the defence of cities; and in this activity not only were his early secular training, and his experience in public affairs, of service, but the fact that he had been a civil functionary in Rome must have secured for him considerably greater power and influence with the people than he could otherwise have possessed. The Pope's practical experience aided him in administering "the patrimony of Peter," to which I have already referred. This was an important matter, as the large possessions of the Church were one of the chief means of supporting and extending the papal power. Nor were these possessions confined to Italy; the Church owned property in north Africa, in Gaul, and in Dalmatia. The income from these lands enabled Gregory to take measures for the defence of Rome, to give the monthly distributions of bread and money to the poor, to ransom captives taken in war. He was therefore extremely careful in watching over the

¹ See Paul, iv. 8. Callinicus was the exarch who concluded this peace.

economy of the Patrimony, which was placed in the hands of ordained clergy called *rectores* or *defensores*; and he used to inquire into the minutest details.

In Spain, in Gaul, and in Africa the influence of Rome was considerably increased under Gregory, while the conversion of Britain extended the limits of western Christendom.¹ Leander, the bishop of Seville, who was a warm supporter of Gregory, induced Reccared, the Visigothic king, whom he had converted from Arianism to Catholicism, to send to the bishop of Rome an announcement of his conversion, accompanied by the guerdon of a gold cup, as an offering to St. Peter.² In Gaul Gregory exercised considerable indirect influence, and the bishop of Arles acted as a sort of vicar or unofficial representative. The exertions of the Pope were successful in suppressing or lessening many abuses, such as simony and persecution of the Jews; and he maintained a correspondence with the celebrated Queen-mother Brunhilda. Brunhilda's acts are supposed to have secured her an honourable place among the Jezebels of history, but Pope Gregory felt great joy over her "christian spirit." It is certainly futile to assume, with Gregory's defenders, that he was ignorant of the contemporary history of the courts of Paris and Soissons, because very small connection subsisted then between Italy and France; nor, on the other hand, can the correspondence be regarded as either surprising or damning. Brunhilda was liberal in endowing churches and religious institutions; she was sympathetic and helpful in Gregory's missionary enterprises; she was Roman in her ideas. If her political conduct was not irreproachable, she had thrown much in the counter scale; if she was a fiend, she was certainly a fiend angelical. When we take into account the ideas of that age, in which heresy was looked on as the deadliest sin and religious zeal as efficient to cancel many crimes, it is hardly to be wondered that Gregory treated Brunhilda with respect.

In Africa Gregory had far greater authority than in Gaul, where he had no official position. Not only were the bishops of Carthage and Numidia his ardent supporters and useful

¹ 596 was the date of the mission of St. Augustine. Ten thousand Anglo-Saxons were converted, but with the Britons he was not successful.

² Gregory conciliated Reccared with the Empire. The Visigothic king adopted the imperial name of Flavius. Cf. Greg. *Ep.* ix. 122 and xiii. 47.

instruments, but the exarch Gennadius, who had earned a fair fame by delivering his provinces from the Moorish hordes who vexed it, favoured and encouraged the increase of the Pope's influence. A regular system was introduced of appealing to the see of Rome as the supreme ecclesiastical court.

The relations of Gregory to the Emperor Maurice, whose subject he was, were not untroubled by discord, and in the extension of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction the Pope sometimes came into collision with the Emperor. In Dalmatia, for example, a certain Maximus was elected bishop of Salona. Gregory forbade his consecration, and Maximus appealed to Maurice, who espoused his cause. Then Gregory forbade him to perform the episcopal offices, but Maurice continued to support Maximus in his contempt of the papal commands. As Gregory had no means of enforcing his will, he consulted his dignity by transferring the matter to Maximian, the bishop of Ravenna, and Maximus, as directed, betook himself thither. He was there convinced of his fault and confessed that he had "sinned against God and against Pope Gregory."

Gregory's quarrel with the Patriarch of Constantinople has been already referred to, and in this affair too the Pope came into collision with the Emperor. It has also been mentioned that there was discord between them on the matter of Gregory's relations to the Lombards. A law of Maurice which prevented soldiers from shirking service by entering monasteries was yet another cause of dispute.

The consequence was that the relations between Gregory and Maurice were strained; Gregory was inclined to attribute all the evils which beset the Empire to the iniquity of the Emperor, and he was so unspeakably relieved by the death of Maurice that he could not restrain the voice of jubilation. He looked upon Phocas, whose name became in the eastern part of the Empire a "common nayword and recreation" for all that is abominable, as a public deliverer to whom the thanksgiving of the world was due; and his congratulatory letter to Phocas, wherein he says that "in heaven choirs of angels would sing a gloria to the Creator," may still be read.

This is a page in Gregory's correspondence which, like his letters to Brunhilda, has been made a subject for sectarian controversy. Protestants seize hold of it as a glaring blot in

the Pope's character, while Catholics are at pains to defend him on the plea that he knew nothing either of Phocas personally or of the circumstances under which he had assumed the crown. It has been especially urged that there was no apocrisiarius at Constantinople at the time to inform him of the details, and that he had merely heard the bare fact that Phocas had succeeded Maurice. Here again we have no proof of the extent of the Pope's information; but it seems gratuitous to assume that he knew nothing of the details. Such an assumption would not be made in the case of any one but a saint; the ground for the exception being that the character of a saint is inconsistent with the authorship of a letter in which the perpetrator of such acts as those of Phocas is not merely acknowledged but eulogised. But we must remember the ideas which were prevalent at the time; when we are at a house of entertainment in the sixth or seventh century we must be particularly careful not to reckon without our host. Maurice was, in the eyes of Gregory, a pestilence to the Empire and a foe to the Church; his death was a consummation eminently to be desired; and he who should achieve such a consummation was a person devoutly to be blessed. There seems therefore no reason to suppose that Gregory was not aware that the feet of Phocas, as he ascended the throne, were stained with innocent blood; he looked upon the acts as a political necessity, for which it would have been hardly fair to condemn the new Emperor.¹ On the other hand, we need not suppose that Gregory was influenced by any ulterior motive to speak insincerely in his letter, or that he aimed at flattering Phocas into commanding the Patriarch of Constantinople to discard the obnoxious ecumenical title. This ensued; but we need not assume that it was compassed by insincerity on the part of the Pope.

Thus Gregory with consummate dexterity took advantage of all the means that presented themselves to put the papal power on an independent footing, and win for it universal recognition in the West. But it is especially important to observe

¹ It may be noted that the correspondence with Brunhilda and that with Phocas, taken together, make the case against the assumption of ignorance stronger. If we assume knowledge in one case we may assume it in the other, and it is gratuitous to assume ignorance in both cases.

how the double rule in Italy contributed to the realisation of the Pope's ambition. If there had been no Lombard invasion, if Italy had been the secure possession of the Roman Empire, Gregory would have been at the mercy of the Augustus of Byzantium and would have had no power to act independently. On the other hand, the presence of the imperial power was equally important; it would have been still more disastrous to become the subject of the Lombard king. Thus the independence of the Popes was struck like a spark between the rival temporal powers that divided Italy.

If we turn to his more specially religious work, we find that Gregory exerted a far-reaching influence over the future life of the Church. He had himself been deeply moved by the monastic ideal of St. Benedict, of whom he wrote a biography; and he assiduously endeavoured to make salutary reforms in cloister life. He firmly suppressed those vagrant monks, whom the sanctity of a religious dress could not always shield from the obnoxious name of *beggars*. He forbade youths under eighteen years to take the vows, nor would he permit a married man to enter a monastery without his wife's express consent. He relieved monks of all mundane cares by instituting laymen to look after the secular interests of the religious establishments.

The clergy (*clerus*), whom he was careful to dissociate completely from the monastic profession, were the object of still more solicitous attention. His *Regula pastoralis*, or manual of duties for a bishop, became and remained for centuries an authority in the Church and an indispensable guide for bishops.¹ The celibacy of the clergy was his favourite and most important reform, and even in Gaul he was able to exert influence in that direction. The reforms in the liturgy which have been attributed to him are doubtful; but the introduction of the solemn Gregorian chant instead of the older less uniform Ambrosian music has rendered his name more popularly known than any of his other achievements.

In doctrine he followed the respectable authority of the founder of Latin theology, St. Augustine. But theology was

¹ Hinkmar of Reims (870) says every Frankish bishop was bound to it at his consecration.

the Pope's weak point; here the coarse fibres of his nature are apparent, his want of philosophy, his want of taste. Take, for example, his theory of the redemption. Influenced by familiarity with the ideas of Roman law, men were prone to look on the redemption as a sort of legal transaction between God and the devil, in which the devil is overreached. Gregory, true to the piscatorial associations of the first bishop of Rome, presents this idea in a new, definite, and original form.¹ It is easy to identify leviathan in Job with the Evil One; and once this identification is made, it is obvious that the redemption must have been a halieutic transaction, in which God is evidently the fisherman. On his hook he places the humanity of Jesus as a bait, and when the devil swallows it the hook pierces his jaws.

Consistent with the coarseness displayed in this grotesque conception, which is put forward earnestly, not as a mere play of imagination, was his unenlightened attitude to literature and classical learning, in which he went so far as to despise grammar²; and this trait of his character is brought out in the twelfth-century legends, which ascribe to him the destruction of the Palatine library and other acts of vandalism. The superstitious love of miracles and legends, exhibited in every page of his works, may be added to complete a superficial sketch.³

The great historical importance of the pontificate of Gregory I. consists in the fact that he placed the Roman see in a new position and advanced it to a far higher dignity than it had previously enjoyed. The germ of the papal power, which so many circumstances combined to foster and increase, lay in the position of the Pope as a defender of the people against temporal injustice and misery. This idea is expressly recognised by Cassiodorus, the secretary of Theodoric, in a letter to Pope John: *securitas ergo plebis ad vestram respicit famam, cui divinitus est commissa custodia*.⁴ It was on the

¹ *Homiliae in Evangelia*, Lib. 1, Hom. 25 (ed. Migne, vol. ii. p. 1194).

² In a letter to Desiderius of Vienna — the true Vienna, as Mr. Freeman calls it.

³ For this account of Gregory I have been assisted by the able article of R.

Zoeppfel in Herzog and Pfliitt's *Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie*. Gass has some good remarks on Gregory's *Moralia* (a commentary on Job in 35 books), *Gesch. der christlichen Ethik*, i. 181.

⁴ *Variae*, xi. 2.

same principle that the bishops influenced the election of the *defensores civitatis* and co-operated with them. Justinian in 554 sent standards of coins, measures, and weights to the Pope and the senate, thus recognising that the activity of the bishop of Rome was not limited to affairs of religion and morals. But Gregory the Great was the first pontiff who made temporal power an object of aspiration, and took full advantage of the opportunities which were offered. Pope Pelagius (555-560) had called in the assistance of military officers against bishops who resisted his authority, but Gregory appointed civil and military officers himself. He nominated Constantius tribune of Naples when that city was hard pressed by the Lombards, and entrusted the administration of Nepi, in southern Tuscany, to Leontius, a *vir clarissimus*. He made peace on his own account with the Lombards when they were at war with the imperial representative, and asserted that his own station was higher than that of the exarch.¹ At the same time he would not tolerate interference in temporal affairs on the part of any subordinate dignitary of the Church, whether bishop or priest, and, like Pelagius, he used the arm of lay authority to suppress recalcitrant clergy.

During the seventh century, for it is convenient to anticipate here the only remarks that have to be made on the subject, no great Pope arose, no Pope of the same power as Gregory I.; yet his example was not forgotten. Honorius (625-638), the *dux plebis* as he is called in an inscription, consigned the government of Naples to the notary Gaudiosus and the master of soldiers Anatolius, and instructed them in what manner they were to govern.² We shall see that during the disputes with the monotheletic Emperors of Constantinople the soldiers at Rome always espoused the cause of the Popes against the exarchs.

¹ *Ep.* ii. 46: "eum loco et ordine praeinus."

² See L. Armbrust, *Die territoriale Politik der Päpste von 500 bis 800* (in which useful information is conveniently collected), note 5, p. 31: "idem in eodem Gaudio notario et Anatholio magistro militum Neapolitanam civi-

tatem regendam committit cum omnibus ei pertinentibus et qualiter debent regi scriptis informat. Diese Nachricht verdanken wir der Kanonsammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit der sie aus dem Registrum Honorii geschöpft hat, liii. c. 149, ed. Martinucci, p. 322."

CHAPTER VI

THE EMPIRE AND THE FRANKS

WE have become acquainted with the internal decline of the Empire from the death of Justinian to the fall of Maurice, we have followed the course of the wars with Persia and witnessed the depredations of the Avars and Slaves in the Balkan peninsula, and we have seen how the Lombards wrested half of the Italian peninsula from its Roman lords. We must now learn the little that is to be known of the relations of the Empire to the Merovingian kings of Gaul; and our evidence, although fragmentary, is quite sufficient to show not only that the Roman Empire still maintained its position as the first state in Europe, and that New Rome was regarded as the centre of civilisation, but that the Merovingians still acknowledged a sort of theoretical relation of dependence on the Emperors.

Chlotar, son of Chlodwig, survived his brothers, and was sole king of Gaul for a short time before his death. He died in 561, and his four sons, Sigibert, Chilperic, Charibert, and Gunthramn, divided Gaul into four kingdoms,¹ even as their father and uncles had divided it fifty years before after the death of Chlodwig. In 574 Sigibert, who ruled in Austrasia (formerly the kingdom of Theoderic), sent an embassy to Justin.² The two envoys, Warmar a Frank and Firminus a Gallo-Roman

¹ Chilperic was allotted the north-eastern kingdom of Soissons (the original kingdom of his father Chlotar I.); Sigibert received Austrasia (chief towns, Reims and Metz); Charibert received Neustria, the kingdom of Paris (including Aquitania); while Gunthramn ruled in Burgundia. Sigibert's kingdom

also included Provincia and some territory (especially the city of Arvern) between Aquitaine and Burgundy (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* iv. 22).

² Gregory of Tours, iv. 40. Sigibert died in 575. Charibert had died in 567 or 570.

of Auvergne, sailed to Constantinople, and were successful in obtaining from Justin what their master sought ; what this was we are not informed. In the following year they returned to Gaul.

Some years later, probably at the end of 578 after the death of Justin, Chilperic sent ambassadors to New Rome. The object of this embassy was, I conjecture, to congratulate the new Emperor Tiberius on his accession. The ambassadors did not return to the court of Chilperic until the year 581 ; the delay seems to have been partly due to a shipwreck which they suffered near Agatha, on the coast of Spain. They brought back gold coins, each weighing no less than a pound, sent by the munificent Tiberius as a present to Chilperic. On the obverse was an image of the Emperor with the legend, round the edge, TIBERII CONSTANTINI PERPETVI AVGVSTI, while on the reverse were represented a chariot and charioteer, with GLORIA ROMANORVM. These coins and many other ornaments, which the envoys had brought, were shown by Chilperic to the historian Gregory of Tours.¹

It is remarkable that, while Chilperic and Sigibert thus maintained friendly relations with the Empire, we never hear of Gunthramn sending embassies to Constantinople. Now, the interests of Gunthramn and the interests of the lords of Austrasia collided. When Sigibert died, his son Childebert was a mere child, and his widow Brunhilda carried on the government. Brunhilda was a Visigothic princess, and had received a Roman education ; she had, therefore, a leaning towards the Roman Empire, and maintained a friendly intercourse both with New Rome and with Old Rome. Gunthramn was not on good terms with his sister-in-law ; presuming on the youth of his nephew and the rule of a woman, he had seized cities which had belonged to Sigibert, and was determined to retain them.

This then is the situation at the accession of Maurice. Brunhilda, the queen of Austrasia, is friendly to the Empire and at enmity with Gunthramn, the king of Burgundia, who maintains apparently no relations with the Empire. It is plain that it would be advantageous for Maurice to have a friend or a vassal in the south of Gaul instead of Gunthramn, and that such a change would also please Brunhilda. Accord-

¹ Gregory of Tours, vi. 2. The ambassadors returned in 581, and had been sent *ante triennium ad Tiberium imperatorem*.

ingly, we are not surprised to find that both Maurice and Brunhilda support the enterprise of a pretender to wrest Burgundy from Gunthramn.

This pretender was named Gundovald, and he fancied himself, whether truly or not, to be the son of Chlotar I. He had been born in Gaul, carefully nurtured, and received a liberal education¹; his hair fell in tresses down his back, as it was worn by sons of kings; and he was presented by his mother to Childebert as the son of Chlotar, and therefore Childebert's nephew; "His father hates him," she said, "so do you take him, because he is your flesh." Then Chlotar sent a message to his brother demanding the boy, and Childebert did not refuse to send him. Gundovald's hair was shorn by the order of his reputed father, who repudiated the relationship. From this time until the death of Chlotar he supported himself by painting the walls and domes of sacred buildings.² After the death of Chlotar he found a refuge with Charibert, whom he regarded as his brother. His hair grew long again, but, probably after Charibert's death, Sigibert summoned him to his court, and having caused him to be tonsured,³ sent him to Köln. Gundovald fled from Köln to Italy, where he was received by the exarch Narses,⁴ and married a wife, by whom he had two sons. From Italy he proceeded to Constantinople, where the Emperors Justin and Tiberius accorded him a kind welcome,⁵ and he abode there for several years, treated as a royal refugee.

Gunthramn Boso, a general of Gunthramn, king of Burgundy, arrived at Constantinople and informed Gundovald of the situation in Gaul. The only representatives of the house of Chlodwig were the childless Gunthramn, the child Childebert, and Chilperic, whose family was dying out. It seemed an excellent opportunity for Gundovald to claim a share in the heritage of his father Chlotar, and Boso invited him to return

¹ Gregory of Tours, vi. 24.

² *Ib.* vii. 36: *Tunc es pictur ille, qui tempore Chlotarii regis per oratoria parietes adque cameras carazabas?* *Carazare* = *χαράσσω* here means to paint, in which sense it is used in ix. 5; but in viii. 29 it is used in the sense *cavare*. Gundovald went in Gaul by the nickname Ballomer, *see* vii. 14, 36, 38.

³ I apologise for this barbarous but useful verb.

⁴ *Ib.* vi. 24 and vii. 36 (*Narsiti prae-fecto Italiae*).

⁵ *Ib.* vii. 36, *ab imperatoribus susceptus benignissime*,—I presume Justin and Tiberius. The dates of these events are uncertain, and it is possible that Gundovald may not have reached Byzantium until after Justin's death, and that *ab imperatoribus* may refer to the kind reception of Tiberius and subsequent favour shown by Maurice.

to Gaul: "Come," he said, "for all the chief men of the kingdom of King Childebert invite you, and no one has dared to breathe a word against you. For we know that you are the son of Chlotar, and there is left in Gaul none able to rule his kingdom, unless you come." Having assured himself of the good faith of Boso by exacting oaths from him in twelve different sanctuaries,¹ and having bestowed gifts upon him, Gundovald set sail for Massilia, where he was received by the bishop Theodorus.² Massilia nominally belonged to both Burgundy and Austrasia, but at this time Gunthramn's power was preponderant there. The sympathies of the bishop, however, were with Brunhilda and Childebert, and he therefore welcomed Gundovald, whom they had invited.

Although no Roman ships or Roman soldiers had accompanied Gundovald from Constantinople to support him in his attempt to establish himself on a throne in Gaul, yet there is no doubt that Maurice looked with favour on his enterprise, and assisted him with ample sums of money. He arrived at Massilia with large treasures,³ of which the perfidious Boso robbed him. Gunthramn of Burgundy considered the arrival of Boso due to a definite scheme on the part of the Roman Emperor to reduce the kingdom of the Franks under the imperial sway⁴; and he arrested bishop Theodorus on the charge

¹ Gregory of Tours, vii. 36.

² *Ib.* and vi. 24.

³ *Ib.* vii. 36, *thesauros meos abstulit*; vii. 24, "*Guntchramnus vero dux cum duce Guntchramni regis res Gundovaldi divisit et secum Arverno detulit inmensum ut ferunt argenti pondus et auri vel reliquiarum rerum.*"

⁴ *Ib.* vi. 24: *reptans eum, cur hominem extraneum intromississet in Gallicis, voluisset Francorum regnum imperialibus per haec subdere ditionibus.* See M. Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque*, pp. 187, 188. In proof of the connection of Maurice with the expedition of Gundovald, M. Gasquet cites a passage in viii. 2, where Palladius, bishop of Saintes, charged with having taken part in the consecration of the bishop of Dax by the orders of Gundovald, replied, *Non potui aliud facere nisi quae ille qui omnem principum Galliarum se testabatur accipere imperabat*; which M. Gasquet ingeniously and probably explains of a com-

mission given by Maurice to Gundovald. M. Gasquet also discusses the numerous coins of Maurice which have been found in the cities of the Rhone. It was usual to coin money with the image of the Emperor in Gaul under the Merovingians, but it is remarkable that while no coins of Tiberius have been found, only one of Justin, only one of Heraclius, and three of Phocas, we should have more than thirty of Maurice (from Marseilles, Arles, Vienne, Viviers, Valence, Uzès). M. Gasquet thinks that these were coined by Gundovald; his Austrasian allies allowed him to have them struck in their mints at Viviers and Uzès, while at the other towns he compelled the officials of Gunthramn's mints to work for him (p. 191). The abundance of these coins M. Gasquet explains by Gundovald's finding it necessary to coin immediately some of the nuggets which he had brought from Constantinople.

that he co-operated in this scheme by receiving the "stranger" Gundovald.

From Marseilles Gundovald proceeded to Avignon, where he was received by the Patrician Mummolus, who embraced his cause. But Boso, having betrayed the man whom he had invited to Gaul, and robbed him of his treasures, returned to his loyalty to Gunthramn, and led an army against Mummolus. The Burgundians, however, were vanquished, and Gundovald, who had withdrawn to an island on the sea-coast, returned to the city of Avignon. Two important dukes, Desiderius and Bladastes, embraced the pretender's cause; and after Chilperic's death, in 584, the arms of Gundovald and his supporters won many important towns in south-western Gaul, including Tolosa and Burdigala. But his success depended ultimately upon the support of Austrasia, and when Childebert made peace with Gunthramn the cause of Gundovald was lost. He was deserted by his adherents, and delivered by Mummolus into the hands of Gunthramn's army. Boso killed him by hurling a stone at his head, and his corpse was treated with contumely by the soldiers.¹ Such was the end of the pretender Gundovald, who seems to have been commissioned by the Emperor Maurice to wrest southern Gaul from Gunthramn in somewhat the same way as the great Theodoric was commissioned by Zeno to wrest Italy from Odovacar.

The peace between Gunthramn and Childebert did not interfere with the relations between the court of Metz and the court of Byzantium. Maurice sought the help of the Austrasian forces against the Lombards of Italy, and for that purpose sent fifty thousand solidi to Childebert or Brunhilda.² He also adopted Childebert as a son, even as Justinian had adopted Theudebert. Childebert crossed the Alps with a large army, but the Lombards hastened to submit themselves before he had time to strike a blow, and induced him with gifts and promises of loyalty to return to his kingdom. When Maurice heard that he had made peace with the Lombards he sent

¹ At Convenae (Comminges), where he was besieged. Count Ollo of Bourges called out, "Behold your Ballomer, who says he is the brother and the son of a king" (Greg. Tur. vii. 38). The sons of Gundovald were in Spain, cf. ix. 28.

² *Ib.* vi. 42: *Ab imperatore autem Mauricio ante hos annos quinquaginta milia solidorum acceperat, ut Langobardus de Italia extruderit.* As *ante hos annos* means before 584, Maurice's communication with Childebert must have been very soon after his accession.

ambassadors to demand back the money from Childebert, who had not fulfilled his part of the bargain; but Childebert, confiding in his strength, did not even deign to reply.¹

No less than four times did the king of Austrasia, urged by the importunities of his "father" the Emperor Maurice, set forth against the lords of northern Italy, but each time he accomplished nothing. In the year 586, two years after his first expedition, the incessant demands of the imperial envoys² that he should either perform his promise or repay the money, induced him to lead an army against Italy; but dissensions among the generals compelled him to return, probably before he had reached the Alps, and he made peace with Autharis, king of the Lombards, to whom he also promised his sister Chlotsuinda in marriage. But in 588 he promised the same lady to Reccared, king of the Goths, who had been converted recently to the Catholic faith, and determined once more to cross the Alps and co-operate with the exarch of Ravenna in driving the Lombards from Italy.³ This time the Lombards and Franks met in battle, and the forces of Childebert suffered a terrible defeat.⁴

The letter of Maurice, in which he reproaches Childebert for his half-heartedness after this failure, is preserved,⁵ and Childebert again crossed the Alps in 590 with an army commanded by no fewer than twenty dukes.⁶ The fourth expedition was little more successful than the other three. The Romans failed to co-operate with the Franks; the Lombards diligently avoided hazarding a battle; and ultimately disease broke out in the army of Childebert, and compelled him to return to Transalpine Gaul.

But the question of warring together against the Lombards was not the only cause of the embassies which passed between the courts of New Rome and Austrasia. Childebert had a sister, Ingundis, who married Hermenigild, son of Leovigild, king of the Visigoths. Ingundis and her husband were adherents of the Catholic faith, and they both endured persecu-

¹ Gregory of Tours, "nec responsum quidem pro hac re voluit reddere."

² *Ib.* viii. 18: "compellentibus missis imperialibus, qui aurum quod anno superiore datum fuerat requirebat." See Johannes Biclarensis, *Chron.* 586 A.D.

³ *Greg.* ix. 25: *cum ejus consilio eos*

ab Italia removerit.

⁴ *Ib.* *tantaque ibi fuit stragis de Francorum exercitu ut olim simile non recolatur.*

⁵ Bouquet, *Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, iv. p. 86 (lxiii.)

⁶ Gregory, x. 3.

tion at the hands of the Arian king. It was in vain that they placed themselves under the protection of the "Republic" in southern Spain; Leovigild captured Hermenigild and threw him into prison.¹ Ingundis, with her infant son Athanagild, resolved to seek at New Rome² the protection which the Republic could not afford her at Seville (Hispalis). She died on her journey, but Athanagild reached Byzantium and was reared as a Roman by the care of Maurice. What ultimately became of this Visigothic prince is not known, but in the year 590 we find his grandmother Brunhilda, herself originally a Visigothic princess, and his uncle Childebert begging Maurice to send the boy to Gaul. Maurice probably regarded him as a useful hostage for the loyalty of the Austrasian king; but though we have the letters of Brunhilda and Childebert concerning the restitution of Athanagild, the reply of Maurice has not been preserved. Childebert left no stone unturned to induce Maurice to comply with his wish. He wrote not only to Maurice himself, but to all the persons at Constantinople who possessed influence at court, including Paul the Emperor's father,³ Theodore the master of offices, John the quaestor, Magnus the curator (of the palace), Italica a patrician lady, Venantius a patrician. Moreover, Brunhilda wrote both to Maurice and to the Empress Anastasia.⁴ We have also the letters of Brunhilda and Childebert to Athanagild. All these epistles were carried to New Rome by ambassadors, of whom the spatharius Gripo seems to have been the chief,⁵ and the tone of this correspondence illustrates the lofty position which the Roman Emperor held in the eyes of the western nations. The majesty of the Emperor was still considered something far higher than all German royalties. Childebert's letter to Maurice begins thus: "The King Childebert to the glorious pious perpetual renowned triumphant Lord, ever Augustus, my father Maurice, Emperor."⁶ The Emperor, on

¹ See vol. i. Bk. iv. pt. i. cap. vii. *ad fin.*

² So Gregory of Tours, viii. 28, *ad ipsum principem*. He also states that Ingundis died in Africa. The notice of Paul the Deacon (*Hist. Lang.* iii. 21) is discordant. According to Paul, she was on her way to Gaul and on the Spanish march fell in with soldiers,

who took her to Sicily, where she died.

³ Bouquet, iv. p. 83 *sqq.*

⁴ *Ib.* p. 83, liii.

⁵ See Gregory of Tours, x. 2, but the names of the ambassadors in Gregory and those mentioned in Childebert's letter are different, except that of Gripo.

⁶ Bouquet, p. 82, xlix.

the other hand, adopts the following form of address, which may be given in the original Latin ¹:—

“In nomine Domini nostri Dei Jesu Christi Imperator Caesar Flavius Mauricius Tiberius fidelis in Christo mansuetus maximus beneficus pacificus Alamannicus Gothicus Anticus Alanicus Wandalicus Herulicus Gypedicus [Gepaedicus] Africus pius felix inclytus victor ac triumphator semper Augustus Childeberto viro glorioso regi Francorum.”

Like Justin II, Maurice adopts all the pompous titles of his great predecessor Justinian; they were part of the inheritance. He is fully conscious that he is the greatest sovereign in Europe, or even in the world, and the kings of the West acknowledge that they owe him homage and deference as Roman Emperor. In the economy of the Empire the king of the Franks is only a *vir gloriosus*.

¹ Bouquet, p. 88, lxxv.

CHAPTER VII

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMANOI IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

It will not be inappropriate to give some account of the Greek language as it was spoken by the Romans of the fifth and sixth centuries and written by their historians. It is to be observed that in the year 400, when Gaul and Spain were still Roman, the Greek-speaking people in the Empire were in a minority, and the official language of the Empire was still purely Latin. In the year 500, when not only Gaul and Spain, but Africa and even Italy (practically if not theoretically) had been lost, the Empire was a realm of Hellenic speech with the exception of Illyricum, and though Latin was still the official language, the Emperors often issued their constitutions in Greek. When Africa, Italy, and the western islands were recovered, the Latin element was once more considerable, but not so considerable as the Greek. Justinian, although Latin was his native tongue, as he often states with a certain pride, issued most of his constitutions, which were to have effect in the Greek-speaking part of the Empire, in the Greek language. An official of the civil service in the sixth century complains that a knowledge of Latin is no longer as valuable as it used to be, inasmuch as it is being superseded by Greek in official documents. By the end of the sixth century Latin had ceased to be the imperial tongue.

This disuse of Latin had a considerable effect on the vocabulary of the Greek language. Official or technical Latin terms, for which there were no equivalents ready to hand, had already made their way into Greek speech, but no one would have ventured to use them in writing without an apology. But

once they were regularly employed in the imperial constitutions, they became as it were accredited; they began to lose their foreign savour, and were no longer looked on as strangers; prose-writers no longer scrupled to use them.

But we must carefully distinguish between three kinds of Greek. There was (1) the vulgar spoken language, from which modern Greek is derived. Its idiom varied in different places; the Greek spoken in Antioch, for example, differed to some extent from that spoken in Byzantium or that spoken in Alexandria. Antiochian Greek may have been influenced by Syriac, as Syriac was certainly influenced by Greek. There was (2) the spoken language of the educated, which, under the influence of the vulgar tongue, tended to degenerate. There was (3) the conventional written language, which endeavoured to preserve the traditions of Hellenistic prose from the changes which affected the oral "common dialect." We may take these three kinds of Greek in order.

(1) Of the vulgar dialect, such as it was spoken at Byzantium in the sixth century, a specimen has been preserved in the dialogue which took place in the hippodrome between the Emperor and the green faction shortly before the revolt of Nika.¹ From this and from stray words which are preserved by historians or inscriptions, we see that it is already far on its way to becoming what is called Romaic; in fact it was already called Romaic. A sixth-century inscription in Nubia proves that the word *νηρόν* was then used for "water," whence comes the modern Greek *νερό*. A mule is *βορδώνης* instead of *ήμίονος*, and *σγαυδάριν* or *γαυδάριν* is apparently used for an ass. A standard is *βάνδον*, an iron-headed club is *δίστριν*, baggage is *τούλδον*, and *σκούλκα* is used for a guard or watch. Besides the strange vocabulary, derived partly from Latin and partly from local Greek words, changes are taking place in the grammar and syntax. Terminations in *-ιον*, for example, are becoming corrupted to *-ιν*: the perfect tense and many prepositions and particles are falling into disuse.

¹ Another specimen is found in Theophanes, 6093 A.M. The Greens and Blues arrayed a man resembling Maurice in a black cloak (*σαγίον μαύρον*), and having crowned him with a crown of onions (*ἀπὸ σκόρδων*), set him on an ass and mocked him thus: *εὗρηκε τὴν*

δαμαλίδα ἀπαλὴν καὶ ὡς τὸ καινὸν ἀλεκτόριον ταύτη πεπηδῆκεν καὶ ἐποίησε παιδίᾳ ὡς τὰ ξυλοκούκουδα· καὶ οὐδεὶς τοῦμα λαλῆσαι ἀλλ' ὀλοὺς ἐφίμωσεν· ἀγίέ μου, ἀγίε φοβερὲ καὶ δυνατέ, δὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ κρανίου, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρεται· κἀγὼ σοὶ τὸν βοῦν τὸν μέγαν προσαγάγω εἰς εὐχὴν.

(2) That the language of educated people was different from that of the vulgar, and approximated to the written language, is proved by a passage in Menander.¹ It was, nevertheless, subject to the same tendencies, as is fully demonstrated by the fact that these very tendencies soon affected written prose and changed Hellenistic into Byzantine literature. Graecised Latin words must have been used even more by the higher classes than by the lower; a superelegant writer at the beginning of the seventh century employs *φамиλία* (*familia*) without a line of apology. These Latinisms were chiefly adopted in matters appertaining to Roman law, to the imperial administration, or to warfare. There were also many new colloquial usages of old words, which the purism of Procopius or Agathias would not have countenanced. The adjective *ώραίος*, for instance, meant nothing more than "fair" or "pretty"; *πονῶ* meant "I am ill," and *κινδυνεύω* was used in the special sense of being sick unto death; *κινῆσαι* had the intransitive signification of breaking up or moving on; *ἐθεραπεύθην* meant "I was pleased."² It was some time, doubtless, before unsightly forms like *ἔβαλα* were adopted from the mouths of the common people, but the perfect and pluperfect tenses were soon relegated to the speech of the pedant and the prose of the man of letters; the old variety of particles and prepositions was replaced by a baldness and monotony of expression which correspond to the more simple constructions that came into use; *ἐάν* was used with the indicative mood.

(3) It has been already pointed out that the Greek historians of the fifth and sixth centuries wrote in a traditional prose style, handed down by an unbroken series of Hellenistic writers from Polybius, and, although it underwent some modifications, differing less from the style of Polybius than the style of Polybius differs from the style of Xenophon. Olympiodorus seems to have been the only writer who ventured to introduce words and phrases from the spoken language, and thus his writings may be considered, in point of style, a mild anticipation of the chronicles of Malalas and Theophanes.

¹ Menander, fr. 12 (*F. H. G.* iv. p. 217); he professes to have given the words of the Roman ambassador as they were spoken, not translated *ἐς τὸ Ἀττικώτερον*.

² See the monograph of G. Sotiriadis on *Johannes von Antiochia*, in which the use of phrases like this is applied as a criterion to test the genuine fragments of Johannes.

Procopius and Agathias and Menander could not, indeed, avoid the necessity of sometimes introducing technical or official Latin words which had become current in spoken Greek, but they always considered themselves bound to add an apologetic "so-called" or "to use the Latin expression."¹ As a rule, however, they employ periphrases, and avoid the use of such titles as praetorian prefect, magister militum, or comes largitionum. Even the word "indiction" is considered undignified, and rendered by such a circumlocution as "the fifteen-year circuit." It would be interesting, if we had more data, to trace the reciprocal influences exerted on each other by the spoken language of the higher classes and the conventional prose.

This conventional prose never ceased to be written until the fifteenth century. Laconicus Chalcocondyles and George Phrantzes are, as far as their Greek is concerned, lineal descendants of Polybius. There was indeed a break from the middle of the seventh century to the end of the eighth, from Theophylactus to Nicephorus the Patriarch, but even during this period of historiographical inactivity the conventional Greek was employed by theological writers.²

It is natural that in the sixth century, when the Roman Empire was losing its Latin appearance and assuming a Greek complexion in language, and in other respects too, the word "Roman" should have become elastic and ambiguous. In Greek writers *Ῥωμαῖοι* generally means all the subjects of the Empire; but it is also used of the inhabitants of Old Rome; and it is even used of the ancient Romans as opposed to the "modern" Romans of the Empire. All these usages will be found in Procopius. Again, the expression "Romaic language" may signify one of two things. It sometimes means Latin and sometimes it means Greek. In the former case it

¹ For example, *ῥαιφερενδάριον τῇ λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι* (Procopius, i. 256, ed. Bonn). Heaps of examples may be found in turning over the pages of Procopius. He uses, however, a few words, for example *πατρικίος*, without deeming it necessary to explain. Olympiodorus had used *δισιγνῶτος* and *ῥήξ* without ceremony.

² E.g. John of Damascus. See Mr. Freeman's very interesting article in

the *Hellenic Journal* (vol. iii.), "On some Points in the later History of the Greek Language." He has not, I think, sufficiently realised that the conventional prose style continued to be written by people like Theodore Studita, Ignatius, etc., during the period between Menander and Leo Diaconus. The chief inaugurator of the Renaissance of Hellenism in the eleventh century was Michael Psellus, the stylistic father of Anna Comnena and Zonaras.

is opposed to Greek, whether spoken or written; in the latter case it is spoken Greek opposed to written Greek. Written Greek is called the "language of the Hellenes"; and, as applied to language, the word "Hellenic" has escaped the opprobrious religious meaning which had become attached to the name "Hellên." Procopius for the most part speaks of "Latin" and not of "Romaic"; the latter term was fast becoming fixed in its application to the language which was spoken at New Rome. It should be noticed that Romaic never came to be synonymous with Hellenic; writers could never lose the consciousness of the vast gulf which separated the conventional language of written prose, which they often fondly imagined to be Attic, from the language of daily life. By the end of the sixth century Romaic has become equivalent to the language of the *Romaioi*; it is no longer used for the language of the *Romani*. This is apparent from its use in Theophylactus Simocatta. We are often startled in the pages of this writer by meeting the word *Λατίνοι*, and reading that the Latins were carrying on operations in Mesopotamia or Thrace. The affected historian uses the word as synonymous with *Ῥωμαῖοι*. The Latin name had once meant the *populus Romanus*; in Theophylactus it meant the *λαὸς Ῥωμαϊκός*.¹ Virgil or Livy might have spoken of Latins warring on the Euphrates or the Danube; at a much later time we are accustomed to speak of the Latins at Constantinople or in Palestine; but it is strange to find the "Latins" commanded by Priscus and Philippicus—names indeed that suggest Old Rome—at the end of the sixth century. But if Theophylactus uses *Latin* in a forced sense as the equivalent of Romaic, he uses *Romaic* in its natural sense and not as an equivalent of Latin. And when a word which he calls Romaic happens to be of Latin origin, he does not desire to convey that fact to the reader, but only to indicate that it is a word of the vulgar language, which cannot be introduced into prose by a dignified writer without an apologetic explanation.²

¹ I use *λαὸς*, not *δῆμος*: because *λαὸς* is the Romaic word which was used of the army, and when Theophylactus speaks of *Latins* he always refers to the soldiers.

² For example, *τοῦλδον*, baggage, the old French *loudis*, is thus explained:

ἀποσκευὴ ἣν σύνθητες Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ τοῦλδον ἀποκαλεῖν (ii. 4, 1); we read of the *διαφρονρά*, ἣν σκούλκαν *σύνθητες τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀποκαλεῖν* (vi. 9, 14); so *βάνδον* (*bandum*, a standard), iii. 4, 4. When Procopius spoke of the standard which Romaioi

It is interesting to observe how, while Greek words were told off to serve as the equivalents for Latin words connoting purely Roman things or relations, in other cases the Latin words were naturalised and assumed a Greek garb. Thus at a very early stage of the relations between Rome and Greece *ὑπάτος* became the technical word for consul, and *ἀνθύπατος* for proconsul. *ἐπαρχος* was adopted to express prefect, and *ἐπαρχία* was used in the double meaning of province or prefecture; *praeses* was officially rendered by *ἡγεμών*. On the other hand, *comes* was introduced as *κόμης*, and declined as a Greek noun (gen. *κόμητος*); the *comes sacrarum largitionum* was called at Constantinople *ὁ κόμης τῶν σακρῶν*

call *βάνδον* (vol. i. p. 415, ed. Bonn) he probably meant to say that *bandum* was a Latin word; but Theophylactus, when he says the same thing, means that it was a Romaic word, a word of the spoken language, perhaps of non-Hellenic derivation. Similar explanations are given by Theophylactus in similar formulae of *διστριον* "an iron club," *σκριβων* "a scribe." We read of Musokios "the *rex*, as he is called in the language of the barbarians"; Theophylactus did not even know that *rex* was a Latin word (vi. 9, 1, *τὸν λεγόμενον ῥήγα τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ*); we also hear of *τὸν λεγόμενον κόστον* (*costum*, spikenard, vii. 13, 6). He does not, however, scruple to use *πραίτωρ* (i. 4, 6), *φαμίλια* (vi. 5, 15); the use of *καβαλάριος* in the letter of Chosroes is not remarkable, as it was the composition of Chosroes (who wrote it *Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν*), not of the historian. The only place where he talks of the *Latin tongue* is i. 3, 7, when he is explaining *σκριβων* *ὡς σκριβῶνα τῇ Λατινίδι φωνῇ Ῥωμαῖοι κατονομάζουσιν*, but I question whether *Λατινίδι* means more than *Ῥωμαικῇ*: for Theophylactus was evidently ignorant of Latin, and in viii. 5, 10 he speaks of *ὃν σκριβῶνα εἰσθε τὰ πλῆθῃ ἀποκαλεῖν*. This is the key to his use of the expression "Romaic language"; it is the language of *τὰ πλῆθῃ*, to whom he applies the name *Λατίνοι* as well as *Ῥωμαῖοι*: cf. ii. 2, 5, *οὓς Σαρακηνοὺς εἰσαστο Λατίνοι ἀποκαλεῖν*.

If any further proofs are needed of what Theophylactus meant by Romaic, it may be noticed that when Priscus addressed the army (*τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις*) in their native tongue (vi. 7, 9), he spoke

in Romaic, not in Latin; and when we read of him as *τὰ Θεμιστοκλέους Ῥωμαϊκῶς ἀντικείμενον*, the phrase seems to mean that he avoided colloquial expressions and grammar,—he made a dignified speech.

In Maurice's *Strategic* (*Στρατηγικόν*, often wrongly called *Tactics*; see above, Bk. iv. pt. i. cap. xii. p. 18) we meet with an immense number of Latin military terms slightly altered to suit the Greek language, or not altered at all. For example, *άκται*, *acies* (i. cap. 5); *δηποτάτοι* (who follow the army and remove the wounded), *ἀντικένσωρες* (precede in marches, select routes, etc.), *μίνσωρες* (*mensores*), *καντάρω*, etc. (i. 3); *ὀπισθοτελλῶν*, *ἀντελλῶν* (i. 2), etc. *ῥόγα*=pay, occurs in Maurice (i. 2, *χρυσικῆς ῥόγας*), and he tells us that *τοῦλδον* (see above) includes slaves. Latin was still used in words of command (iii. caps. 2 and 4), such as *largiter ambula*, *ad latus stringe*, *silentium*, *move!* *sta!* *cede!* *transmuta!* also *torna!* and the curious *mina!* to which *ἐλα* corresponds in the treatise on tactics of Leo VI (cf. Festus, *Agasones, equos agentes, id est minantes*).

Maurice expressly says in his preface (which he begins by asking the blessing of the Holy Trinity) that he has no concern for *κόμπος ῥημάτων*.

[*σκοῦλκα* "a watch" (*σκουλκάτωρ* "a spy") is Latin (= *ex-culca*); we can trace the original in Walachian *a se culca* and Italian *coricarsi* "to lie down" (perhaps from *collocare se*). It is perhaps worth conjecturing that *τοῦλδον* came from **tullum*, a possible part of *tollo, tuli*, in the sense *portatum*.]

λαργιτιώνων: and as for the *comes rerum privatarum* he received the name *κόμης τῶν πριβάτων*. *Dux* became *δούξ*, and a secretary was called by a word of curious aspect, *ἀσηκρήτις*, which is merely the familiar *a secretis*. The *magister officiorum* is *ὁ μάγιστρος τῶν ὀφφικίων*: but *στρατηγός* is commonly used for *magister militum*.¹ *Castrum*, *castellum*, *velum*, *familia*, *folles* had become thoroughly naturalised words in the "Romaic" vocabulary of the sixth century, *κάστρον*, *κάστελλον*, *βήλον*, *φάμιλία*, *φόλλις*: *μάππα* (*mappa*) as a technical word in the hippodrome, *ἰνδικτιών* (*indictio*) for the official chronological reckoning, *σκριβων* for scribe, *φόρον* for *forum*, were equally familiar. The Latin words *tu vincas!* (*τοῦ βίγκας*) were an exclamation equivalent to "God save the king!" in Constantinople. These are a few examples taken at random to illustrate how Latin words made their way into the Greek tongue.

The treatment of Latin verbs in *-ari* (*-ari*) deserves to be specially noticed. They were adopted with the Greek termination *-εύω*: thus *praedari* appears as *πραιδεύω*, *ordinare* as *ὀρδινεύω*, *applicare* as *ἀπλικεύω*.² This reminds us of the German termination *-iren*, by which French and Latin verbs are Germanised (*imponiren*, *frisiren*, etc.); in fact, Latin *dirigere* produces in German *dirigiren*, just as it produced in Romaic *δηριγεύω*.

The Greek adjective *Ῥωμαῖος* was never replaced by the Latin adjective *Romanus*; in fact, in later times *Ῥωμανός* was used in a special sense to denote the Romans who lived on the coasts of Dalmatia and maintained their independence against the Slaves. The Greek *βασιλεὺς* was adopted as the equivalent of *Imperator*, and became confined to this sense, at all events after the overthrow of the Persian monarchy in the seventh century; and the Latin *rex* (*ρήξ*) was the word applied to barbarian monarchs. But *αὐτοκράτωρ* was also used as an official title of the Emperor; while the Persian king and other foreign powers generally called him "Caesar." At the foundation of the Empire the appellation Augustus was rendered in

¹ *στρατηγός*, also translated *praetor*. When Justinian set a praetor over reconquered Sicily, his Greek name was *στρατηγός*.

² The aspirate seems to have come

from some connection with *ἄπλους*, but it must have soon fallen off, as there are no (pronounced) aspirates in modern Greek. *ὀρδινεύω* occurs in Maurice's *Strategic*, i. cap. 5.

Greek by Σεβαστός, but in later times Αὔγουστος appears to have become the current term; Justinian uses Αὔγουστος ἀεισέβαστος in official documents. The Empress was always called Αὔγουστα.

The fates of the words Hellene ("Ελλην) and barbarian (βάρβαρος) are extremely curious. Originally they were conjugate terms; the world was divided into Hellenes and barbarians. The course of history, the diffusion of Christianity, and the influence of the Roman Empire brought it about that each became the conjugate of something quite different. "Ελλην came to mean a non-christian or a pagan, and thus was opposed to Χριστιανός: while βάρβαρος came to be opposed to 'Ρωμαῖος. It will be remembered that in the plays of Plautus, taken from Greek originals, a Roman was spoken of as a barbarian. It may be noticed, as a curious freak of usage, that the Latin word for pagan, *paganus*, made its way into the Greek language, but in a different sense; παγανικός was used of secular as opposed to sacred or holyday things, and especially of everyday as opposed to festal apparel.¹

When "Ελλην received its new theological meaning, what word, it may be asked, was used to denote the Greeks as opposed to the Latins? The answer seems to be that the need of such a word was not much felt, and whenever occasion demanded there was the word Γραικος (*Graecus*) to fall back on. But all the Greeks were 'Ρωμαῖοι, they formed no nation; and no subject of the Empire belonged to a class called "Greek"; he belonged to such and such a province, or to such and such a city.

After Justinian the Roman Emperors ceased to speak either in private or in public life the tongue that was spoken at Old Rome. The official language had already become practically Greek; we can trace this tendency in the Code of Theodosius, where we find no vestige of the purism of Claudius, who would not admit a Greek word in an edict; but in the Code of Justinian it is no longer a mere tendency. Yet this official Greek is full of Latinisms, and until the last day of the Roman or Romaic Empire memories of its origin from Latin Rome survived in its language.

¹ It often occurs in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *de Cærimoniis*. Maurice (*Strategic*, i. cap. 6) uses παγανός in the sense of *civilian*. He uses

the Greek *συντελεστής* in much the same sense—a rustic or colon, opposed to στρατιώτης. *συντελεσταί* is used in laws for landed proprietors (*χωρῶν κύριοι*).

CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

WHEN the gods of Greece were hurled from heaven by the God of Christianity, Athens was left for two hundred years as a "hill retired" on which their votaries could stand apart "in high thoughts elevate," reasoning of Providence and fate. But this inner circle could not resist for ever the atmosphere that encompassed it; this quietistic negation of the prevailing spirit could not last. And so, when Justinian in 529 A.D. commanded that the schools of Athens should be closed, we can hardly suppose that he anticipated by many years their natural death.

Proclus must be looked on as the last link in the chain of Greek philosophy; he was the last philosophical genius, the last originator of a system. But the seven professors who were ranged round the deathbed of philosophy, and who, despairing of pursuing their studies conveniently within the Empire, betook themselves to Persia, have won a place in the recollection of posterity by their curious and somewhat pathetic experiences. All seven were Asiatics, and had a high reputation; the most celebrated were Simplicius of Cilicia and Damascius of Syria, a Neoplatonist.¹ Exaggerated rumours had represented to them Chosroes as a sort of royal philosopher, if not the ideal of Plato, yet equal at least to Julian or Marcus Aurelius, and they formed golden dreams of living in an enlightened kingdom, a place like heaven, in which thieves do

¹ Agath. ii. 30 : οὗτοι δὲ οὖν ἅπαντες τὸ ἄκρον ἔωσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ φιλοσοφησάντων. The

other philosophers were Isidorus of Gaza, Eulampius of Phrygia, Priscian of Lydia, Hermias, and Diogenes of Phoenicia.

not break through and steal.¹ They were disappointed. Among the subjects of Chosroes they found human nature as near the ground as in the lands which they had left, and on the throne they found a man who affected higher culture, but was really ignorant.² Disillusionised, they returned to the Roman Empire; it was more tolerable to them to be put to death among Roman christians than to be lords among the Persian fire-worshippers.³ Chosroes, however, rendered them a service. In the peace of 532 A.D. he bargained with Justinian for the personal safety of the seven philosophers, whom he could not persuade to remain at his court.

A thinker who deserves the name of a philosopher, although he wrote professedly in the interests of christian theology, was Johannes Philoponus, who lived in the sixth century and was a contemporary of Simplicius.⁴ In his early years he wrote a book against Aristotle's doctrine that the world is eternal, to which attack Simplicius wrote a reply. He also composed a work, still extant, on the eternity of the world, arguing against the demonstrations of Proclus. The noteworthy point is that he met the pagan theories on their own ground, and attempted to construct the world from the indications of reason alone, without help from revelation. His position was that reason of itself leads to the doctrines of Christianity. In another direction, however, he propagated nominalistic opinions which endangered a cardinal dogma of the Church. His logical theories may be considered as a sort of link between the nominalism of Antisthenes the Cynic and the nominalism of the medieval school of Roscelin; and he consistently applied his logic to the Trinity in a way that threatened the divine unity. He may be looked upon as a forerunner of the christian philosophers of the Middle Ages, such as Michael Psellus in the East and the schoolmen in the West. He introduced the application of Aristotelianism to Christianity.

The *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian monk who visited the East at the beginning of

¹ καὶ οὕτε φῶρες χρημάτων οὕτε ἀργαγέες ἀναφύονται.

² Chosroes was afterwards the dupe of an ignorant impostor, Uranius (554 A.D.), who pretended to be a philosopher.

³ One thing to which the philosophers especially objected, according to Agathias (ii. 31), was τῇ τῶν μίξεων κακοδαμονίᾳ.

⁴ His date is often wrongly placed in the seventh century.

Justinian's reign, is interesting not only for the light which it throws on the state of southern Asia, but also for its cosmological speculations. The problem was to explain the position of the earth in the universe and determine its shape, so as not to conflict with foregone theological suppositions. The rising and setting of the sun were of course the chief difficulties. The notion of Lactantius, Augustine, and Chrysostom touching the Antipodes was that it was a place where the grass grew downwards and the rain fell up. Cosmas looked on the earth as a flat parallelogram whose length from east to west was twice as great as its breadth from north to south. This parallelogram, according to his view, is enclosed by walls on which the firmament rests, and the sun and the moon and the stars move underneath this firmament. In the northern part of the earth there is a very high mountain, round which the sun and other heavenly bodies move; this explains day and night, as the mountain conceals the sun and stars from view when they are on the other side.¹ In the same plane as the earth, but beyond its confines, lies the place where man dwelled before the Deluge.²

The difference in spirit between the fifth century and the sixth is perhaps most evident in the sphere of history.³ As a rule, the historians of the fifth century are either pronounced christians or pronounced pagans; as a rule the historians of the sixth century are neither pronounced christians nor pronounced pagans. Procopius and Agathias, nominally Christians, allow christian conceptions to have no influence over

¹ This theory is taken from Patri-tius.

² Cosmas begins his work, which consists of twelve books, in true monkish style: "I, the sinner and wretch, open my stammering stuttering lips" . . . ἀνοίγω τὰ μογιλάλα καὶ βραδίγλωσσα χεῖλη ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς καὶ τάλας ἐγώ. Students of the history of the Epigoni owe a debt of gratitude to Cosmas for having copied and inserted in his work part of a Greek inscription on a marble throne at Adule, set up by Ptolemy III after his great eastern expedition (cf. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 320).

³ Between Malchus and Procopius intervened three historians, of whose works fragments remain; Eustathius

of Epiphania (who carried his history down to 502, and was utilised afterwards by Evagrius); Hesychius of Miletus, and John of Antioch, both of whom likewise carried down their histories to the reign of Anastasius. On John of Antioch's date, see the work of G. Sotiriadis, *Zur Kritik des Johannes von Antiochia*. These historians fill a gap in the *εἰρημός* (as Evagrius would say) from Olympiodorus to Theophylactus. Peter of Thessalonica, the patrician whom Justinian employed on embassies to the Ostrogothic and Persian courts, wrote a history of the Roman Empire from the time of Augustus till the time of Julian (or perhaps later). He seems to have been an able and cultured man.

their historical views, and Menander writes in the same spirit.¹

Procopius of Caesarea,² the secretary of Belisarius and the historian of his campaigns, wrote a history of the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars, which, while it is arranged in geographical divisions after the fashion of Appian, has its unity in a central figure, the hero Belisarius. Procopius has been compared both to Herodotus and to Polybius. He has been compared to Herodotus on account of his love of the marvellous, which, however, did not eliminate his love of historical truth, such as he conceived it; and if Herodotus' care for truth can be called in question, that of Procopius can certainly not be doubted, notwithstanding the fact that his friendship with Belisarius has often biassed him. Like Herodotus also, he gives us much ethnographical information. He has been compared to Polybius because he explains the course of history by reference to *Tyche*, Fortune, or to the divinity (τὸ θεῖον) that shapes our ends. *Tyche* continually interferes with the plans of men, and the final cause of their foolish acts is "to prepare the way for *Tyche*."³ He attributes envy (φθόνος) to this deity.⁴ It would be interesting to know how he conceived the relation of *Tyche* to the divine principle, and whether he was a sceptic in regard to a scheme or a final cause of the universe. Did he believe that chance corrects chance?

And yet he professes faith in Christianity. He tells us that he believes that Jesus was the Son of God for two reasons, because he committed no sins, and on account of the miracles which he performed. The second reason is characteristic of a lover of the marvellous. He does not think of questioning the truth of the record; the only question for him is whether the miracles as recorded point to the divinity of the operator. But this acceptance of the christian creed does not affect his views of history. He practically permits the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to rest idly like the gods of Epicurus, careless of mankind; he is not influenced by the christian views of history introduced by Eusebius. In fact Procopius was at

¹ Malchus had written in this way. See vol. i. p. 328.

² The best modern work on Procopius is the monograph of Dahn, the

historian of the *Kings of the Germans*, entitled *Procopius von Cäsarea*.

³ *B. V.* i. 18.

⁴ *B. G.* ii. 8.

core, in the essence of his spirit, a pagan ; Christianity, assented to by his lips and his understanding, was alien to his soul, like a half-known foreign language. He could not think in christian terms ; he was not able to handle the new religious conceptions ; he probably felt wonder, rather than satisfaction, at the joys that come from Nazareth. And we may safely say that it was just this pagan nature, deeper perhaps than that of the aggressive Zosimus, that made him such a good historian. He is almost worthy to be placed beside Ammianus.

He attended Belisarius in his campaigns and kept a diary, from which he afterwards composed the eight books of his History. He adopted a geographical arrangement, and so placed the two Persian wars together, although the Vandalic war and the first period of the Gothic war intervened. We have thus the record of an eye-witness who kept a diary, as is especially plain in his description of the sailing of the expedition against the Vandals.¹ Of the history of events in which he did not himself assist as a spectator or actor he gives us scant information. He is not satisfactory as to the causes of the Gothic war or as to the intrigues in Constantinople which affected the career of Belisarius. But these are just the deficiencies to be expected in an eye-witness who concentrates all his interest on the part of the drama which he sees himself, and in a contemporary who is unable to obtain a complete view of the situation.

Procopius is not out of touch with his own age, like Tacitus or Zosimus ; although, on the other hand, he is not enthusiastic about it, like Polybius or Virgil. He is able to appreciate the greatness of Justinian, and his ardent admiration of Belisarius sometimes damages the credit of his statements. The book on Edifices, which he wrote later than his history, is a monument in honour of Justinian's vast activity, and there is no reason to consider it an insincere work, although it was perhaps written to order.

The History of Procopius, which closes with 550 A.D., was continued by Agathias of Myrrina, a *scholasticus* or lawyer, who wrote five books embracing the history of seven years (552-558). They contain an account of the end of the Gothic war

¹ Ranke has brought out this very clearly and convincingly. (*Weltgeschichte*, iv. 2, essay on Procopius.)

and describe the invasion of Zabergan, but are mainly occupied with the Perso-Colchian wars, and supply us with some important details about early Sassanid history, which the writer obtained from Persian records through the medium of his friend Sergius, who, as an interpreter, was skilled in the Persian language.

Like Procopius, Agathias was a Christian, and, like Procopius, he did not permit his professed religion to influence his historical conceptions. We should never have known from his history that he was not a pagan¹; but some of his epigrams apprise us of his Christianity. He does not, however, refer events to the leading of Tyche; he usually speaks of the divine principle, *τὸ θεῖον*, to which he attributes the exercise of retribution. In telling of the plague which destroyed the army of Leutharis in Italy, he observes that some wrongly ascribe it to the corruption of the atmosphere; others, also erroneously, placed its cause in a sudden change from the hardships of war to the luxury of rest and pleasure. The real cause, according to him, was the unrighteousness of the victims, which brought down divine wrath upon their heads.

He has a firm belief in free will, and this is a point of difference between his view and that of Procopius. Procopius emphasises Tyche; Agathias emphasises free will. Speaking of wars, he will ascribe them neither to the divine principle, which is in its nature good and not a friend of wars, nor yet to fate or blind astral influences. "For," he says, "if the power of fate prevail, and men be deprived of the power of volition and free will, we shall have to consider all advice, all arts, all instruction as idle and useless, and the hopes of men who live most righteously will vanish and bear no fruit." He therefore attributes wars to the nature of men, and believes that they will continue to occur as long as the congenital nature of men remains the same.²

He professes to have a strict ideal of what history should be. It should be useful for human life, and not merely a bare uncritical (*ἀνεξέταστος*) relation of events, which would be little

¹ An echo of scripture is put in the mouth of Phartazes the Colchian (p. 165, ed. Bonn), "What shall we gain if we annex the whole of Persia and lose our own souls?"

² Agathias was a sceptic on the

matter of investigating natural phenomena; an interesting subject of research, he says, but it is vain to suppose that we ever get at the truth; it is enough to believe in a divine arrangement.

better than the fables told by women in their bowers over their spinning. It should be true, irrespective of persons. Both he and Procopius are distinctly conscious of the obligation to truth. Agathias blames previous historians for their careless inaccuracy, for their distortion of facts to flatter kings and lords, as if history were not different from an encomium, and for their tendency to revile or disparage the dead.

Agathias, like Thucydides, has a high idea of the vast importance of the age in which he lived. "It happened in my time that great wars broke out unexpectedly in many parts of the world, that movements and migrations of many barbarous nations took place. There have been strange issues to obscure and incredible actions, random turns of the scales of fortune. Races of men have been overthrown, cities enslaved and their inhabitants changed. In a word, all human things have been set in motion. In view of this, it occurred to me that it would not be quite pardonable to leave these mighty and wonderful events, which might prove of profit and use to posterity, unrecorded."

He was not content with his profession. He describes himself, in accents of complaint, sitting from early morn to sunset in the "Imperial Porch" poring over his briefs and legal documents, feeling a grudge against his clients for disturbing him, and still more vexed if clients did not appear, as he depended on the emoluments of his profession for the necessities of life. He had thus little leisure to devote to literary pursuits, such as writing epigrams or making researches in Persian history; and literary composition, he tells us, was his favourite occupation.

Menander of Constantinople studied for the bar, but he had as little taste as Agathias—whom he admired and probably knew—for spending his days in the Imperial Porch. As however, unlike Agathias, he had money at his disposal, a profession was not inevitable; so he cast aside his law books and adopted the idle life of a "man about town."¹ He took an interest in horse-races and the excitement of "the colours," that is the blue and green factions. He was fond of theatrical ballet-dancing, and

¹ *κεχηρῶς περιεπόρου* (*F. H. G.* iv. p. 201). He belonged to the *protectores* or guards, a nominal honour.

he confesses that in the wrestling schools he often stripped off all sense and all sense of decency along with his dress. After this candid confession of wickedness and "wild oats," he informs us that the taste for letters displayed by the Emperor Maurice, who used often to spend a great part of the night in discussing or meditating on questions in poetry and history, infected himself, and caused him to reflect that he might do something better than loiter about. Thus Maurice appears as a lover of literature who not only patronised but stimulated; and this character is confirmed by the testimony of Theophylactus.¹ The only work which the Emperor is known to have composed is the treatise in twelve books on military science. Accordingly, Menander determined to continue the history of Agathias cut short by that writer's death. He carried it down to the last year of Tiberius, 582 A.D., and he formed his style on the model of Agathias. Only fragments of his history remain, but they give us a favourable impression of the writer.

Almost the same period as that covered by Menander was dealt with in the history, also lost, of Theophanes of Byzantium, who began with the year 566 and ended with 581. He wrote in the last years of the sixth century.²

Justinian himself was a man of culture, who occupied himself with profound studies without allowing them to relax his firm grip of the helm of State. He presents an example of the polymathy which was characteristic of the sixth and the two preceding centuries, and of which Boethius, as we shall see, was a typical example in the West. He composed treatises on theological controversies³ which are still extant, but we must suppose that he also patronised literature in general, even

¹ viii. 13, 16 : *μενούργε λέγεται τὸν Μαυρίκιον φιλοτίμως ἔχειν περὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων μεγαλοπρέπειαν τιμᾶν τε Μαν λαμπρῶς τοὺς ἐνηθληκτάς περὶ τὰ κἀλλιστα τῶν μαθημάτων.*

² John of Epiphania, a townsman and relation of the ecclesiastical historian Evagrius, also continued the history of Agathias, and carried his narrative down to the restoration of Chosroes in 591. Fragments of his history remain (Müller, *F. H. G.* iv. p. 272); it was utilised by Theophylactus Simocatta. Evagrius, born in 535 or 536 at Epiphania, lived in Antioch as

a lawyer (*scholasticus*), was elevated to the rank of quaestor by Tiberius, and received the *δέλτους ὑπάρχων*, appointment to a prefecture, from Maurice. His works were (1) panegyric on Maurice, unluckily lost; (2) a collection of *acta*; and (3) a collection of letters and decrees, which are no longer extant; (4) an Ecclesiastical History from 431 to reign of Maurice, which has been preserved and is a valuable source.

³ He wrote a treatise against the monophysites, and many official letters and manifestos on the "Three Chapter" question (*see Migne, Patrol. Gr.* vol. 86).

though on religious grounds he shut up the schools of Athens, whose open paganism was a manifest scandal in the christian world. We know that he engaged the services of writers to compose poems or histories in praise of his own deeds.¹ The book on edifices of Procopius is a work of this kind, and it is possible that the book on offices (*περὶ ἀρχῶν*) written by Johannes Lydus was partly inspired by Justinian.

As most of the literary men of the time were educated for the legal profession and many of them entered the civil service, it is worth while to give a short biographical account of Johannes (known as *Lydus*, the Lydian), from whose pen three treatises² are wholly or partially extant. Born at Philadelphia of noble provincials in easy circumstances, he went to Constantinople in his youth for the purpose of making a career. He learned philosophy, and read Aristotle and Plato under the direction of a pupil of the great Proclus named Agapius, of whom a versifier said in an unmetrical line, "Agapius is the last, but yet the first of all."³

He had been for a year a clerk in a civil service office, when he obtained the post of shorthand writer in the staff of his townsman Zoticus of Philadelphia, who had been appointed praetorian prefect. This post proved lucrative. He won 1000 gold solidi (£625) in a single year. A relation, who was in the same office as he, and Zoticus the prefect were useful friends, and did him a good office in procuring him a rich wife, who had a dowry of 100 pound weight in gold and was also remarkable among her sex for her modesty. Johannes wrote an encomium on Zoticus for which he received a golden coin (*chrusinos*) for every line, which seems a liberal reward to literary merit, and indicates that the bad poets of the time might count on distinguished patronage. Having steadily advanced through all the grades of the service (*cursus officiorum*), in which his excellent knowledge of Latin, a rare accomplishment then in Constantinople, must have stood him in some stead, he reached the rank of *cornicularius* at the age of sixty (in 551). But the service was declining owing to a diminution of the tribute received and for other reasons,

¹ See J. Lydus, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, iii. 28.

² *De Mensibus*; *de Ostentis* (which has been edited by C. Wachsmuth); and *de Magistratibus*.

³ Ἀγάπιος πύματος μὲν ἀτὰρ πρῶτιστος ἀνδρῶν; Christodorus, who wrote a poem on the Heavens of Proclus.

and Lydus found that the emoluments long looked forward to with expectant confidence, which should have been at a minimum 1000 solidi, proved absolutely nil. In bitterness of mind at this disappointment he composed the book *on Offices*, in which he gives an account of the civil service and explains its decline.

Of his personal treatment by the Emperor he could not complain. Justinian had engaged him, perhaps in the early part of his reign, to compose a panegyric on himself and also a history of the Persian wars. At the end of John's career Justinian wrote a letter (*πραγματικόν*) to the prefecture, in which he dwelled on his rhetorical excellence, his grammatical accuracy, his poetical grace, his polymathy, and went so far as to say that his labours illuminated the language of the Romaioi. He praised him for having spent time on study, although a civil servant, and enjoined the prefect to reward him at the public expense, and confer dignities upon him in recognition of his eloquence. The prefect, on receiving the letter, assigned Lydus a place in the Capitolium or Capitoline Aule, that is, a lecture-room in the university buildings, where he might give public instruction, presumably in rhetoric. Pecuniarily, however, he was passed over as though he had never performed public services¹; on the other hand, he received honour and consideration from the Emperor, and enjoyed the leisure of a quiet life. He retired to the peace of his library, having served the State for more than forty years, feeling himself very ill used, and probably soured in temper. In religion the complexion of Lydus was doubtful; sometimes he speaks like a pagan, sometimes like a christian, so that one is not quite sure when he is speaking in earnest; but, christian or pagan, he was superstitious.

Poetry was dead; the epigrams of Agathias and the composition in hexameters on the church of St. Sophia do not deserve the name; and few of the verses would satisfy "the scrupulous ear of a well-flogged critic." We may admit, however, that the iambic lines in the style of late Attic comedy, which

¹ He mentions that when he laid down his office, he visited the prefect's tribunal to pay his respects. Heph-

aestus, the prefect, kissed him, and read out a rescript, for which he had to pay a large sum.

Agathias prefixed to this book of epigrams, are not quite unworthy of a writer of new comedy,¹ and that the hexameters which follow, in praise of Justinian's Empire, are written with some spirit in spite of their affectation. Agathias tells us that in his boyhood he was chiefly addicted to heroic verse, and "loved the sweets of poetical refinements."² This expression could hardly apply to Homer; his luscious models must have been the Alexandrine writers, Theocritus, Callimachus, and the rest, or recent composers like Nonnus, as may be also inferred from the works which he wrote under this inspiration, a collection of short poems in hexameters called *Δαφνιακά*, consisting of erotic stories and "other such witcheries." In complete satisfaction with himself and the poetical flights of his youth, Agathias, having given an account of his poems, is unable to contain his enthusiasm, and suddenly breaks out, "For veritably poetry is something divine and holy. Its votaries, as Plato would say, are in a state of fine frenzy." When we think of the productions of the fine frenzy of the writer himself, this outburst is sufficiently amusing.

The description of St. Sophia and the inaugural poem on the opening of the cathedral, to which the description is annexed, breathe the enthusiasm of flattery, in which the flatterer, Paul the Silentiary,³ was perhaps himself in earnest. The first eighty lines, written in iambics and consisting of a glorification of Justinian, were intended to be recited in the palace. Then follow more iambics to be recited in the Patriarch's residence, beginning thus: "We come to you, sirs, from the home of the Emperor to the home of the Almighty Emperor, the deviser (*νοητής*) of the universe, by whose grace victory cleaves unto our lord" (*συμφυὲς τῷ δεσπότη*). And this approximation of God to the Emperor, suggesting a comparison between them, occurs frequently. Speaking with conventional modesty of his own verses, the author says that they will not be judged by "bean-eating Athenians, but by men of piety and indulgence, in whom God and the Emperor find pleasure." This contempt for the ancient Athenians is a touch

¹ It is interesting to note that it contains a quotation from Aristophanes' *Peace*.

² τὰ ἡδύσματα τῶν τῆς ποιητικῆς κομψευμάτων.

³ Another poem by Paul, *de Thermis Pythiis* (baths patronised by the Empress Theodora), will be found in Migne's edition.

of characteristic christian bigotry, and, if I may hazard the conjecture, is intended as a laudatory allusion to Justinian's measure of sweeping away the decrepit survival of Attic culture and exclusiveness in 529.

The iambics are succeeded by hexameters which begin with the praise of peace and the boast of the superiority of New to Old Rome—

εἴξατέ μοι Ῥώμης Καπετωλίδες εἴξατε φῆμαι,
τόσσον ἐμὸν βασιλεὺς ὑπερήλατο θάμβος ἐκείνῳ
ὅπποσον εἰδώλοιο θεὸς μέγας ἐστὶν ἀρείων,

where Paul does not lose an opportunity of comparing Justinian to the Deity. It would be wearisome to follow the poem to its close. Its chief interest consists in its architectural information, which has been encased in a metrical dress with some ingenuity.

When we turn to the Latin literature of the sixth century the most prominent figure that meets us is Cassiodorus, the statesman of Theodoric and his successors (born about 480). Starting as an assistant in the bureau of his father, who had served as a finance minister under Odovacar and held the praetorian prefecture under Theodoric, he was fortunate enough to win the Gothic king's notice, while yet a mere subaltern, by a panegyric which he pronounced on him on a public occasion. Theodoric, who immediately recognised and welcomed his talent, appointed him to the post of quaestor, allowing him to dispense with all the grades of the civil service. The quaestorship was an office in which scope was given for literary talents, and Cassiodorus took full advantage of the opportunity. The letters which he wrote for Theodoric, along with those which he composed during subsequent reigns, were collected by him shortly before he retired from public life and published in a still extant collection under the title of *Variae Epistolae*.¹ Under Amalasuntha, Theodoric's daughter, under Theodahad the student of Plato, and Witigis the thorough Goth, Cassiodorus held the exalted post of praetorian prefect. About the year 539, not long before the capture of Ravenna by the Romans, he retired after forty years of public service,

¹ Mr. Hodgkin has published a translation of many of the *Variae*, with a valuable introduction.

to his birthplace Squillace in Bruttii, a charming spot for which he entertained a romantic affection. He founded there two monasteries, of which one, up in the hills, was for the men who were uncompromisingly austere, while the other, down below, built beside a fish-pond, and hence called *vivarium*, was for those monks who took that less strict and more cheerful view of the spiritual life of the cloister which characterised western monasticism once it had grown independent of its oriental origin.

Here Cassiodorus made a new departure, which, quiet and unostentatious as it was, has led to incalculably fruitful results for the modern world. This new departure consisted in occupying the abundant leisure of the monks with the labour of multiplying copies of Latin texts. To this simple but brilliant idea of taking advantage of the unemployed energy that ran to seed in monastic society for the spread and transmission of learning, both profane and sacred, we owe the survival of the great bulk of our Latin literature. There was a chamber, called the *scriptorium* or "writing-room," in the monastery, in which the monks used to copy both pagan and christian texts, working by the light of "mechanical lamps," *mechanicas lucernas*, whose peculiarity was that they were self-supplying, and measuring their time by sun-dials or water-clocks.

The style of Cassiodorus accords only too well with the principle stated by himself in the preface to his letters. "It is adornment (*ornatus*) alone," he says there, "that distinguishes the learned from the unlearned." He thus candidly takes pride in what is the characteristic of all ages of decadence, a love of embellishment for its own sake. He finds it impossible to state a simple or trivial fact in simple words. He essays to raise triviality to the sphere of the dignified and solemn; he succeeds in making it appear ridiculous. He will not allow the simple to wear the grace of its own simplicity. Nothing is more curious and amusing, though it soon becomes wearisome, than the correspondence of Theodoric in Cassiodorian dress, each epistle posing as it were in tragic cothurni and trailing a sweeping train.

Thus in the letters which describe the duties of the various ministers of state and other public officers, the quaestor makes it his object to give a tincture of poetry to functions, which

in themselves suggest neither very solemn nor very poetical associations. He reminds the prefect of the corn-supplies that Ceres herself discovered corn, and that *panis*, "bread," may be derived from the great god Pan. The prefect of the police he apostrophises thus: "Go forth then under the starry skies, watch diligently with all the birds of night, and as they seek food in the darkness, so do thou hunt therein for fame." To the count of the port of Rome he cries: "Excellent thought of the men of old to provide two channels by which strangers might enter the Tiber, and to adorn them with two stately cities which shine like lights upon the watery way!" (vii. 9).

These examples of his manner are more favourable to him than many others that might be selected; I have purposely avoided quoting passages in which he out-Cassiodores Cassiodorus. Yet, though this manner has its amusing side, it may be said that Cassiodorus had really that sort of nature which, removing "the veil of familiarity" from common and trivial things, finds in them a certain dignity and feels a reverence for them; and that he unsuccessfully tried to express this feeling by using grandiloquent and embellished language, a feat in which Pindar was successful when, for example, he called a cloak "a healthy remedy against weary cold."

As an instance of the far-fetched and frigid conceits which were popular in that age, I may quote the words used by Cassiodorus of monks engaged in copying the sacred writings: "The fast-travelling reed writes down the holy words, and thus avenges the malice of the wicked one, who caused a reed to be used to smite the head of the Saviour."

It is interesting to record the attention paid by Cassiodorus to the beautiful binding of his books, and the biblical language in which he justifies it is characteristic of his age. It is meet, he says, that a book should be clothed in a fair dress, even as the guests were arrayed in wedding garments in the New Testament parable.

Beside the letters, Cassiodorus wrote (1) a treatise on the soul in which its relation to the body is treated with a delicate touch of paganism that reminds us of Hadrian's *hospes comesque corporis*; (2) the *Historia Tripartita*, a compilation from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, and a history of the Goths from which Jordanes drew; (3) various theological

works; (4) an educational work "on the Arts and Disciplines of the Liberal Letters"¹; (5) a treatise, composed in his ninety-third year,² on orthography, intended as a guide to the monks at Squillace in their spelling. Thus the influence of Cassiodorus and the traditions of culture and accuracy which he established at Squillace formed a counterpoise to that spirit, represented by Pope Gregory I., which regarded grammar as trivial and culture as superfluous, or even a temptation; a spirit which soon launched the Church into the waters of ignorance and barbarism.

Another prominent figure in the reign of Theodoric, but who did not, like Cassiodorus, enjoy a happy old age amid the ruins of his country, was Boethius the Patrician, whose unfortunate end is veiled to a certain degree in obscurity. We know not what were the real motives for his condemnation, passed formally by the Roman senate, and his subsequent execution (524 A.D.) Charges were brought against him of astrological magic, stigmatised as a serious crime by the Theodosian Code, but it is evident that these were only pretexts. He seems to have been suspected of taking part in a conspiracy; yet the silence of Cassiodorus, as Mr. Hodgkin justly insists, is ominous for the fame of the Gothic king. The blow seems to have fallen quite unexpectedly on Boethius and his affectionate father-in-law Symmachus, who had the reputation of being a "modern Cato," *Catonis novellus imitator*, and who shared the fate of his son-in-law.

In prison under the pressure of this sudden calamity, which burst like a peal of thunder on the calm course of his life,—justifying the saying of Solon, that the happiness of a man's life must not be asserted till after his death,—Boethius composed the work which has immortalised him, the *Consolation of Philosophy*. He did not lay the world under such a great obligation of gratitude as Cassiodorus; and yet this work was better known and more read throughout the Middle Ages, although it completely ignores Christianity, than any of Cassiodorus' writings. It was translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred, and into English by Chaucer.

¹ In this work, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy—the seven liberal arts

—are discussed.

² 593 A.D. He had lived to see the Lombard invasion.

Boethius was an Aristotelian, and he employed his leisure in translating works of Aristotle into Latin. It was partly through these translations that Aristotelianism was accessible to the students of the Middle Ages; and thus the two chief literary men at the beginning of the sixth century, Cassiodorus and Boethius, made each in his way contributions of vast importance to the culture of medieval and modern times. Cassiodorus may be considered to have secured the survival of Latin literature, as was explained above, while Boethius laid the foundations for Scholasticism. Boethius and Johannes Philoponus were the realist and the nominalist respectively of the sixth century.

The Latin of Boethius is far superior to the Latin of Cassiodorus. It is elegant, but not exaggerated through an extravagant love of embellishment. In fact he had the faculty of taste, which even in the lowest stages of decadence distinguishes good and bad writers, and of which Cassiodorus was almost destitute.

The *Consolatio Philosophiae* has a considerable charm, which is increased by the recollection of the circumstances under which it was composed. A student who, maintaining indeed a lukewarm connection with politics, had spent most of his days in the calm atmosphere of his library, where he expected to end his life, suddenly found himself in the confinement of a dismal prison with death impending over him. There is thus a reality and earnestness in his philosophical meditations which so many treatises of the kind lack; there is an earnestness born of a real fervent need of consolation, while at the same time there is a pervading calm. The lines of poetry, sometimes lyrical, sometimes elegiac, which break the discussion at intervals, like organ chants in a religious service, serve to render the calmness of the atmosphere distinctly perceptible.

The problem of the treatise¹ is to explain the "unjust confusion" which exists in the world, the eternal question how

¹ Book i. contains the story of Boethius' personal wrongs, which he relates to *Philosophia*; Bk. ii. contains a discussion on Fortune; Bk. iii. passes to the *Summum Bonum*; in Bk. iv. *Philosophia* justifies God's government; Bk. v. deals with free will. W. Gass, in his *Geschichte der christlichen Ethik*, i.

p. 177, says of Boethius that in his *Consolatio* "gleicht er nicht einem Koheleth, weit eher einem Hiob im Platonischen Gewande . . . selbst im Kerker soll ihn sein frommer Optimismus nicht verlassen." On Boethius see Ebert, *Allg. Gesch. der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, i. 462 sqq.

the fact that the evil win often the rewards of virtue (*pretium sceleris—diadema*) and the good suffer the penalties of crime, can be reconciled with a "deus, rector mundi." If I could believe, says Boethius, that all things were determined by chance and hazard, I should not be so puzzled. We need not follow him in his discussion of the subject, which of course is unsatisfactory—did it really satisfy him?—and need only observe that in one place he defines the relation of fate to the Deity in the sense that fate is a sort of instrument by which God regulates the world according to fixed rules. In other words, fate is the law of phenomena or nature, under the supreme control of the highest Being, which he identifies with the *Summum Bonum* or highest good.

But the metaphysical discussion does not interest the student of literature so much as the setting of the piece and things said incidentally. Boethius imagines his couch surrounded by the Muses of poetry, who suggest to him accents of lamentation. Suddenly there appears at his head a strange lady of lofty visage. There was marvellous fluidity in her stature; she seemed sometimes of ordinary human height, and at the next moment her head seemed to touch heaven, or penetrated so far into its recesses that her face was lost to the vision. Her eyes too were unnatural, brilliant and transparent beyond the power of human eyes, of fresh colour and unquenchable vigour. And yet at the same time she seemed so ancient of days "that she could not be taken for a woman of our age." Her garments were of the finest threads, woven by some secret art into an indissoluble texture, woven, as Boethius afterwards learned, by her own hands. And on this robe there was a certain mist of neglected antiquity, the sort of colour that statues have which have been exposed to smoke. On the lower edge of the robe there was the Greek letter Π (the initial of Πρακτική, Practical Philosophy), from which stairs were worked leading upwards to the letter Θ (Θεωρητική, Pure Philosophy). And her garment had the marks of violent usage, as though rough persons had tried to rend it from her and carried away shreds in their hands. The lady was Philosophia; she bore a sceptre and parchment rolls. She afterwards explained that the violent persons who had rent her robe were the Epicureans, Stoics, and other

late schools; they succeeded in tearing away patches of her dress, fancying severally that they had obtained the whole garment. Philosophia's first act is to drive out the Muses, whom she disdainfully terms "theatrical strumpets," and she makes a remark, with which many perhaps who have sought for consolation in poetry will agree, that it "accustoms the minds of men to the disease but does not set them free."¹

The description of the lady Philosophia has a considerable aesthetic value. The conception of her robe resembling marble statues discoloured by smoke, is a really happy invention to suggest that antique quaintness which the Greeks expressed by the word *ἐμπιότης*.

But the most striking feature of the *Consolatio* is the inter-spersion of the prose dialogue with poems at certain intervals,² which, like choruses in Greek tragedy, appertain, though more closely than they, to the preceding argument. Thus the work resembles in form Dante's *Vita Nuova*, where the sonnets gather up in music the feelings occasioned by the narrated events. These poems, which betray the influence of Seneca's plays,³ have all a charm of their own, and metres of various kinds are gracefully employed. The second poem, which forms a pause after Philosophia has driven out the Muses and taken her seat, begins thus—

heu quasi praecepiti mersa profundo
mens hebet et propria luce relicta
tendit in externas ire tenebras,
terrenis quotiens flatibus aucta
crescit in immensum noxia cura.
hic quondam caelo liber aperto
suctus in aetherios ire meatus
cernebat rosei lumina solis,
visebat gelidae sidera lunae
et quaecumque vagos stella recursus
exerces varios flexa per orbes,
comprehsam numeris victor habebat.

This idea of the mind, vexed by the cares of earth, leaving its own light and passing "into outer darkness," in *externas*

¹ Ed. Peiper, p. 5: *hominumque mentes [musae] assuefaciunt morbo, non liberant.*

² Varro and Macrobius and Martianus Capella had mixed poetry and prose before, but Boethius was the first to

use the artifice with artistic effect.

³ Peiper in his Teubner edition, 1871, gives a list of passages which contain excerpts from or echoes of Seneca's tragedies.

tenebras, would be a suitable illustration of the spiritual meaning of the outer darkness spoken of in the New Testament. Another poem, constructed with as much care as a modern sonnet,¹ sings of the "love that moves the sun and stars,"

hanc rerum series ligat
terrâs ac pelagus regens
et cælo imperitans amor,

an idea best known to modern readers from the last line of Dante's *Divina Commedia*, but which is as old as Empedocles. In another place we have an anticipation of Shelley's "nought may endure but mutability,"—

constat æterna positumque lege est
ut constet genitum nihil.

As an example of poetical tenderness, quite Virgilian, I may quote two lines of a stanza, where the author is illustrating the return of nature to itself by a caged bird, which, when it beholds the greenwood once more, spurns the sprinkled crumbs—

silvas tantum maesta requirit,
silvas tantum voce susurrat.

Immediately after this poem Boethius proceeds thus: "Ye too, O creatures of earth! albeit in a vague image, yet do ye dream of your origin," vos quoque, O terrena animalia! tenui licet imagine vestrum tamen principium somniatis,—a felicitous expression of pantheism.

I must not omit to notice the delicate feeling for metrical effect which Boethius displays in the poem on the protracted toils of the siege of Troy and the labours of Hercules. It is written in Sapphic metre, but the short fourth lines are omitted until the end. The effect of this device is that the mind and voice of the reader continue to travel without relief or metrical resting-place until all the labours are over and heavenly rest succeeds in the stars of the concluding and only Adonius—

superata tellus
sidera donat.

The age was so poor in works of pure literary interest that I have gladly lingered a little over the *Consolatio* of Boethius.

¹ ii. viii. p. 48; it consists of thirty lines thus arranged, 4+4+4+3=4+4+4+3.

It remains to add that he wrote short books on christian theology, and must therefore have been professedly a Christian. This religion, however, did not influence his pagan spirit, just as it left Procopius untouched; and it was probably the theological subtleties that interested him and not the spirit of the faith. He was a very accomplished man, acquainted with a diversity of subjects; polymathy, as I said before, was a characteristic of the time. As well as a philosopher and a poet, he was a musician, he was learned in astronomy, he was fond of inventive science, like the Greek architect Anthemius. It would appear, indeed, that scientific studies were fashionable in the sixth century; natural science was a favourite subject of Cassiodorus.

If the church of San Vitale at Ravenna is the great monument of the imperial restoration in Italy, the poems of Flavius Cresconius Corippus may be considered the monument of the imperial restoration in Africa. He is not known, indeed, to have chosen the victories of Belisarius as the subject of a special work, but in his *Johannis* and in his *de laudibus Justinii*, which have been mentioned in previous chapters, joy over the fall of the Vandal and the restoration of Africa to the Empire is expressed in strong and sometimes effective language.¹

¹ It would take us too far away from our subject, "the Roman Empire," to enter upon the important works of Gregory of Tours or the interesting poems of Venantius Fortunatus, the court poet of the Frank kings and

the friend of St. Radegundis who founded the monastery at Poitiers. Of both these writers excellent editions have recently been published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

BOOK V

THE HOUSE OF HERACLIUS

CHAPTER I

PHOCAS¹

THE reign of Phocas the Thracian, which lasted for eight years, was the realisation of that dreaded something whose approach had long been felt. The calamities which Tiberius and Maurice had been spared closed in round the throne of Phocas, who is himself represented to have been the most baleful calamity of all. The Empire sank into the lowest depths of degradation and misery, and it seemed that nothing short of some divine miracle could restore it to wellbeing.

By contemporaries Phocas was regarded² as a fell monster,

¹ Our chief authorities for the reign of Phocas are the *Paschal Chronicle* and Theophanes. Of these the former perhaps possesses the value of a contemporary source, as it is generally supposed to have been composed (at Alexandria) soon after 630 A.D. In that case its author (not authors, *vide* Clinton, *F. R.*) would have witnessed, unless he were very young when he wrote, the calamities of the first decade of the seventh century, just like Theophylactus, who wrote about 628-630, and has some notices bearing on the reign of Phocas. We have, moreover, a few fragments of a John of Antioch (published in Müller's *Fragmenta*, vol. v.), who is doubtless the same as John Malalas, and lived about 700. He, I believe, was the chief source of Theophanes. Of the fall of Phocas we have an account in the *Brief History* of Nicephorus, a contemporary of Theophanes (about 800). For western affairs we have Isidore of Seville and Paul the Deacon, and some letters of Gregory I. who died in 604. No laws or letters of Phocas have survived.

The chronology of Theophanes becomes at this point a little confusing, because he inadvertently ran two indications into one *annus mundi*, and thus apparently assigns seven (instead of eight years) to Phocas. The consequence is that throughout the seventh century his Years of the World and his indications do not correspond. But his chronology is really correct; his indications are always right, and whenever he mentions the *annus domini* (τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως), it always corresponds to the indiction. *E.g.* 6133 A.M. really corresponds to 640-641 A.D. and the fourteenth indiction; but Theophanes equates it with the fifteenth indiction, and equates the following year 6134 with A.D. (634, Alexandrine =) 642-643. The mistake is not corrected until the year 6197, where the events of one indiction are spread over two Years of the World.

² He was called the New Gorgon. For strong words about him, see George of Pisidia, *Bell. Avar.* 49 *sqq.* and *Heracl.* ii. 6 *sqq.* The intestine tumults which prevailed everywhere after the death of

without a palliating virtue or a redeeming grace, and the character which he has transmitted to history is that of a "remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindless villain." The abnormal wickedness of his mind is said to have been reflected in a peculiarly repulsive exterior, and he produces the impression of a hideous nightmare brooding over an exhausted and weary realm.

Whatever may have been his character, the short chronicle of his reign is a chronicle of misfortunes, anarchy within and hostility without; and we never feel quite sure that we have fathomed the depth or measured the breadth of these misfortunes, for the chroniclers seem to have avoided dwelling on the reign as if it were a sort of plague spot.

Chosroes made the dethronement and death of Maurice a pretext for declaring war; he posed as the avenger of his friend and benefactor. But it must not be imagined that this was anything more than a pretext. The renewal of the old quarrel between East and West must not be laid to the charge of Phocas, though we hold him answerable, at least partially, for the inadequate defence of the Empire. That the acts of Phocas were not the real cause of the war is proved by two things,—by the express statement of a contemporary historian, hostile to Phocas, that Chosroes' holy plea was hypocritical,¹ and by the fact that, some time before the death of Maurice, the Sassanid had become restless and an outbreak of war had been with difficulty avoided.²

To meet the threatened Persian invasion the hopes of the Romans rested on the able general Narses, whose name was so much dreaded or respected by the enemy that Persian children trembled when they heard it pronounced. But not only to the enemy was he an object of terror; his ability and reputation awakened the suspicion and fears of Phocas. He revolted and occupied Edessa; he even urged the Persians to begin hostilities³; and the Emperor was obliged to divide his

Maurice—in Thessalonica, in the East (Cilicia, Asia, Palestine)—are noticed by the author of the Life of St. Demetrius (*Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. iv., p. 132).

¹ Theophylactus, viii. 15, *κατεργαζομενος*.

² *Ib.* Maurice found it necessary to

appoint a new commander at Daras, as Narses and Chosroes did not like each other; but hostility to Phocas afterwards induced them to act together.

³ Theophanes, 6095 A.M. ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς γράφει πρὸς Χωσρόην τὸν βασιλέα

forces to contend against two foes (603 A.D.) Narses was finally lured by false promises of reconciliation to present himself in Byzantium, and Phocas was not ashamed or afraid of committing him to the flames. This affair was fortunate for Chosroes, as Narses was the only Roman commander at the time who possessed military talent. Both the general Germanus and the general Leontius had been severely defeated by the Persians; the former had died of a wound, the latter had been thrown into chains by the indignant Emperor; and the protection of Christendom against the fire-worshippers was consigned to Domentziolus, a nephew of Phocas.¹ If the Emperor had been endowed with any political ability he might have made Narses his friend and thereby saved Syria.

A peace was concluded with the Avars and an increase of the yearly tribute granted (604 A.D.) in order to render the troops of Illyricum and Thrace available for the war in Asia. But the tide of success had set in for the Persians, who after some smaller successes had gained an important victory over Leontius at Arzamon. Their ravages continued during the following year, and in 606 Daras was once more lost to the Romans, western Mesopotamia and Syria were overrun by the enemy in two successive years,² and countless Roman captives were scattered among the provinces of Persia. But in 608 the danger was brought nearer to the careless inhabitants of the capital; for, having occupied Armenia and Cappadocia, Paphlagonia and Galatia, the army of the fire-worshippers advanced to the Bosphorus, showing mercy in the march to neither age nor sex,³ and encamped at Chalcedon, opposite to Constantinople. And thus, says the historian, there was "tyranny" both inside and outside the city.⁴

In the affair of Narses, Phocas had shown political ineptitude. At a later period he showed himself yet more inconceivably inept. In Syria there was always a spirit of disaffection, more or less widely spread, towards the orthodox Byzantine

Περσῶν ἀθροῖσαι δυνάμεις, κ.τ.λ. In 604 Narses fled from Edessa to Hierapolis; at the end of the same year, or perhaps in 605 (6097 A.M.), Domentziolus lured him to Byzantium.

¹ Not to be confounded with Domentziolus, the brother of Phocas. The nephew had been appointed curo-palates on the accession of his uncle.

² 606 and 607—the dates of Theophanes, but in this reign his dates are not trustworthy, as he loses a year and gives only seven years to Phocas.

³ λυμαίνοντες ἀφειδῶς πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν (Theophanes, 6100 A.M.)

⁴ *Ib.*; Nicephorus, p. 3 (where παρὰ πολλοῖς ᾄδασθαι probably refers to George of Pisidia).

government, for Syria was a country full of Jews as well as heretics of divers kinds. This spirit demanded, in time of war, singularly delicate manipulation on the part of the government; but Phocas conceived the ill-timed idea of constraining all the Jews to become Christians. The consequence of this policy was a great revolt of the Hebrews in Antioch; Christians were massacred, and a cruel and indecent punishment was inflicted on the Patriarch Anastasius.¹ Bonosus, a creature of Phocas, who was created count of the East and sent to put down the rising, cast out all the Jews from the city (610 A.D.), but the affair shows how favourable was the political situation of the Syrian provinces for the aggressions of the Persians. The Persian general, Shahr Barz, "raged by land and sea" (we are told by the Armenian² historian Sepêos); "he transported handsome Roman villas, along with their inhabitants, to Persian soil, and commanded his architects to construct towns in Persia on the model of the destroyed cities. He called one of these towns Antioch the Renowned." Both in Syria and in Egypt there seems to have prevailed a chronic anarchy; all the smouldering feuds of parties had burst into flame; Blues and Greens made the streets of Alexandria³ and Antioch the scenes of continual bloodshed.

In Constantinople, to which the activity and apprehensions of the Emperor were chiefly confined, the deepest dissatisfaction had prevailed since the death of Maurice. Conspiracy followed conspiracy, but Phocas dexterously maintained his seat, equally skilful in detecting and merciless in punishing the conspirators.⁴ The patricians, who were most closely attached

¹ Theophanes, 6101: ἀποφάττουσιν Ἀναστάσιον . . . βαλόντες τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Cottanas, a *magister militum* (στρατηλάτης), was sent with Bonosus. The date 610 is fixed by the *Chron. Pasch.*

² See the *Journal asiatique*, February 1866. Compare Drapeyron, *L'Empereur Héraclius*, p. 96. Greek writers call Shahr Barz ("the Royal Boar") Σάρβαρος. From the Armenian historians we learn that the invader of Cappadocia in 609 (?) was Shahen; he took Caesarea, which was abandoned by the Christians and only Jews remained in it. The same historians supposed that Theodosius, the son of

Maurice, was really alive, and state (1) that he accompanied the Persian army under the general Razman to Mesopotamia and Syria in 604 or 605, when Amida, Edessa, and Antioch were taken; and (2) that he marched with another general against Armenia in 607-608 and reduced Satala and Theodosiopolis (Patcanian, in the *Journal asiatique*, *ib.* p. 197 *sqq.*)

³ Revolt of Africa and Alexandria in 609; see *Chron. Pasch.* The Patriarch of Alexandria was slain.

⁴ He put to death Alexander, who had been a fellow-conspirator with himself against Maurice.

to Maurice, namely Peter his brother, Comentiolus, and Lardys, were at once executed, while Philippicus (Maurice's brother-in-law) and Germanus were compelled to assume clerical orders. Priscus, on the other hand, the able commander who had conducted the campaigns against the Slaves and Avars, and had been so often superseded by the incapable friends of Maurice, was an adherent of Phocas, who was further supported by his brother Domentziolus¹ and by Bonosus.

During the first three years of this reign the intrigues of the enemies of Phocas revolved round Constantina, the widow of Maurice, who with her three daughters had been placed in strict confinement, while the hopes of the dissatisfied and the fears of the usurper were kept alive by the false and carefully fostered rumour that Theodosius—the Theodosius who should have been Theodosius III—was not dead, but was wandering in the far East. Germanus, the father-in-law, and Constantina, the mother of Theodosius united their energies to set on foot a conspiracy, in which a large number of leading men took part. Two distinct attempts were made to achieve the overthrow of Phocas.² The first of these failed, because the Emperor was popular with the more powerful faction, which had helped to set him on the throne. The Greens reviled the name of Constantina in the hippodrome, and the bribes which Germanus offered to their demarchs were rejected. Constantina and her daughters, who were in readiness for the expected insurrection, took refuge in St. Sophia, and the influence of the Patriarch Cyriacus protected them with difficulty from the wrath and violence of Phocas. They were immured in a monastery, and Germanus was compelled to wear the tonsure.³

¹ This Domentziolus was nicknamed *κοδόχνηρ*, see John Ant. 218 f. In 610 he seems to have been *magister officiorum*.

² Theophanes places these attempts in 606 and 607. But the *Paschal Chronicle*, in which the second only is mentioned, places it in June 605. We must accept this date, which seems trustworthy; but a doubt arises whether the author of the *Chron. Pasch.* confounded two distinct occasions, or Theophanes (or his authority) differentiated one occasion. I have supposed that Theophanes is right in distinguishing, but wrong in his dates;

and otherwise it seems likely that the event placed by Theophanes in 606 should have taken place in an earlier year. Phocas would hardly have left these suspicious personages free so long; in fact, according to *Chron. Pasch.*, Constantina was immured, Philippicus and Germanus were tonsured in 603.

³ These events occurred probably in 604. Philippicus, Maurice's brother-in-law, was perhaps connected with this conspiracy; he became a monk and dwelled in a monastery which he had founded at Chrysopolis. Cf. Theoph. 6098 A.M. But John of Antioch (that is John Malalas), fr.

But the relations of Maurice still maintained their treasonable projects, and after the lapse of more than a year (in 605) organised a plot against the life of Phocas, which would probably have succeeded but for the treachery of one Petronia, who acted as the bearer of the correspondence between Constantina and Germanus. Constantina was put to the torture, and the names of many distinguished patricians, noble lords, and high officials were revealed; chief among whom was Theodorus, the praetorian prefect of the East. He was sentenced to be cudgelled to death, and sundry modes of rendering death hideous were discovered for the other conspirators.¹ Constantina, her three daughters,² and her daughter-in-law were executed, as well as Germanus.

This formidable conspiracy must have tended to make Phocas yet more suspicious, and consequently more tyrannical; while the bloodshed which ensued seemed to stamp him as a sanguinary tyrant, and rendered him far more unpopular than before. An alienation soon came about between him and the *comes excubitorum* Priscus,³ on whom he had bestowed his daughter Domentzia in marriage; and, strange to say, the origin of this alienation is attributed to an accidental occurrence which took place during the nuptial festivities. The marriage was celebrated in the palace of Marina,⁴ and an equestrian contest was held in honour of it. The chiefs of the blue and green factions, supposing that the marriage had a certain political significance and that Priscus might be looked upon as the probable successor to the throne, took upon themselves in a rash moment to place laurelled images of the bride and bridegroom beside those of the Emperor and Empress on pillars in the hippodrome. But the suggestion misliked Phocas; he investigated the matter, and ordered the demarchs to whom it was traced to be put to death. The people, however, begged them off, but Phocas was never satisfied that Priscus had not been privy to the treasonable act. This occurred in 607. In the following year Priscus opened a correspondence

218 d (*F. H. G.* vol. v.), states that he embraced the monastic life at the time of Maurice's fall, and this agrees with *Chron. Pasch.*

¹ *Chron. Pasch.* eighth indiction (= 604-605).

² Anastasia, Theoctiste, and Cleopatra (*Chron. Pasch.*)

³ Priscus, whom Nicephorus strangely calls Crispus, was apparently prefect of the city at the time of his marriage; at least the *τηνικαδε* of Nicephorus seems to mean so (p. 4).

⁴ Marina was one of the daughters of Arcadius, each of whom had a palace of her own.

with Heraclius, the exarch or Patrician of Africa¹; and in the series of circumstances that brought about the fall of Phocas this was the first.

Since Gennadius had quelled the turbulent Moors, Africa had been the most prosperous and favoured spot in the Roman Empire; and from Africa, if from anywhere, men might expect salvation to come. The arts of peace flourished, and the happiness of peace was experienced under the beneficent rule of the Patrician Heraclius, whom we have already met as a general of Maurice in the East. The exarch, in the security of distant Carthage, was able to defy the Emperor with impunity and to discontinue communications with Constantinople; and in the meantime, perhaps, he and his brother Gregorius² were maturing plans and making preparations for an expedition against the detested tyrant. It was not till two years later that, urged by the importunities of Priscus and the pressing entreaties of the senate, who could tolerate the distempered state of things no longer, and were powerless to change it without help from the provinces, he despatched an armament which at length delivered New Rome from the watchful tyranny of Phocas.

The few notices which have come down to us show clearly the exasperation and despondency which prevailed among residents in the capital. A pestilence and its twin-sister a famine desolated the city during the same year in which the Asiatic enemy was advancing on Chalcedon; and in connection with this we must remember that no supplies were available from Africa, and that in the following year the disaffection in Egypt may have increased the starvation in Constantinople. The result was a sedition, and the disloyalty of the Byzantines was openly displayed. His own party, the Greens, insulted Phocas at the games, and told him that he had lost his wits.³ The infuriated monarch commanded Constans, the prefect of the city, to slay or mutilate the contumacious offenders and not to hold his hand. These punishments were the signal for a general

¹ John of Antioch, fr. 218 e. It is not quite clear whether the official term was exarch or *stratēgos* (praetor). In the West the governor of Africa was generally called the Patrician.

² Nicephorus, p. 3 (ed. de Boor), οὗτοι κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι, κ. τ. λ.

³ Theophanes, 6101 A.M.; John Ant. 218 e; *πάλιν εἰς τὸν καῦκον ἐπιες πάλιν τὸν νοῦν ἀπώλεκας*, (so de Boor) "You have drunk again of the cup; you have again lost your sense." The allusion is obscure.

riot in the streets; the offices of the prefect and the prisons were burnt down, and the prisoners were loosed from their cells. Then Phocas issued a mandate to the effect that the green faction should no longer have political status.¹

The deliverance that came from Africa at the end of 610 was perhaps hastened by personal interests of the exarch. Phocas had discovered that Epiphania,² the wife of the exarch, and Eudocia, the betrothed of his son, were residing in Constantinople, and he placed them in the monastery of the New Repentance³ under strict confinement. This was partly an act of vengeance, but partly also a measure of prudence, to secure hostages in case Heraclius should become positively hostile.

The exarch was now old, and had himself no wish to return to the murky Byzantine atmosphere, even for a throne; but he organised an expedition which had a somewhat romantic character. He prepared an armament of "castellated vessels,"⁴ manned with Moors, which he consigned to the care of his son Heraclius; and he equipped an army of cavalry to proceed along the coasts of Africa, Egypt, Syria, and Asia, under the command of his nephew Nicetas, the son of Gregorius. The agreement was made that whichever of the two cousins reached Constantinople first and slew Phocas was to be rewarded by the crown. It was plain that, except the elements were adverse to Heraclius, Nicetas had no chance, while on the other hand he ran no risk. There was a certain dramatic appropriateness in this assignation of routes,—that Heraclius, the man of genius, should take the short and perilous way, and that Nicetas, the man of respectability, should plod on the firm earth. The elements conspired to favour the man of genius, who felt confident of success because he possessed a mystical picture of the Virgin, not made with hands, but carried down by angels

¹ Before the final deliverance came, another conspiracy, according to Theophanes, was set on foot by Elpidius and Theodorus, prefect of the East, the project being to make the latter Emperor; but it was betrayed. It seems almost certain, however, that Theophanes has fallen into some confusion, for in the conspiracy of 605 Elpidius and Theodorus, praet. pref. of the East, had been executed.

² Theophanes, but John Ant. calls

her Fabia, fr. 218 f, and *Chron. Pasch.* (ind. 15) notes that Eudocia was "also called Fabia."

³ Theoph. 6102, τῆς Νέας Μετανοίας.

⁴ *Ib.* πλοῖα καστέλλωμένα. For the overthrow of Phocas we have, as well as Theophanes and the *Paschal Chronicle*, the narrative of Nicephorus the Patriarch (a contemporary of Theophanes) in his *Short History*. The Moors are mentioned by John Ant. fr. 218 f, and Nicephorus, p. 3.

from heaven. On one of the last days of September or one of the first days of October 610, he cast anchor at Abydos, and learned from the "count of Abydos"¹ the situation of affairs in the capital. Officials who had been banished by the tyrant flocked to his standard, and with no uncertain hope he continued his course to Heraclea and thence to the island Kalonymos. The city was defenceless. The guards and a regiment of soldiers called Bucellarii were at the disposal of Priscus, who was eagerly awaiting the African army, and on 3d October Phocas saw with despair the ships of the deliverer passing Hebdomon, and slowly approaching the harbour of Sophia. The Greens set fire to the building of the Caesarian harbour, which they had been enlisted to defend, and it was plain from the situation that the knell of Phocas had knolled. A naval engagement took place on Sunday, 4th October; the men of Phocas retreated,² and then the Emperor, who had returned to the palace, was abandoned completely. The circumstances of his death are uncertain. The story is that on Monday a certain Photius (curator of the palace of Placidia), who owed Phocas a grudge for having placed him in the ludicrous and painful position of a deceived husband, rushed into the palace, and, stripping the victim of his imperial robes, dragged him from his hiding-place to the presence of Heraclius.³ A short dialogue took place between the fallen and the future Emperor.

"Is it thus," asked Heraclius, "that you have governed the Empire?"

"Will you," replied Phocas, "govern it better?"⁴

This epigrammatic and pregnant question of Phocas was his best defence, and there was more than one grain of truth contained in it. But at the moment it seemed to the conqueror

¹ When was this office introduced? It was doubtless connected with the custom dues. John Ant., 218 f, gives the best account of the revolution, but many of the details are obscure.

² The Greens threatened Bonosus at the harbour of Caesarius; *οὐ δὲ ἀνθρώποι τοῦ Φωκά ἀνεχώρησαν* (John Ant. 218 f, 5). So Nicephorus, p. 4. Bonosus cast himself into the sea (*Chron. Pasch.*) Phocas had gone to *Byrides* (*Βυρίδες*), a place which cannot be identified, situate on the sea between the city and

Hebdomon. From it he saw the ships of the foe at Hebdomon.

³ John Ant., 218 f, 6, who is not followed by Theophanes, but is supported by the *Paschal Chronicle*. From Nicephorus it would appear that Phocas was taken in a boat to the ship of Heraclius, and that the dialogue took place there. Probus, a patrician, helped Photius, according to *Chron. Pasch.*

⁴ Or, perhaps, "may you be able to govern it better," *σὺ κάλλιον ἔχους* (Müller for *ἐχέεις*) *διοικῆσαι* (John Ant. 218 f).

merely the sneer of a doomed criminal, though in later years it may have often recurred to him in a new light.

In his wrath, according to one account, he kicked the tyrant and caused him to be hewed in pieces on the spot "as a carcase fit for hounds,"¹ while another record intimates that Phocas fell a victim to the eager vengeance of the circus factions.² Domentziolus, Bonosus, and Leontius the treasurer perished with him, and the corpses were burned in a place called Bous.

The impression left by the Emperor Phocas is that of a shapeless monster, a suitable head for the shapeless anarchy that beset the Empire. Yet in Italy a statue was erected (608 A.D.) in his honour by the exarch Smaragdus, and the quiet condition of the Roman provinces there is mentioned with satisfaction in a loyal inscription.³ It might be said that this honour had a double sense; and that Phocas was really thanked for his inability to interfere.⁴

On the 5th October 610, Heraclius was proclaimed Augustus by the senate and the people, and crowned by the Patriarch Sergius.⁵

¹ John Ant. 218 f.

² Theophanes. In Nicephorus, Bonosus is called Βονόσσορ, and Domentziolus Δομεντιόλος. Leontius (called by John Ant. σακελλάριος, which Nicephorus translates into βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίης) was perhaps the brother or father of the Empress Leontia. He was a Syrian, *Chron. Pasch.* (ὁ ἀπὸ σακελλαρίων). For the name *sacellarius* ("purser"), equivalent to *comes sacri patrimonii*, see below, p. 324.

³ *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* vi. p. 251, tit. 1200, on the base of a column dug up in March 1813. Smaragdus (*ex praepos. sacri palatii ac patricius et exarchus*

Italiae) dedicates the statue *pro innumerabilibus pietatis ejus beneficiis et pro quiete procurata Ital. ac conservata libertate*, on the 1st of August in the eleventh indiction (fifth year after consulship of Phocas). Smaragdus had been exarch in the reign of Maurice, 583-588; he was again exarch from 602 to 609.

⁴ Phocas enlisted the support of Gregory I. by making the Patriarch Cyriacus give up the title *ecumenic*.

⁵ Cyriacus died in 606, and was succeeded by Thomas, whom Sergius, the dean of St. Sophia and ptochotrophus, succeeded in 610.

CHAPTER II

HERACLIUS (610-622 A.D.)¹

THE Roman Empire in the reign of Justinian might be compared to one making ready to set forth on a wild and dangerous night journey. We saw how the shades closed round it, and how it utterly lost itself in marshes and dark woods under Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice. It then falls unawares into the power of a fell giant, and for eight years, under Phocas, languishes in the dungeons of his castle. Heraclius is the knight-errant who slays the giant and delivers the pining captive. Or, to speak in the language of the time, he is the Perseus who cuts off the Gorgon's head.

But the mere death of the oppressor did not dispel the

¹ Our contemporary authorities for the reign of Heraclius are George of Pisidia (for whose work *see* below, cap. iv.) and the *Paschal Chronicle* (compiled at Alexandria, which goes down to the year 628. The *ἱστορία σύνοπος* of Nicephorus the Patriarch (about 800 A.D.), and the Chronicle of his contemporary Theophanes are valuable, though later, sources; both probably derived their information from John Malalas of Antioch, whose date is disputed, but who probably lived about 700. The Armenian history of Sepéos supplies some facts not recorded by the Greek writers, but unfortunately I only know it from an article in the *Journal asiatique* (Feb. 1866), entitled "Essai d'une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides," and from M. Drapeyron's excellent work, *L'Empereur Héraclius et l'empire byzantin*, as my attempts to obtain a copy of M. Patcanian's Russian trans-

lation of Sepéos were vain.

For western events we have the Chronicle of the contemporary Isidore of Hispalis down to the fifth year of Svinthila (625 A.D.); we have the Chronicle of Fredegarius, who lived under Dagobert, and recounts the marvellous deeds (*miracula*) of Heraclius against the Persians in a somewhat legendary form (cap. 62 *sqq.*) As M. Gasquet remarks (*L'empire byzantin*, p. 205), Fredegarius "has his eyes constantly turned towards Constantinople, which is for him always the capital of the world." Our other Latin sources are the *Liber Pontificalis*, which goes under the name of Anastasius, and the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paul. The anonymous *Gesta Dagoberti* does not concern us. For our authorities for Saracen history and the monotheistic controversy, I may refer the reader to subsequent chapters.

horrors of darkness which encompassed the Empire around, and the deliverer had now a far harder thing to achieve. He must guide the rescued but still forlorn State through the pitfalls and perils of the dolorous fields which lay round about it. He found the sinews of the Empire paralysed, Europe overrun by Slaves, Asia at the mercy of the Persians; he found demoralisation prevailing in every place and in every class.¹ The breath of fresh air which was wafted with him from the healthful provinces of Africa, and gave for a moment a pleasant shock to the distempered city of Byzantium, was soon lost in the close and choking atmosphere; and it was a question whether Heraclius would really be able to govern much better than Phocas.

For the situation was eminently one that demanded a man of strong will more than a man of keen intellect. The first thing was to gain the confidence of the people, and for this purpose sheer strength of character was necessary. Until the physician had won the confidence of the patient, it was impossible for him to minister with efficacy to the distempered frame. Heraclius was in the vigour of his manhood when he came to the throne, about thirty-six years old. But he does not appear to have been endowed with that strength of character which is always masterful and sometimes wilful. A very ingenious psychological analysis of his character was made by a French historian, and is worthy of attention. Starting with the triple division of the mind into will, intellect, and sensibility, M. Drapeyron defines the perfect man, the Greek of the best age, as one in whom these three faculties are in perfect equilibrium. All less favoured ages produce men in whom one or other faculty predominates and upsets the balance; Heraclius, for example, was one in whom sensibility was more powerful than intellect and intellect more powerful than will. He adduces many passages from the contemporary "poet" George of Pisidia, who was an intimate friend of Heraclius, to prove the impressionable temperament (*συμπάθεια*) of the Emperor.² The merit of this analysis is that it seems to explain things apparently inconsistent and unaccountable in

¹ George of Pisidia, *Bell. Av.* 62, writes: *δλον τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἐβόσκειτο*, cf. Theoph. 6103 A. M. *εἶρε παραλελυμένα τὰ τῆς πολιτείας Ῥωμαίων πράγματα*.

² The personal appearance of Heraclius is described by Cedrenus thus:

"He was of middle stature, strongly built, and broad-chested; his eyes were fine, rather gray in colour; his hair was yellow, his skin white. When he became Emperor he shaved his long bushy beard and shaved his chin." As

his life. Every one who reads the history of Heraclius is met by the problems : how did the great hero of the last Persian war spend the first ten years of his reign ? and why did he relapse into lethargy after his final triumph ? The assumption that his will was naturally weak and his sensibility strong offers a way of explanation. For a strong sensibility under the influence of a powerful impression may become a sort of inspired enthusiasm, and, while it lasts, react upon the will. The inspiration, on this theory, did not move Heraclius for ten years ; then it came, and, when the object was attained, passed away again, leaving him exhausted, as if he had been under a mesmeric influence. From this point of view one naturally compares him with his contemporary Mohammed, the difference being that in the Arabian enthusiast the disproportion between the will and the sensibility was less.

That Heraclius had a capacity for enthusiasm, which found vent in the only channel then open to enthusiasm, namely religious exaltation, cannot be questioned ; that he had, like most of his contemporaries, a mystical or superstitious belief in portents and signs is most certain ; and that he had an excitable temperament is probable enough. But we do not altogether require M. Drapeyron's plausible and subtle analysis to explain the conduct of the Emperor in the early years of his reign. The first absolute condition of success was to gain public confidence. And as he was not a man who could do this by sheer force of character, he could only effect it by tact, wariness, and patience. The machine of the State was out of order, all the bells were jangled, and in the midst of the difficult complications Heraclius was obliged to feel his way slowly. When we read that the Persians were encamped at Chalcedon in 609 and that the first campaign of Heraclius was in 623,¹ we are fain to imagine that he must have gone to sleep for more than ten years "in the lap of a voluptuous carelessness." It seemed as if the new Perseus had been himself gorgonised

John Malalas generally gives short descriptions of the external appearance of the Emperors (which in other cases Cedrenus utilised), I have no doubt that this description comes from a lost book of John Malalas. It is not the wont of Theophanes to reproduce these physical details.

to the Armenian historian Sepéos (*see* Patcanian in the *Journal asiatique*, Feb. 1866, p. 199), Heraclius took the field against the Persians soon after his accession. Sepéos also differs from Greek chroniclers in regard to the Persian general at Chalcedon in 615 ; according to Sepéos he was Razman, also called Khorheam, not Shahen.

¹ It is worth noticing that, according

by the face of the dead horror. But we must glance more closely at the difficulties which surrounded him.

In the first place, a serious limit was imposed on the activity of the Emperor by the power of the aristocracy, which since the last days of Justinian had become a formidable rival to the throne. Both Maurice and Phocas adopted the plan of attaching a special group of ministers to their persons, and thus forming an imperial party which in case of necessity might act against refractory patricians. This group would naturally include the Emperor's kinsmen. Maurice made his father Paulus chief of the senate, and his brother Peter, in spite of military incapacity, general. Phocas created his brother Domentziolus curopalates and subsequently general; and it may be conjectured that Leontius, the Syrian treasurer, was a relative of his wife Leontia. Heraclius followed the example of his predecessors. He too assigned the post of curopalates to his brother Theodorus; and Theodorus and his cousin Nicetas formed the nucleus of an imperial party. This circumstance aroused an opposition with which it was necessary for the Emperor to deal warily. He appointed Priscus (the son-in-law of Phocas), who had invited him to Europe, to command the army stationed in Cappadocia. But Priscus was not content with the new Emperor, nor with his own share in the fruits of the revolution, and his conduct exhibited tokens of dubious loyalty. Heraclius decided to act with a judicious caution, and proceeded in person to Caesarea, the chief town of Cappadocia, in order to sound the sentiments of the suspected general. Priscus at first feigned to be ill; but Heraclius saw him before returning to Byzantium, and it is said that, while the Emperor was imperturbably gentle, the general almost openly insulted him. "The Emperor," he said, "has no business to leave the palace for the camp." But Heraclius was biding his time. He asked Priscus to be the godfather of his son Constantine, and the general came to Constantinople. Before an assembly, in which the Church, the nobility, and the *demes* were represented, Heraclius judged Priscus from his own lips, and compelled him to take the vows of monasticism.¹

¹ He is said to have struck him with a book and said, "You were a bad son-in-law, you could not be a good friend."

For the whole story, see Nicephorus, pp. 5, 6.

This was a distinct triumph for the Emperor, and an important advantage gained, for the sympathies of all classes seem to have been enlisted on his side. It was to assure himself of this support that he had proceeded in the matter with such diplomatic caution. The possessions of Priscus, it may be added, were divided between Theodorus and Nicetas, a circumstance which, among other indications, shows that they were looked upon as the supports of the throne. Gregoria, the daughter of Nicetas, was betrothed to the infant Constantine.

An incident is recorded which illustrates the general demoralisation, the power of the patricians, and the cautious manner in which the Emperor was obliged to feel his way and gain step by step on the prevailing anarchy. Not far from Constantinople lived two neighbours, a patrician named Vutelinus¹ and a widow with several children. A field on the borders of their lands, which both claimed, gave rise to a dispute, and Vutelinus employed an armed band of servants to assert his rights. The household of the lady offered resistance, and one of her sons was beaten to death with clubs. Then the lady set out for the capital, bearing the bloodstained garment of her son in her hand, and as the Emperor rode forth from the palace she seized the bridle of his horse, and cried out, "If you avenge not this blood, according to the laws, may such a lot befall your own sons." The Emperor concealed the sympathy and indignation which he felt, and dismissed her, merely saying that he would consider the matter at some seasonable time. His apparent indifference seemed to her a refusal to execute justice, and her despairing grief as she was led away moved the Emperor more deeply. In the meantime her appeal frightened Vutelinus, and he concealed himself in Constantinople. But one day Heraclius, who knew his appearance, espied him in the hippodrome, and caused him to be arrested. He was tried, and condemned to be beaten to death by his servants in the same way as the widow's son had been slain; the unwilling executioners were then to suffer death themselves.

We may mention another incident which shows that during the reign of terror a sort of oriental barbarity had crept into

¹ Βουτηλίνος. The story is recorded by Nicephorus, p. 8.

the Roman Empire and demoralised public feeling. Heraclius lost his wife Eudocia two years after his accession, and as the funeral procession passed through the streets, and the inhabitants were watching it from their windows, it happened that a servant-maid spat just as the corpse, carried on an open bier, was passing, and "the superfluity" fell on the robes of the dead Empress. It will hardly be credited that the girl was sacrificed on the tomb.¹ We are not told what Heraclius thought of the matter.

Other difficulties which surrounded Heraclius were the want of money and the want of an efficient army. His close connection with Africa probably assisted him at first and rescued the financial department; but all reserve funds were exhausted; Asia, infested by the enemy, must have been almost unproductive as a source of revenue, and the lands of Illyricum and Thrace, and perhaps Greece, were at the mercy of Slavonic invaders.² Africa, the south-west of Asia Minor, Egypt, and Italy must have been the chief sources of income. But the poverty of the treasury is proved by the bankruptcy which prevailed some years later, when Heraclius was preparing for his great expedition.

It is impossible to arrive at a certain conclusion as to the forces which were available when Heraclius came to the throne. We only know that the army was inefficient, and that of the soldiers who had served in the reign of Maurice and revolted against him only two were alive at the time of the death of Phocas.³ Priscus commanded an army in Cappadocia, and this army seems to have been attached in a special manner to his own person; perhaps he had raised it himself. For when he became a monk by enforced constraint the Emperor showed marked consideration to his soldiers, and said, "You were till now the servants of Priscus, to-day we have made you the servants of the Empire." This army and the troops which Heraclius and Nicetas had brought with them from Africa are the only field forces of whose actual existence we are certain.

Thus difficulties bristled about Heraclius on all sides,—a

¹ Her mistress barely escaped with her life. Nicephorus, p. 7.

² Cf. Isidore, *Chron.* 120; in the beginning of the reign of Heraclius,

Slavi Græciam Romanis tulerunt. It is hard to say how much this means.

³ Theoph. 6103 A.M.

corrupt administration of justice, an inadequate army, an ill-filled treasury, which the fresh aggressions of the Persians made annually emptier. These things demanded reform; and the limits impressed on the Emperor by the power of the patricians, as well as the prevalent demoralisation in all classes, made reform necessarily tardy, notwithstanding the best intentions.

Without supposing Heraclius to have been a John-a-dreams, we can well understand how, with such a prospect before him, he may not have been anxious to ascend the throne, and would not have envied Priscus or Nicetas the diadem; we may suspect that, as he reflected on the rottenness of the time, he often regretted deeply that he was "born to set it right."

He seems to have found a compensation in domestic life for the comfortless duties of politics; and, as these personal matters had some important political bearings, we must not omit to notice them. His marriage with the delicate Eudocia was celebrated on the day of his coronation; she bore him two children, Epiphania and Heraclius Constantine, but died herself of epilepsy in August 612.¹ Soon afterwards he celebrated a second marriage with his niece Martina, and this created a great scandal among his orthodox subjects, who considered such an alliance incestuous (*αἰμομιξία*). Their superstitious objections seemed justified by the fact that of her two first children, Flavius and Theodosius, one had a wry neck and the other was deaf and dumb; and the physical sufferings of the Emperor himself, endured in the last years of his life, were looked upon as a retribution of this sin. Martina was a strong and ambitious woman, who seems to have always exercised a potent fascination on her husband; and if Heraclius had not felt that she was a necessity to him, he would hardly have run the risk of giving general offence and creating distrust when all his endeavours were directed to win the confidence of his subjects. It is remarkable that George of Pisidia, the friend of Heraclius, never mentions Martina's name, and some words seem to point to a sore spot. Martina was always looked on as "the accursed thing."

¹ Theoph. 6103 A.M., Nicephorus, p. 9. Constantine was crowned 22d January 613 (*Chron. Pasch.*, but 25th

December 612 according to Theophanes). Epiphania was crowned in October 612.

Of the operations of Chosroes at this period and the losses of the Romans we know only the most important, and even these in the barest outline; for the historians seem to make a practice of omitting painful details, and George of Pisidia has formulated the principle that it is meet to commit to silence the greater part of our distresses.¹ Syria was invaded and Damascus taken, in 613 or 614,² by the great general Shahr Barz or "Royal Boar." An embassy treating for peace was sent to Chosroes, but without result³; and in 614 or 615 Palestine was invaded; Jerusalem was taken; "the wood," as the true cross was called, was carried to Persia; and the Patriarch Zacharias himself was led into captivity. Concerning the capture of Jerusalem we possess some significant details.⁴ At the first appearance of the Persians the inhabitants made little resistance, and were easily persuaded to receive a Persian garrison. But when the army had retired, the Christians suddenly rose and slaughtered most of the Persians and Jews in the city. Shahr Barz returned, and having taken the city after a stubborn resistance, which lasted about three weeks, he avenged his countrymen by a massacre of three days. We are told that 90,000 Christians were handed over to the untender mercies of the Jews; and the Jews had so many accounts to settle that, notwithstanding their careful habits, they ransomed prisoners for the pleasure of butchering them.

The loss of the country and the city with which the religious sentiments of the Byzantines were so closely associated was soon followed by the loss of the country which chiefly supplied the material needs of Constantinople. Egypt became a Persian province; for ten years a Copt, Mukaukas, administered it for the Persian king, and the centre of his government was not at Alexandria but at Misr (Babylon, near Cairo). Here, as in Palestine, as in Syria, as in the country about the Euphrates, the efforts of the Persians would never have been attended with such immediate and easy success but for the disaffection of large masses of the population. This disaffection rested chiefly on the religious differences, which were closely associated

¹ *Bell. Avar.* l. 12.

² Clinton, following *Chron. Pasch.* 614. Theophanes, 6104 A.M., that is (as Theophanes is a year wrong) 6105 = second indiction = September 613 to

September 614.

³ Chosroes assumed the position of wishing to restore Theodosius, the son of Maurice, who was really dead.

⁴ *Chron. Pasch.* and *Sépéas*.

with differences in nationality. In Egypt there was bitter enmity between the Greek Melchites (Royalists) and the native Jacobites and monophysites¹; in Palestine the irreconcilable feud between Christians and Jews determined the fate of the Holy City; and in Syria Nestorians were not unkindly disposed to the Sassanid kingdom, which had generally afforded them a hospitable shelter.

In regard to the Jews, Heraclius was disposed to follow the policy of his predecessor. He seems to have considered that any attempt at conciliation or tolerance would be wasted, or perhaps he was influenced by the deadly power of superstition. This policy appears too in his relations with foreign states; he initiated an anti-Jewish movement throughout Europe. A treaty which he made with Sisibut, the Visigothic king of Spain, in 614, the year of the massacres of Jerusalem, probably contained the stipulation that Sisibut should compel the Jews of Spain to become Christians.² And six years later, in his negotiations with the Frank king Dagobert, he induced that monarch to adopt the policy of persecution. According to Fredegarius,³ Heraclius discovered by the aid of astrology that the Roman Empire was destined to be blotted out by circumcised peoples, and therefore sent to Dagobert an order or a request that he should baptize and convert all the Jews in his kingdom; and Dagobert did this. Moreover, Heraclius made the same ordinance in all the provinces of the Empire, for he knew not whence the disaster was to come.

Although the Emperor's resources did not avail to save Syria and Egypt from the invaders, and from themselves, or even to secure Asia Minor, we cannot argue that he was inactive or that there were not Roman armies in the field. When Priscus had withdrawn to lead a holier life in 612, Philippicus, who had unwillingly abandoned the world at the instance of Phocas, came forth from his monastery, and was appointed general instead of Priscus. At the same time Theodorus, the Emperor's brother, received a military command. We may

¹ The monophysites, however, were not unanimously in favour of Persian rule. Benjamin left Alexandria and returned when Egypt was reconquered.

² Isidore, *Hist. Goth.* cap. 60 (cf. cap. 120) blames the persecution of

Sisibut, but does not attribute it to Heraclius.

³ Fredegarius, *Chron.* cap. 65. This policy of Heraclius is noticed by Finlay, I. p. 326.

suppose that Philippicus until his death, which occurred not long after this,¹ protected, like Priscus, the province of Cappadocia; and it is to be presumed that Theodorus was stationed in some other province of Asia Minor, perhaps in Cilicia. For from the situation of affairs it is natural to conclude that Heraclius, despairing of the southern countries, would devote all his resources to the defence of Asia Minor.² But even Asia Minor was not to escape the horrors of invasion. After the conquest of Egypt, the general Shahen entered Asia Minor, meeting, as far as we know, no opposition, and advanced to Chalcedon,³ as another general had done in the last years of Phocas. The blockade of this town lasted a considerable time, and it is said that the Persian general and the Roman Emperor had an interview, in which the former professed himself desirous of bringing about a peace, and sanguine of the success of negotiations. He offered to go himself, along with the Roman ambassadors, to Chosroes, and use his influence with his master. Heraclius readily agreed, and three envoys were nominated: Olympius, praetorian prefect (presumably of the East); Leontius, prefect of the city; and Anastasius, chancellor of St. Sophia. The most important feature of this embassy is that it was sent, not in the name of the Emperor himself, but of the members of the senate, who composed a long letter to Chosroes. The document justifies Heraclius and makes Phocas the scapegoat; moreover, it reflects the general idea of the Romans that the losses of their provinces were ultimately due to their own sins, and not to the powers of the enemy.⁴ As soon as the

¹ About a year later, Niceph. p. 7.

² It is worth noticing that Nicetas, who started along with Heraclius for Africa in autumn of 610, did not arrive in Constantinople till about April 612 (see Nicephorus). We know not what detained him on his journey, but it may be conjectured that he lingered in Syria to operate against the Persians—perhaps to succour Antioch.

³ Here I follow Nicephorus (p. 9), who calls Shahen Σάϊρος, and the MSS. of Theophanes, 6107, 6108 A.M., where, however, de Boor follows the Latin translator Anastasius and reads Καρχηδόνα and Καρχηδόνος for Χαλκηδόνα and Χαλκηδόνος. Is a fact really preserved in the translation of Anastasius? Is it really true that the Persians antici-

pated the Saracens in wresting Carthage from the Empire as well as in wresting Syria and Egypt? And if so, had the Persian occupation anything to do with Heraclius' project of making Carthage the imperial capital!

⁴ The long document (composed and sent ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἡμῶν) is preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* I follow Theophanes in placing the embassy in the end of 617 or 618. *Chron. Pasch.* places it in 615, but this is inconsistent with Nicephorus, for Shahen had already blockaded Chalcedon for a long time when the interview took place, and he can hardly have reached Chalcedon before end of 615 at earliest, but more probably in 616. Cf. Theophanes (fourth indiction). M. Drapeyron, p. 129, places it

ambassadors passed the frontiers, Shahen placed them in fetters; but worse things awaited Shahen himself. Chosroes, who from this time forth constantly displays a sort of irrational insolence, was so indignant that Shahen had conversed with Heraclius and yet had not brought him bound hand and foot to his feet, caused the general to be flayed alive; the ambassadors he subjected to a rigorous confinement.

The loss of Egypt, and the loss of Jerusalem and the holy "wood" were disastrous in different ways. The cessation of the corn supply caused a famine at Constantinople, and the famine produced its natural offspring—a pestilence. Pestilence and famine are often called sisters, each is really both a cause and an effect of the other. Famine induces scanty clothing, dirt, overcrowding, huddling together for the sake of warmth; and thus are formed centres of weak organisms for the germs of the disease to breed in and spread. The plague, on the other hand, involves a cessation of work and production. This calamity must have seriously paralysed the action of the government, which was always to a certain extent unhealthily confined by the paramount importance of everything that affected the imperial city.

The capture of the Holy Rood was equally serious in a moral aspect; it seemed as if the Deity, by permitting the material instrument of redemption to fall into the hand of the adversary, had plainly turned away in anger from the sins of the Christians and withdrawn his favour. To the inhabitants of Constantinople especially it must have been a grievous distress, for, apart from its intrinsic value, the Holy Rood was closely associated with Helena, the sainted mother of Constantine the Great.¹ When she went as a pilgrim to Jerusalem she was seized by a strong desire to find the actual wood on which Christ had been crucified. Inspiring Macarius, the bishop of Jerusalem, with her ardour, she caused Mount Calvary to be excavated, and three crosses were discovered. Then the question was, which of the three was the Holy Cross? It was soon solved. Held over the face of a lady who was sick unto death, the true cross healed her by the efficacy of its shadow.

after Heraclius' design of going to Carthage was surrendered, and any date in 618 before 1st September is consistent with Theophanes' notice.

¹ The doings of Helena in Palestine are narrated by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*.

Helena caused it to be divided into two parts, of which one was sent to her son Constantine, while the other, placed in a silver case, of which the bishop of Jerusalem kept the key, was deposited in the church of the Resurrection. The loss of this, the most precious relic of Christendom, seemed a fatal omen and could not but dispirit still more deeply the desponding hearts of the Romans.

It was after the failure of the embassy to Chosroes that Heraclius conceived a remarkable idea, which, if it had been carried out, would have altered the history of the Roman Empire. He felt that amid the prevailing demoralisation and indifference it was utterly impracticable to make any effectual attempt to rescue the Empire from dismemberment. For he was not given free scope or allowed a fair chance. His actions were limited by the aristocracy, which seems to have assumed an independent position ; he was, in point of power, rather the first man of the senate than an Emperor raised above all alike. It seemed as if the imperial dignity were drifting back into its first stage of six centuries ago. The fact that the senate, and not the Emperor, sent the embassy to Chosroes is the clearest indication of the actual tendency of politics at this time. On the other hand, the atmosphere of Constantinople, the imperial city, had been corrupted by three centuries of degrading bounty. The inhabitants were spoiled children ; they looked upon the Emperor as their own peculiar property ; their mere residence in Constantinople entitled them to the privileges of idleness, of eating bread for nothing, of witnessing games and court pageants. In such an atmosphere, amid such a wicked and adulterous generation, Heraclius despaired of making a fresh start. While he remained there he must necessarily keep up the old palatial traditions, maintain a costly court expenditure with the money which should have supported a campaign. The iron fetters of "damned custom" lay heavy on his soul ; and he concluded that the only chance of breaking with the past and starting afresh on rational principles, and thereby rescuing the Empire, was to go to a new place, and change the capital of the Roman world. Once he had resolved, the most natural place to select was Carthage, the scene where his youth had been spent. It was the only

prosperous city of first-rate importance at this time, and it was the centre of flourishing provinces, which were devoted to the Heraclian family. There he might make a fresh start with hands untied, independent of the Byzantine nobility and unparalysed by Byzantine demoralisation. There he could be as economical as he pleased, his household could be as simple as was necessary, and he could organise a campaign against the Persians in a secure and distant retreat.

Heraclius made up his mind to carry out this revolutionary project, and before he published his intentions he secretly despatched to Africa the treasures of the palace. Fate itself declared against the design, for the larger part of the gold and silver and precious stones was wrecked in a storm. Then the Byzantines learned the resolve of the Emperor, and great was their consternation. They constrained the Emperor to abandon the plan and not desert Constantinople. The Patriarch Sergius bound him with solemn oaths in the church of St. Sophia that he would never leave the queen of cities.¹ This scene must have produced a deep impression on all who took part in or witnessed it.

If I am not mistaken, this was the turning-point of Heraclius' reign. For, although his design of making a new beginning in Africa was frustrated, this very design rendered it possible to make a new beginning in Constantinople, a consummation for which he could hardly have ventured to hope. We may say that the idea, which he wellnigh executed, caused a moral revolution. The possibility of losing the Emperor, of no longer being the privileged imperial city, brought suddenly home to Constantinople the realities of its situation, and awakened it from the false dream of a spoiled child. When the inhabitants saw that they were not indispensable to the Emperor, as the Emperor was to them, and imagined themselves left without protection, they took a different view of the relations of things. And to this awakening we may ascribe the salvation of the Empire.

At the same time a new element began to permeate the air and react against the morbid despondency which possessed men's minds. A religious enthusiasm spread, and the war against the Persians was regarded in a more religious light than

¹ Niceph. p. 12.

it had been conceived before; it was regarded, namely, as a death-struggle between Christendom and heathendom. Perhaps the capture of the Holy Rood more than anything else rendered this aspect of the war visible; the contest became a crusade. This spiritual change is marked politically by the close alliance which was formed at this time between the Emperor and the Patriarch Sergius, who was henceforth not only a spiritual but a temporal adviser.¹ Sergius was a strong energetic prelate who had the power of influencing men and stirring up enthusiasm; and he played as important a part in the last Persian war as the Pope played in the First Crusade. The religious feeling that prevailed was expressed in solemn services; and while the threats of Chosroes, that he would not spare the Christians until they denied the Crucified,² stirred up religious fury against the Antichrist, the recovery of two relics,—the Lance which pierced the side and the Sponge which mocked the thirst of Christ,—shed a gleam of hope, as a sort of earnest that the Holy Cross would be ultimately recovered. It was about this time that Chosroes sent a characteristic letter to Heraclius, intended to be a leisurely reply to the embassy of Shahan. The letter ran thus³:—

“The noblest of the gods, the king and master of the whole earth, the son of the great Oromazes, Chosroes, to Heraclius his vile and insensate slave.

“Refusing to submit to our rule, you call yourself a lord and sovereign. You detain and disperse our treasures, and deceive our servants. Having gathered together a troop of brigands, you ceaselessly annoy us; have I not then destroyed the Greeks? You say you have trust in God; why then has he not delivered out of my hand Caesarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria? Are you then ignorant that I have subdued land and sea to my laws? And could I not also destroy Constantinople? But not so. I will pardon all your faults if you will come hither with your wife and children. I will give you lands, vines, and olive groves, which will supply you with the necessaries of life; I will look upon you with a kindly glance. Do not deceive yourself with a vain hope in that Christ who was not able to save himself from the Jews, that killed him by nailing him to a cross. If you descend to the depths of the sea I will stretch out my hand and will seize you, and you shall then see me unwillingly.”

Such a letter as this was advantageous to the cause of Heraclius.

¹ Was it now that he exhorted him to give up Martina? Cf. Niceph. p. 14.

² Theophanes, 6109 A.M.

³ Σεπείος, as quoted by M. Drapeyron, *op. cit.* p. 133.

As the loss of the cross, at first depressing, proved subsequently stimulating when the reaction came, so the loss of Egypt, at first disastrous, turned out beneficial in improving the moral tone of the capital. Once Heraclius had won his new position and a certain flame of unselfish enthusiasm had been kindled, he was able to refuse to continue the free distribution of "the political bread," and demand a small payment; and a few months later he could venture to discontinue the practice altogether.¹ This reform had many beneficial effects. In the first place, it was a direct relief to the public purse. In the second place, by rendering idleness less possible and by setting free funds to support labour, it increased labour. And in the third place, the idlers who could not or would not produce became recruits in the army. And, beside these results, the moral tone was raised.

But this relief was not enough to supply Heraclius with the funds necessary for effectual military operations. It was in fact merely a set-off against the loss of Egypt; it was no absolute gain to the exchequer. The financial perplexity was solved by the religious character of the war, which produced a close alliance between Church and State and made Sergius the ardent right-hand man of Heraclius. The Church granted a great loan to the State, which was to be paid back with interest at the end of the war. The immense treasures of the churches of Constantinople were melted and converted into coin; and the political insolvency was rescued by a peculiar form of national debt, which recalls the public loan made by the Romans in the second Punic war.

No event betrays more significantly than this loan that the character of the last Persian war was that of a holy crusade.

Perhaps for no lustrum in the seventh century are exact dates so desirable as for these years (617-622), during which the Roman Empire revived and a new spirit passed into its dry bones. And it is irritating to find that the notices of the chroniclers are vague and contradictory. But without attempting to establish definite dates for everything, I think the

¹ *Chron. Pasch.* 618 A.D. ἀπητήθησαν οἱ κτήτορες τῶν πολιτικῶν ἄρτων διὰ διαγραφῶν (like a capitation tax) καθ' ἑκάστον ἄρτον νομισμάτα γ', which means three

aurei (£1 : 17 : 6), not per loaf, but for the right of one ticket for receiving loaves daily. διὰ διαγραφῶν implies it was to be a yearly payment.

general nexus of events is plain, and this nexus is important. The design of Heraclius to migrate to Carthage (618) led to the reaction, and this reaction enabled him to incite the citizens to enthusiasm and carry out the needful reforms.¹

At this juncture another element in the political situation becomes prominent, the dangerous neighbourhood of the Avaric kingdom, of which we have heard nothing since the treaty with Phocas in 604. In the meantime, however, the Avars had not been idle. One year in alliance and the next year at feud with their old allies the Lombards, they were alternately ravaging Istria in conjunction with that people and invading northern Italy. In 619 the chagan proposed to make a treaty with Heraclius, and won the hearts of two Roman ambassadors by his amiable behaviour. He proposed a conference at Heraclea, to which the Emperor eagerly consented, for it was now of the greatest consequence to him to secure for Constantinople immunity from attacks on the Thracian side, while he threw all his forces into the contest in the East. The preparations for the interview made by the Romans and those made by the Avars were of a very different nature. Heraclius made arrangements to entertain the barbarians by a scenic representation, and to dazzle them with all the sumptuousness of imperial splendour and court pageantry. The chagan, on the other hand, despatched a chosen body of troops to conceal themselves on the wooded heights that commanded the Long Wall. But fortunately Heraclius, who was waiting at Selymbria, received intelligence of this suspicious movement, and perceived that the chagan's intention was to seize his person by cutting off his retreat. He did not hesitate to throw off his royal dress and disguise himself in humble raiment; and, with his crown concealed under his arm, the Emperor fled to Constantinople. He arrived just in time to take some measures for the defence of the city. The Avars, balked in their stratagem, pursued him hotly, and, penetrating into the suburbs of the city, wrecked several churches. Not only did the apparatus which had been provided for the scenic performances, and those who were engaged in the preparations, and the imperial robes, become the

¹ The order of events in Nicephorus leads us to refer the Carthage design to 618, and in 618 the *Paschal Chronicle*

places the corn reform. The nexus is patent.

booty of the chagan, but men and women to the number of 270,000 were carried away to captivity.¹

We are not accurately informed what followed this alarming occurrence. It seems that the chagan tried to gloze over the treachery, and it is probable that Heraclius, unlike the unpopular Maurice, ransomed the captives and bought a peace.² He had already directed the exarch of Ravenna to make a defensive treaty with the Lombards for operations against the Avars, and this was to a certain extent a check on the hostilities of the heathen.

But before Heraclius set out to conduct the Persian war he conceived the idea of throwing a sop to Cerberus and paying a compliment to the chagan of the Avars. He is said to have appointed that monarch guardian of his son,³ and he sent as hostages to the Avaric court two Roman nobles, along with a nephew and a son of his own; the latter, who "came saucily into the world before he was sent for," bore the Gothic name Athalaric. By this scheme Heraclius not only conciliated the Avars but possessed spies in the enemy's country, who could give early warning of harm intended to the Empire.

The new spirit of vigour and enthusiasm that prevailed had manifested itself in 618, and yet Heraclius was not ready to set out on his first campaign until 622. The year 619 is accounted for by the affair with the Avars which was so nearly fatal to the Emperor, but by what cares he was occupied during the two ensuing years we are not informed by our Greek authorities. We can hardly assume that all this time was required for the organisation of his army, especially as in 622 he spent several months in drilling his troops in Cilicia.

The solution of this difficulty is that he was engaged in hostilities with the Persians who were stationed at Chalcedon, and that these hostilities have been completely omitted by the Greek historians. That town, taken by the Persians in 617, had become the station of an army which was always watching

¹ There was probably a large number of people at Heraclea assembled for the gaudies, and many also at Selymbria with the Emperor. Many too must have been carried off from the immediate vicinity of the capital.

² This may be concluded from Niceph.

p. 15: *κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, κ.τ.λ.*

³ This guardianship was, of course, only nominal and complimentary. It strongly confirms the often doubted notice of Procopius that Arcadius appointed the king of Persia guardian of his son Theodosius.

for an opportunity to attack the great city across the straits. This solution would be only a probable conjecture but for a record preserved by an Armenian historian of an event which must be placed in one of these years.¹ By the orders of Chosroes the Persians assaulted Constantinople, but the Greek fleet attacked them and utterly discomfited them, with a loss of 4000 men and their ships. This encouraging success indicates to us another preoccupation of Heraclius. It was not only necessary to organise an army; it devolved upon him to organise a navy also, in order to secure the capital during his absence.

By the end of 621 all the preliminaries were over. Friendly relations had been established with the Avars; the imperial city on the Bosphorus had a fleet to protect it against the Persians of Chalcedon; the military chest was well provided, owing to the co-operation of the Church; and an army had been formed, which was to be further increased on its arrival in Asia. There was a deliberation and want of haste about all these preparations which lent them a certain solemnity; and all minds must have been wrought up to form high expectations for the success of this enterprise, which was marked by two novelties. It was a distinctly religious war, in which the worshippers of Christ and the worshippers of fire were fighting to the death; and it was to be conducted by the Emperor in person,² an arrangement which to the inhabitants of Byzantium was a new and strange thing, for since Theodosius the Great no Emperor who reigned at New Rome had led an army to victory or defeat. Zeno the Isaurian had indeed proclaimed that he would conduct a campaign against Theodoric, and more recently Maurice had marched as far as Anchialus to take the field against the Avars; yet at the last moment both Maurice and Zeno had abandoned their valorous purposes. But Heraclius was not as Zeno or as Maurice, and the recent naval success in the Bosphorus was an inspiring omen of victory.

The winter before his departure (621-622) was spent by Heraclius in retirement. He was probably engaged in studying strategy and geography and planning his first campaign. Those

¹ Σεπέος. See Drapeyron, *op. cit.* p. 131, who adopts this theory as to the date. In 620 the Persians took Galatian Ancyra (Theoph. 6111 A.M.)

² Some disapproved of this plan and tried to retain him (compare the similar case of Maurice, above, p. 124), George Pis. *Exp. Pers.* i. 120 sqq.

who look upon him as an inspired enthusiast would like to see in this retirement the imperative need of communion with his own soul and with God; they suppose that he was like John the Baptist, or that, like Jesus, he retired to a mountain to pray. To support this idea they can appeal to George of Pisidia, who, speaking of this retreat, says that the Emperor "imitated Elias of old," and uses many other expressions which may be interpreted in a similar manner. It is probable that Heraclius was fain to possess his soul in silence for a few months; but it is hazardous to press the theological word-painting of a poetical ecclesiastic into the service of the theory that Heraclius was a semi-prophetic enthusiast with a naturally weak will. When George of Pisidia mentions in another place that the Emperor studied treatises on tactics and rehearsed plans of battle, we feel that we are on surer ground.¹ The *Strategic* of Maurice, doubtless, was constantly in his hands.

Heraclius appointed his son Constantine, now ten years old, regent during his absence. The actual administration was vested in Sergius the Patriarch and Bonus a patrician, who were to act, of course, in concert with the senate. The political position of Sergius is highly significant of the time, and indicates the close bond which was drawing together Church and State, a bond substantially welded by the material sacrifice which the Church had made. It was natural that when the Church had ventured the greater part of her possessions in the enterprise, she should have a representative in the government. Such a colossal shareholder had a claim to appoint a director. But, apart from this consideration, Sergius was the strongest and firmest supporter of the Emperor throughout his reign, quite an invaluable ally.

On the day after Easter 622 Heraclius sailed from Constantinople. His departure was celebrated with religious circumstance, emphasising the religious character of his enterprise, to prevent the infidels from insulting the heritage

¹ *Heracliad*, ii. 120 and 136—

οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἔργον πολεμικῶν συνταγ-
μάτων
δὲ μὴ μετῆλθες τῇ σχολῇ τῶν σκευμάτων,
τυπῶν, προτάττων, εὐτρεπίζων, προσ-
γράφων

καὶ σχηματουργῶν τῆς μάχης τὰς
εἰκόνας, κ.τ.λ.

M. Drapeyron's minute study of George of Pisidia causes him to ascribe an undue importance and a too literal meaning to every word.

of Christ. George of Pisidia delivered an oration on the occasion, and foretold that Heraclius would redden his black leggings in Persian blood.¹ The Emperor took with him that image of the Virgin not made with hands² which had been propitious to him when, almost twelve years before, he sailed against Phocas.

¹ This is recorded by Cedrenus, i. p. 718 (ed. Bonn). Cedrenus had before him a source which we do not possess—the source doubtless which was used by Theophanes. Entering the church with black shoes, Heraclius prayed “Lord God (*θεέ*, a curious vocative), give us not up for a reproach to our enemies on account of our sins”; and George Pisides said in solemn iambic verses, “O king,

μελαμβαφές πέδιλον ἐλιξας πόδα
βάψαις ἐρυθρόν Περσικῶν ἐξ αἱμάτων.”

Did George relate this incident in a lost poem? or did he really extemporise the iambics?

² George Pis. *Exp. Pers.* i. 140 (a passage which caught the fancy of Theophanes, who quotes part of it, 6113 A.M.)—

μορφὴν ἐκείνην τῆς γραφῆς τῆς ἀγράφου
ἦν χεῖρες οὐκ ἔγραψαν ἀλλ’ ἐν εἰκόνι
ὁ πάντα μορφῶν καὶ διαπλάττων Λόγος
ἀνευ γραφῆς μόρφωσιν, ὡς ἀνευ σποράς
κύησιν αὐτὸς, ὡς ἐπίσταται, φέρει.

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN WAR

THE Persian campaigns of Heraclius are six in number: (1) the campaign of Cappadocia and Pontus, 622-623; (2) the first campaign of Azerbiyan, 623; (3) the campaign of Albania and Armenia, 624; (4) the campaign of Cilicia, 625; (5) the second campaign of Azerbiyan, 626; (6) the campaign of Assyria, 627-628. The year 626 was also signalised by the joint attack of the Persians and Avars on Constantinople.¹

I. Campaign of Cappadocia and Pontus, 622-623 A.D.

The plan of the first campaign of Heraclius was a distinct surprise. It was probably expected that he would sail up the Black Sea and enter Persia by Armenia. He took a completely different course. He sailed southward through the Hellespont, coasted along Asia Minor, then, bearing eastward, made for the bay of Issus, and landed at those remarkable Gates which form the entrance from Syria to Asia Minor, "the gates of Cilicia and Syria." These Gates are a narrow road between the range of Mount Amanus on the east and the sea on the west, about six days' march from Tarsus. The place played a part of strategic importance both in the expedition of Cyrus the younger and in the Persian expedition of Alexander. Its importance for Heraclius' purposes lay in its geographical advantages. It was a common centre to which

¹ The best and fullest account of these campaigns has been written by Drapcyron.

Roman subjects in Syria on the one hand, and in Asia Minor on the other, who had escaped the sword or chains of Chosroes, could gather to the standard of the Emperor; and no place could offer a more secure retreat for organising and drilling his army at leisure and for assimilating the new recruits to the troops which he had brought with him. These preparations occupied the summer and autumn, and Heraclius showed that both in directing tactics and in inspiring confidence he possessed a rare talent for military command. He had already, on the voyage, won golden opinions by his personal energy in a storm which almost wrecked his ship; and he appears to have adopted a tone of genial comradeship which infused confidence into his followers and aided his Roman discipline in holding together the heterogeneous masses that composed his army. He did not forget to keep alive the religious enthusiasm which had inspired the expedition, and doubtless he sometimes delivered half-religious half-martial orations, such as became a crusader.¹ The practical part of the preparations seems to have been thorough; and he exercised his own generalship and his soldiers' presence of mind in sham battles.

As winter approached, Heraclius passed from Cilicia into Cappadocia, and a trifling victory over some Saracen guerilla bands² was hailed as an earnest of a prosperous issue.

In the meantime King Chosroes had sent a mandate to Shahr Barz,—who, regardless of Heraclius, was still watching his opportunity at Chalcedon,—to move eastward and oppose the advance of the Roman army. This was just what Heraclius desired. The Persians entered Pontus, expecting that the Romans would remain in the south of Cappadocia until winter was over; but, finding that Heraclius continued his northward march, they passed into that country. The armies met, and Heraclius found himself in an unfavourable position before he had time to choose his own ground; moreover, he was threatened with want of supplies. He extricated himself from this difficulty by a curious ambiguous movement, a sort of double-faced march.³ To the Persians he seemed to be moving

¹ See George Pis. *Exp. Pers.* ii. 88 sqq.

² *Ib.* 218, τὸ Σαρακήνων τάγμα τῶν πολυτρίχων.

³ This movement was called the *τάξις πεπλεγμένη*. George Pis. *Exp. Pers.* 261 sqq.—

in a southerly direction, whereas he really took a northerly route, and before they were aware what had taken place he had crossed the Antitaurus range and entered the region of Pontus where the Lycus and Halys approach each other. Shahr Barz now took it for granted that the Romans would winter in Pontus, but Heraclius soon gave him cause for uneasiness by feigning a movement in the direction of Armenia, as though he intended to invade Persia on that side. The Persian general then adopted the curiously infelicitous scheme of marching southwards to Cilicia, thinking apparently that Heraclius would follow him to secure the Gates at Issus. But the Gates had served the Emperor's purpose, and he was now indifferent in their regard; so the decoy did not succeed. Then, weary of this game of hide-and-seek, and uncertain of Heraclius' design in respect to Armenia, Shahr Barz retraced his steps and crossed the Antitaurus in the face of the Roman forces which occupied the passes.

Once more the armies were face to face, but on this occasion Heraclius had been able to choose his position.¹ The versifier who celebrated this campaign has left an edifying description of the contrast between the two camps.² Cymbals and all kinds of music gratified the ears of Shahr Barz, and naked women danced before him; while the christian Emperor sought delight in psalms sung to mystical instruments, which awoke a divine echo in his soul.

For several days the armies stood opposed in battle array without venturing on an engagement; and it is said that Heraclius employed stratagems to induce his opponent to fight; on one occasion, for example, causing a banquet to be prepared in the open air, to invite a Persian surprise. At last Shahr

ἀντιστροφὴν ἐνταῦθα συντομωτάτην
καὶ σχηματισμὸν αἰνετῆς πλαστοουργίας
ἐξεῖρες, ὡ κράτιστε, τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις
δείξας πρόσωπον ἐκδρομῆς ἐψευσμένης.

To understand clearly in what this artifice consisted, we should require some topographical knowledge. Perhaps a few battalions marching slowly in the false direction concealed from the eyes of the foe a rapid northward movement of the main body.

¹ Neither the composition of George of Pisidia nor the Chronicle of Theophanes gives any preciser information as

to the place of the battle. The time is determined by an eclipse of the moon, which took place on 22d January 623, a day or two before the engagement (George Pis. *Exp. Pers.* iii. 1).

² *Ib.* ii. 240 *sqq.* This description is given on the occasion of the first meeting in Cappadocia. He mentions the

γυναικῶν ἐκτόπων
δρῆξιν εἰς γύμνασιν ἡρεθισμένην

as contrasted with Heraclius'

σεμνὰ παρθένων σκιρτήματα,
τῶν σὼν λογισμῶν τὰς ἀπόρρους ἐλπίδας.

Barz conceived a plan which he thought would ensure success. One night he hid a body of men in a ravine on one side of the plain, and the next day, relying on this ambush, he prepared for action. But the Roman scouts had discovered the stratagem, and Heraclius availed himself of it to hoist the Persians with their own petard. He detached a regiment and sent it in the direction of the ambush, having given instructions to the soldiers that on approaching the spot they were to feign a panic and flee. The concealed Persians fell into the snare; they rushed out and pursued the simulating fugitives without caring to keep order. Heraclius came quickly up with the rest of his army to overwhelm the pursuers, and then the main body of the Persian host approached to assail Heraclius. We cannot clearly determine the course of the action or the causes which threw the Persian army into disorder, but it seems that when the calculation of Shahr Barz had been defeated by the promptitude of the Emperor, and the circumstances of the engagement had been decided for him, and not by him, he was not equal to the occasion, and could not prevent confusion from overwhelming his troops. The Persians were soon in headlong flight, stumbling among rocks and falling over precipices, where the pursuers easily cut them down. The pursuit was compared to the hunting of wild goats.

After the first great victory which established the reputation of Heraclius as a competent general and restored the lustre of Roman arms, the triumphant army established its quarters for the end of winter and the early spring in Pontus, while the Emperor, accompanied by George of Pisidia—his “poet-laureate”—returned to the imperial city to arrange a dispute which had arisen with the chagan of the Avars. Besides his arrival as a victorious hero, one evident fact brought home to the eyes of the Byzantines how much he had already accomplished, the fact, namely, that a Persian army was no longer menacing their city from the opposite shore of the Bosphorus.

II. *First Campaign of Azerbiyan, 623 A.D.*

At the end of March ¹ Heraclius returned to the army

¹ The date is fixed by the circumstance that he spent Easter (27th March) at Nicomedia. He left Constantinople on the 15th (Theophanes).

accompanied by the Empress Martina; he had become so popular that he might venture with impunity to take "the accursed thing" into his tent. Now that he had secured Asia Minor, his obvious policy was to carry the war into Persia and attack the lion in his lair. He therefore lost no time in passing through Lazica into Armenia, and, marching eastwards, he crossed first the river Araxes and then the chain of mountains which separates Armenia from Atropatene or Azerbiyan, "the land of fire," the northern district of Media and chief seat of the Zoroastrian fire-worship. He had signified to Chosroes his intention to invade Persia unless that monarch made reasonable offers of peace; and Chosroes, who had already ordered Shahr Barz to return to his familiar quarters at Chalcedon, sent messengers to recall him, and hastened to collect another army under Saes. The king himself took up quarters at Ganzaca,¹ the royal city of Azerbiyan, in which there was a magnificent palace.

Meanwhile the champion of Christendom advanced through this fertile country, laying it waste and destroying the towns,² and the visible signs of heathen fire-worship whetted the swords of the Roman fanatics. He advanced directly on Ganzaca, where the great king awaited him with a garrison of forty thousand men. But a slight occurrence sufficed to make Nushirvan turn and flee. Some Saracens attached to the Roman army happened to surprise a company of the Persian royal guard,³ and Chosroes immediately left Ganzaca, and all that was therein, to his enemy, and fled westward in the direction of Nineveh. Perhaps not "all that was therein," for the Christians had hoped to find the Holy Rood at Ganzaca, and were sorely disappointed to learn that it had been removed. On the other hand, they found a remarkable work of Persian

¹ Identified by some with Tauris, by others, including Prof. Rawlinson, with Takht-i-Soleima.

² The speech placed by Theophanes in the mouth of Heraclius, and the reply of one who spoke on behalf of the army, are evidently taken from a poem, and doubtless from a lost poem of George of Pisidia; most of the sentences fall into iambic lines. Thus—

τὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων (sic) αὐτοδέσποτον κράτος.
σῳμένον κατ' ἐχθρῶν δυσσεβῶς ὠπλισμένων
πίστιν λάβωμεν τῶν φόνων φονεύτριαν.

And—

ἠπλωσας ἡμῶν δέσποτα τὰς καρδίας,
τὸ σὸν πλατύνας ἐν παρανέσει στόμα,
ᾤξιναν ἡμῶν οἱ λόγοι σου τὰ ξίφη,
κ.τ.λ.

The style of these lines is redolent of the Pisidian, who is always using πλατύνω, ὀξύνω, παρανέσεις, ἀπλώω (or ἔξαπλώω). For αὐτοδέσποτον, see *Hexaemeron*, 348.

³ τῇ τοῦ Χοσρόου βίγλα (vigiliae), Theoph.

"blasphemy," which provoked their religious wrath, and was destroyed with exultant zeal. This was a statue of Chosroes standing in the temple of the Sun, round which winged images of the sun, the moon, and the stars hovered to receive his adorations. Thebarmes, the birthplace of Zoroaster—the Jerusalem of Persia—was reduced to ashes, and the Christians felt, when they had destroyed the temple of Fire, that they had retaliated on their enemies for the capture of the Holy City.

The enthusiasm of the troops might have led them on to the consummation of their successes by the capture of Dastagherd and Ctesiphon, but winter was approaching, Shahr Barz would soon arrive with his army from the west, and perhaps other deterrent circumstances, which we cannot guess, now influenced the resolution of Heraclius. Prudently proof against the lure of a speedy and brilliant termination of the war, he decided to winter in Albania, and by employing the test of a *sors evangelica*, he carried the spirit of his troops with him in a course really dictated by rational considerations. His mercy¹ or policy liberated the 50,000 captives whom he had taken; their sustenance was a burden on the winter march, and at the same time this kindness alienated the loyalty of many Persians from the unpopular Chosroes.

III. Campaign of Albania and Armenia, 624 A.D.

Of the three Caucasian countries which border on the north of Armenia—Colchis, Iberia, and Albania,—Albania is the most easterly. Bounded on the east by the Caspian, on the west by Iberia, it is separated from Armenia on the south by the Cyrus, which, mixing its waters with the great Armenian river Araxes at some distance from its mouth, flows along with it into the Hyrcanian Sea. In this country Heraclius recruited his army with Colchian, Iberian, and Abasgian allies, and entered into negotiation with the Khazars, a Hunnic people of the trans-Caucasian steppes.

¹ Theophanes' *εὐσυνπαθήτω καρδίᾳ* smacks of George of Pisidia, and I have no doubt that he wrote a poem (now lost) describing this campaign. *κοσμολέτρον Χοσρόην*, two lines further, sug-

gests the same source; and *ἡ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (308, 5, ed. de Boor) of the fire-worship at Ganzaca, reads like the end of a line of George.

The campaign of 624 consisted of a series of movements and counter-movements to and fro between Albania and Armenia, wherein both sides exhibited dexterity, but the Roman Emperor proved himself superior. At first he was opposed by two Persian armies, one commanded by a new general, Sarablagas,¹ the other by the inevitable Shahr Barz. The object of Sarablagas was to prevent the Romans from entering Persia, and accordingly, having garrisoned the passes of Azerbiyan, he stationed himself on the lower Cyrus near its junction with the Araxes. Heraclius, however, marched in a north-westerly direction and crossed the river considerably higher up, but his advance was retarded by a mutiny of his Caucasian allies, and in the meantime Shahr Barz, who had entered Armenia from the south-west, had arrived on the scene of action and effected a junction with his colleague Sarablagas. When these tidings arrived, the obstructives in the Roman camp were pathetically penitent, and bade Heraclius lead them where he would. He then advanced towards the place where the Persians were stationed, defeated some of their outposts, and passing on marched to the Araxes.

But ere he reached the river he suddenly found himself face to face with the Persian army, which, as he thought, he had left behind him; the two generals had hastened to outstrip him by fast marches and cut off his progress towards Persia.² Heraclius did not intend to give battle at such a disadvantage, and under the shelter of night he retraced his steps until he reached a plain where he could occupy a favourable position. The Persians imagined that he was fleeing for dread of them, and pursued him with a rash negligence of precautions; but they were calmly received by the Roman army, which was drawn up at the foot of a wooded hill. The victory of the Araxes was as complete as the first victory had been on the confines of Pontus and Cappadocia, and it proved fortunate for the Romans that the enemy were defeated just at that moment, for another army was close at hand under the command of Saes, and arrived almost immediately after the

¹ ἄνδρα δραστήριον καὶ τύφῳ πολλῷ ἐπλημένον, "energetic and conceited," Theoph. 6115 A.M. Sarablagas commanded troops specially named after Persian sovereigns, the "Perozites" (after Perozes) and "Chosroes'

own," Χοσροηγέται.

² The decision of the two generals was determined partly by the statement of two deserters that the Romans were fleeing, partly by their wish to gain a victory before the arrival of Saes.

action. The victorious Romans fell upon the new army, which, tired by the march and dispirited by the misfortune, was soon scattered.¹ Sarablagas was among those slain in the first engagement.

Notwithstanding this double victory, the judicious Emperor did not entertain the intention of invading Persia yet. It does not appear that his army was over strong, and the Iberian and Abasgian allies, weary of warfare, signified their determination to return to their habitations. He therefore fell back upon Albania again, and the Persians, observing that he had lost his allies, and thinking that they might even yet crush him, followed on his steps. On one occasion, when a battle seemed imminent, Heraclius is said to have made a brief speech, and if the words which a late chronicler has recorded² were not actually uttered by him, they were almost certainly composed by a contemporary.

"Do not be afraid of the number of the enemy, for with God's grace one Roman will turn to flight a thousand Persians. For the safety of our brethren let us sacrifice our own lives unto God, winning thereby the martyr's crown and the praises of future generations."

In this short exhortation, which, if not spoken by the Emperor, is at least a product of the atmosphere of his army, the religious character of the war is manifest; those who perish are *martyrs*.

The battle, however, did not take place; Heraclius again repeated his favourite movement of passing away at night from the presence of the foe and returned to Armenia. Shahr Barz remained, but Saes, following the Romans, found himself involved in difficult morasses; it was already winter, and his troops became disorganised and useless. Having thus dis-

¹ παρέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦλδον αὐτῶν (the baggage, including slaves).

² Here again we can trace the words of Theophanes to George Pisides with a probability that is almost certainty. The following iambs are patent—

λόγοις ἀνεπτέρωσε καὶ παραινέσει
τούτους λέγων ἤλειφε· μὴ ταραττέτω
ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, πολεμίων πλήθος [φίλοι]
θεοῦ θέλοντος εἰς διώξεν χιλλοὺς
στέφος λάβωμεν μαρτύρων . . .

In the *Heracliad* (ii. 144) George

seems to refer to some other person (ἄλλοι) writing a history of Heraclius' campaigns, and one might imagine that these lines in Theophanes come from the work of a pupil or contemporary imitator; but it is not likely that there should be no record of his name. The fact that Suidas does not hint at the existence of other poems of George is no objection to my theory, as the list of Suidas does not include all his extant works.

posed of one of the hostile armies, Heraclius retraced his steps once more and found that Shahr Barz had taken up quarters in the strong town of Salban. But even there he was not safe. The Roman Emperor surprised the fortress early in the morning, and massacred the people, who offered little resistance, while the Persian general, leaving even his arms behind him, fled for his life.

After this successful and intricate campaign, in which they had defeated three Persian armies, the Romans passed the rest of the winter at Salban, the modern Van.

IV. *Campaign of Cilicia, 625 A.D.*

In drawing up the plan of his next campaign Heraclius may have taken the following points into consideration. The Persians had had sufficient experience of warfare in the highlands of Armenia to prevent their essaying it again with such an antagonist as the Roman Emperor; so that there was no good reason for him to remain in those regions, especially as he could no longer rely on the useful help of the neighbouring tribes. It remained for him therefore either to invade Persia again—whether Assyria or Azerbiyan—or to return into Asia Minor, whither Shahr Barz would probably once more betake himself. The tidings of possible hostilities on the part of the Avars may have decided him to adopt the latter course, as it was desirable that he should in such a contingency be nearer at hand to provide for the protection of the capital of the Empire.

In 623 he had left Asia Minor by the northern route; in 625 he returned thither by a southern route, which involved the labour of crossing Mount Taurus twice. Marching in a south-westerly direction through Armenia, skirting Mount Ararat on the north, he followed for a while the course of the Murad Tschai, that branch of the river Euphrates which, rising near Ararat, flows between Taurus and Antitaurus. Before he approached the confluence he turned southwards and, crossing Mount Taurus for the first time, entered Arzanene, where he recovered the Roman cities of Martyropolis and Amida.¹ When

¹ From here he was able to send letters to Byzantium, and thereby fill the city with joy.

he reached the Euphrates¹ he was opposed by Shahr Barz, who destroyed the bridge, but the army gained the right bank by a ford north of Samosata. He then crossed the Taurus for the second time, and, entering Cilicia at the town of Germanicia, arrived at the Sarus. Here the Persian general overtook him. The river separated the two armies, but an engagement soon took place which, owing to the enthusiastic precipitancy of the Romans, proved wellnigh a Persian victory. The presence of mind and personal prowess of Heraclius retrieved the fortunes of the day; he is said to have slain a gigantic warrior and to have performed prodigious deeds of valour, which excited the marvel of Shahr Barz,² and which well became a hero who was destined to figure in medieval legend. The defeated army abandoned the idea of contending further with their invincible adversary and retreated to Persia, while Heraclius, following the same route which he had taken in his first campaign, proceeded to Pontus and established his winter quarters on the Black Sea.

V. *The Second Campaign of Azerbaijan; the Victory of
Theodorus; the Siege of Constantinople, 626 A.D.*

The Roman Empire was more seriously menaced in 626 than in any of the foregoing years; it was beset with dangers which put the ability of Heraclius in forming combinations to a severe proof, and he was obliged to leave the execution of his arrangements chiefly to others. Not only did Chosroes attempt, as the historian of the Sassanid dynasty tells us, "to bring the war to a close by an effort, the success of which

¹ He crossed the Nymphius first. In Theophanes here there is perhaps an echo of a line of George Pisides: ἐκδραμῶν διεξόδους ἀντιπρόσωπος ἦει τῷ Σαρβάρι. ἦει has taken the place of a trisyllable. Further on we have μήπως ὁδὸς γένηται τοῖς ἐναντίοις. In the description of the battle it is said that the barbarians, fleeing along the narrow bridge, threw themselves into the water "like frogs"; this simile also suggests George Pisides. The remarks on Heraclius' doughty deeds, which Shahr Barz makes to the renegade Cosmas, point in the same direction; see next note.

² Shahr Barz is said to have remarked to Cosmas (a Roman who had apostatised) ὁρᾷς τὸν καίσαρα, ὦ Κοσμά, τῷ θρασὺς πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἵσταται | καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος μόνος ἀγωνίζεται καὶ ὡς ἀκμῶν τὰς βολὰς ἀποπτύει. If we write ἵσταται μόνος for μον. ἀγ. and ἀλλ' ὥσπερ for καὶ ὡς we have two iambic lines, which we may assume belonged to a lost poem of George Pisides, whence Theophanes obtained his knowledge of this campaign. Notice that he calls Cosmas a *magarite* instead of a Mediser, by a natural anachronism (see below, p. 267).

would have changed the history of the world,"¹ but the chagan of the Avars prepared a gigantic expedition for the capture of Constantinople; and the two dangers were still more formidable from the fact that they were not independent. Movements in the East had often before influenced movements on another frontier of the Empire, the clash of arms in the Euphrates had roused an echo on the Danube; there had even been attempts at joint action between the enemies of the Empire in the East and its enemies in the West; but this was the first time that such an alliance took the form of anything resembling strict co-operation. And it was now carried out in a really alarming manner, as the two foes appeared almost simultaneously on either side of the Bosphorus, leagued for the destruction of the imperial city.

Chosroes levied a new army and appointed Shahr Barz to lead it against Byzantium. His more experienced troops, which had lived through the dangers and defeats of recent years, he placed under the command of Shahan or Saes,² whom he ordered to hunt down Heraclius, under pain of an ignominious death.

Heraclius laid his plans with considerable skill. He made no attempt to prevent Shahr Barz from reaching Scutari, nor did he think, as many would have thought, of rushing with all his forces to the protection of the capital and abandoning the ground which he had already gained in the East. He divided his army into three portions. One portion he retained himself to protect Armenia, and, in case he found it advisable, to invade Persia. The second he entrusted to his brother Theodore,³ to operate against Saes. The third, a corps of veterans, was sent as a reinforcement to Constantinople, with the most minute directions as to the mode of defence which should be adopted.

Of the details of Heraclius' operations we are not informed. He entered into a close alliance with the Khazars, whom he met as they returned from a plundering expedition in Azerbiyan, and won the affections of Ziebil their king, or the brother of their king.⁴ Having entertained him sumptuously

¹ Rawlinson, p. 516.

² He also gave to Saes fifty thousand men from the army of Shahr Barz, and called them "Gold-Lancers," χρυσολόγους (Theoph. 6117 A.M.)

³ It may perhaps be conjectured that during the preceding years Theodore had been stationed in Asia Minor.

⁴ Theophanes calls him the brother of the chagan of the Khazars, but in

and bestowed upon him and his attendants rich raiment and pearl earrings, Heraclius confidentially exposed to his view the picture of a maiden in rich costume. "God," said the Emperor, "has united us; he has made thee my son. Behold, this is my daughter, and an Empress of the Romans. An thou assist me against mine enemies, I give her to thee to wife." Impressed by her beauty or her splendour, Ziebil was more ardent than ever in his friendship, and gave the father of his promised bride forty thousand Khazars; and Heraclius, when he had drilled them in the military discipline of a Roman army, proceeded to lay Azerbiyan waste once more.¹

Ziebil died before the end of the year, and Epiphania Eudocia,² almost the victim of a political expediency, happily escaped banishment to the wilds of Scythia and an uncivilised people, to which her father and stepmother would not have hesitated to sacrifice her in the interests of Christendom.³ Ziebil's death was not so welcome to Heraclius, as it caused the return of his Khazar allies to their homes; and at the end of the year he found himself in Media with a weak army.

Of the collision of Theodore and Saes we know little more than the result. The battle was fought in Mesopotamia, and a great hailstorm, to which the Persians were exposed while the Romans were sheltered, decided the victory for the latter. Saes was the servant of a more than austere taskmaster, and this defeat cast him into such low spirits that his death anticipated the vengeance of Chosroes. But that monarch rivalled Xerxes of old by flogging the dead body in impotent spite, an act which shows that Chosroes was really possessed by a sort of lunacy (*Kaiserwahnsinn*), the madness of a weak

Nicephorus he is apparently the king himself. I suspect that the story which I have reproduced in the text may be half mythical, and perhaps we should rather accept the account of the Armenian writer Sepéos, who says that Heraclius had sent one Andreas to treat with the khan of the Khazars, and the khan aided him with troops under the command of his nephew. See *Journal asiat.* Feb. 1866, p. 207. Ziebil and Heraclius besiege Tifis together.

¹ Nicephorus the Patriarch confounds this invasion with the invasion of 623.

² Then about fifteen years old. Nicephorus calls her Eudocia, but Epiphania of course is meant. I suppose that she had the double name, just as her brother and her stepbrother were called Heraclius Constantine.

³ In the following century a Khazar princess marries a Roman Emperor (Constantine V). The projected sacrifice of the daughter of Heraclius to political expediency has a parallel in the fourteenth century in the fate of Theodora, the daughter of John Cantacuzenos, whom her father sent to the harem of the Turkish sultan.

man in an irresponsible position. It is remarkable that he never lost faith in Shahr Barz, numerous defeats and failures notwithstanding.

In the end of June (626) the last-named general resumed his old station at Chalcedon, and almost at the same moment (29th June) the vanguard of the Avar army began the blockade of Constantinople on the land side.¹ All the inhabitants of the suburbs fled into the city, and the Bosphorus was illuminated on both shores by the flames of burning churches. When the chagan himself drew near he sent an unexpected embassy,² holding out the possibility of peace, which he had before declined to consider, if an adequate offer should be made him. But the citizens—having full confidence in the ability of Bonus the Patrician, relying, moreover, on the valour of the experienced veterans whom their Emperor had sent to them, and wrought up into a state of religious enthusiasm, which Sergius fanned to flame, against the heathen who threatened the very heart and brain of Christendom—unanimously disdained to make terms with the ungodly.

The siege lasted throughout the month of July, and it is noteworthy that the Persians did not attack the city. They hovered, a black threatening mass, on the opposite shore, and laid waste the surrounding districts of Asia, but they left the whole work of the siege to their allies. At one moment, indeed, they seem to have entertained some intentions of joining the Avars in Europe, but these intentions were not realised.

The city was defended by more than 12,000 cavalry. The army of the Avars, on the other hand, numbered 80,000, and consisted of many nations and tongues, Bulgarians, and various tribes of Slaves,³ and perhaps Teutonic Gepids. From the Golden Gate on the Propontis to the suburb of Sycae on the

¹ Attempts had been made in vain to induce the chagan, by offers of money, to desist from the expedition. In the *Bellum Avaricum* of George of Pisidia we have a contemporary, but poetical, source; we have also a full account in the *Chronicon Paschale*.

² Athanasius, a patrician of Hadrianople, was his ambassador. He was also one of the five envoys sent to

the chagan during the siege (*Chron. Pasch.*)

³ Geo. Pis. *Bell. Av.* 197: Σκλάβοι γὰρ Οὐννῶ καὶ Σκύθης τῷ Βουλγάρῳ αὐτοῖς τε Μῆδος συμφρονήσας τῷ Σκύθῃ. For the Gepids, see Theophanes, Βουλγάρους τε καὶ Σκλάβους καὶ Γηπαίδαις συμφωνήσας. We met them on the Theiss in the days of Maurice (see above, p. 141) as Avaric subjects.

Golden Horn they threatened the walls with all kinds of ingenious machines; while Slavonic sailors, female as well as male, had small boats ready in the Golden Horn to support the land operations by attacks on the water side. In the end of July the chagan himself arrived, and then the most formidable and concentrated assault by land took place, and was successfully repulsed, partly, it was said, by the potency of a miraculous image of the Virgin. After this failure the chagan received (2d August) ambassadors from the Romans and the Persians at the same hour in his tent, and insulted the former by constraining them to stand while the latter, who were dressed in silk, were allowed to sit. High words arose between the Persians and Romans, which edified and delighted the "abominable chagan," but the incident was not without its use. For the captains of the Roman ships carefully watched the straits that night and intercepted the three Persian envoys. One of these they slew in sight of the Persian camp, another was mutilated and sent back to the chagan, the third was beheaded. This interception of intelligence disconcerted the plan that had been formed for common action; and two days later the Roman fleet succeeded in destroying a number of rough transport rafts, which had been launched in the waters of the Bosphorus to convey some Persian regiments across the straits (3d August). On the same night a double attack by land and sea was organised, the arrangement being that when the Slavonic and Bulgarian marines, who anchored in the north-western recess of the Golden Horn, saw a signal of fire rising from a fort in the adjoining quarter of Blachernae,¹ they should row down the inlet and proceed to Sycae. Fortunately Bonus received intelligence of this design, and thwarted it by giving the signal himself before the Avars were ready. The Slaves saw the fire and acted according to the arrangement; but they were enclosed and overwhelmed by the Roman ships, which waited for them like a trap. At this misfortune the bulk of the Avar army was seized with panic and began to retire in haste. The chagan himself is said to have felt superstitious terrors and seen visions of unearthly beings. It seemed as if the image of the Virgin had really

¹ This fort (πρωτεῖσιμα) of Blachernae was called Πτερον, "Wing" (Nicephorus, p. 18).

infected his imagination; he said that he saw a woman richly dressed passing along the fortifications. And some of his soldiers professed to have followed a dame of queenly aspect, who issued from the gate of Blachernae and sped towards rocks on the sea-shore, amid which she vanished away. Such incidents as this are a feature of the stories of sieges of that age.

The chagan retreated to his own kingdom, not without menaces that he would return again ere long, and the Byzantines could rest and give thanks to the Virgin¹ that they had successfully surmounted the first really imminent danger that had threatened their city since its new foundation; while the good tidings which had reached them of the victory of Theodore and of the alliance of the Emperor with the Khazars,—an alliance which was Heraclius' answer to the combination of Shahr Barz with the Avars,—gave them further cause for jubilation.

VI. Campaign of Assyria, 627-628 A.D.

Abandoned by his Khazar allies in December, Heraclius spent the rest of the winter in Azerbiyan. We lose sight of him during the spring and summer of 627, and are unable to determine whether he spent those seasons in Media or in Assyria, where we meet him in autumn.² A new Persian general named Razates,³ to whom Chosroes significantly said, "If you cannot conquer, you can die," was sent out against him. The battle, which decided the war and the fate of Chosroes, was not long delayed, and took place in the auspicious neigh-

¹ The repulse of the Avars and Persians was commemorated by a special office of the holy Virgin, performed on the Saturday of the fifth week in Lent. The hymn composed for this occasion, perhaps by George Pisides, is called the ἀνάστιςτος ὕμνος, and has twenty-four οἶκοι or stations. The κοινάκιον of the hymn (a sort of prelude abridgment of the whole ritual) begins thus—

τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια
ὡς λυτρωθεῖσα τῶν δεινῶν εὐχαριστήρια
ἀναγράφω σοι ἡ πόλις σου, θεοτόκε.

The composition of short hymns for ritual (τροπήρια) was initiated by St.

Romanus, who lived in the reign of Anastasius I.

² Rawlinson is hardly right in assigning his start from Lazica with the Khazars to September 627. For the final campaign we have the contemporary authority of George of Pisidia in his *Heracliad*, a hymn of jubilation on the theme ὁ πρὸς ὁλάντην ἐξοφώθη Χοσρόης, but we learn from it few details.

³ So Theophylactus, viii. 12, and Theophanes; Nicephorus calls him Rizates. Theophanes wrongly places this battle in December of the fifteenth indiction (626-627); it really occurred in the first indiction.

bourhood of Nineveh and Gaugamela. Razates, with the words of his sovereign echoing in his ears, challenged Heraclius in the midst of the battle to a single combat; and the Emperor, riding on his steed Dorkon,¹ like Alexander on Bucephalus, eagerly accepted the challenge. The Roman hero was victorious; Razates did not conquer, but he died. Heraclius is said to have slain other Persian warriors also, single-handed. Night terminated the battle, which had resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Romans, and they were fortunate enough to have secured a royal prisoner, the prince of the Iberians.

Heraclius then marched slowly southwards along the eastern bank of the Tigris, crossing the great Zab and the lesser Zab. Having spent Christmas in the "Paradise" of Yesdem, he advanced² upon Dastagherd, the residence of Chosroes, built on the river Arba, about seventy miles north of Ctesiphon. In the meantime he had the good fortune to intercept a letter from Chosroes to Shahr Barz, recalling that commander from Chalcedon. Another letter of opposite import was substituted in its place, and the Persian general received a mandate to remain where he was, inasmuch as a brilliant victory had been gained over the Romans.

Chosroes fled to Ctesiphon on the approach of the hostile army, and when he had passed within its gates, remembered too late the vaticinations of the magi, that if he set foot again in that city³ his destruction was certain. He hastened to leave the fatal spot, and, in the highest compulsion of base fear, fled eastwards, with his favourite wife Schirin, to the district of Susiana. The Romans meanwhile did not spare the magnificent palaces of Dastagherd,⁴ and, though they treated the inhabitants with humanity, they were guilty of gross vandalism. The buildings and all the splendours of the place were committed to the flames (January 628).

From this moment the part played by Heraclius became

¹ φάλας, ὁ λεγόμενος Δόρκων (Theoph. 6118 A.M.) φάλας has generally been taken as the name of the horse, but de Boor prints thus. Tafel conjectured φάλιος (? φαλίος). The ending ας suggests that φάλας denotes some brand (cf. κοππαρίας, σαμφόρας). Possibly, as Ducange suggests, it may be connected with Lat. *fulvus*.

² The park at Veklal, with ostriches, gazelles, and wild asses, described by Theophanes, calls up reminiscences of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

³ He had not set foot in it for twenty-four years; Dastagherd was his residence.

⁴ They also destroyed the palaces of Dezeridan, Rusa, Veklal, and Vevdarch.

that of a controlling spectator who allowed events to take their own course, though his consent or veto was decisive. He did not wish to abuse his victory; he sent a message to Chosroes offering peace on reasonable terms; and the Persian monarch wrote his own death sentence by refusing. For a long time the grandson of Nushirvan had been unpopular; his irrational cruelty and his political folly had alienated his subjects. The madness exhibited by this rejection of the clement offer of the victor was followed by an edict, ordering the old men, the women and the children to defend Ctesiphon. The insanity of a despot could scarce go further, and Heraclius, willing that the inevitable revolution should take its own course, retired north-eastward, and crossing Mount Zagros, just in time to escape a tremendous snow-tempest, established his quarters at Ganzaca.

The revolution against Chosroes was twofold. Shahr Barz and the army at Chalcedon threw off their allegiance, while at the same time Gundarnaspes, the general at Ctesiphon, combined with Siroes, the king's eldest son, to dethrone his father, who, under the influence of his seductive wife Schirin, had decided to leave the throne to a child of hers. Chosroes, who had lately had the audacity to complain to his courtiers that they were not all dead in fighting for his cause, was quickly seized and thrown into the "castle of Forgetfulness," loaded with chains. He was killed there by a process of slow starvation, which was varied by the spectacle of his own and Schirin's children executed before his eyes. His son is said to have taken an unfilial delight in the tortures of a worthless parent, of whom he spoke in the most bitter terms in a manifesto which he indited to Heraclius. Siroes professed a desire to compensate for all the miseries which his father had inflicted on the Persian kingdom by a reign of beneficence, and he began the reaction by opening the prisons and granting an exemption from taxes for three years. Heraclius, in his letter of congratulation to the new king, addressed him as "my dear son," and while he professed that if Chosroes had fallen into his hands he would have done him no hurt, he admitted that God had wisely punished the sins of the Persian king for the sake of the world's peace. He politically treated the parricide

with the greatest friendliness, just as Pope Gregory had treated Phocas.

Shortly before his death Chosroes had taken a step which led to the alienation of Shahr Barz. Indignant at his general's delay in appearing, the true cause whereof, the interception of his own letter, he could not suspect, and full of distrust, he wrote to the kardarigan, who was second in command at Chalcedon, a letter containing instructions to put Shahr Barz to death and hasten back to Persia. The bearer of this letter fell into the hands of the Romans as he travelled through Galatia, and the epistle was forwarded to Constantinople. The authorities there knew how to make the best use of it. They laid it before Shahr Barz himself, and a dexterous artifice was adopted to create general disaffection in the Persian army. The names of four hundred important officers were annexed to the document, which was altered in such a way¹ as to convey an order for their deaths. They were then assembled together, the letter was laid before them, and with one consent they voted that Chosroes had forfeited the crown. Peace was made with the young Emperor Constantine, and the army hastened to Persia to depose an ungrateful tyrant.

The peace made between Heraclius and Siroes forms the conclusion of the Persian war. The restoration of all the Roman provinces, the surrender of all the Roman captives and of the Holy Rood were the main conditions, and the Emperor left his brother Theodore in Persia to make arrangements for their fulfilment. He sent to the imperial city, in announcement of his victory, a triumphant manifesto,² which opened with the jubilate, "O, be joyful in the Lord,"—a song of exultation over the fall of Chosroes Iscariot, the blasphemer, who has gone to burn for ever in the flames of hell. The same spirit is echoed in the *Epinikion*, composed for the occasion by the "poet-laureate," George of Pisidia, entitled the *Heracliad*.³ A resolution, which was to become law

¹ *φαλσεύσας τὴν Χοσρόου ἐπιστολὴν* (Theoph.) *φαλσεύειν* is the Graecised form of *falsare*.

² Preserved in *Chronicon Paschale*, first indiction. The letter was read out from the ambo of St. Sophia.

³ George afterwards wrote a poem

called *Hexaemeron*, "the six days," on the creation, but alluding also to the war of six years in which Heraclius had conquered the Persians. Theophanes was doubtless thinking of it when he wrote (6119 A.M.): "The Emperor, having subdued Persia in

with the Emperor's consent, was initiated by the Byzantines on this auspicious occasion, that Heraclius should be sur-named *Scipio* and his successors *Scipiones*. The great heroes of the Republic of Old Rome were not yet forgotten by the New Romans of the Bosphorus, and it was recognised that the Emperor who beat back the Asiatic power of the Sas-sanids was a historical successor of the emperor who over-threw the Asiatic commonwealth of Carthage.

Extremely noteworthy and characteristic is this combina-tion of Roman reminiscences with an intensely christian spirit. Before the end of the same century such combinations have become a thing of the past.

The letter of Heraclius came in May; he did not arrive himself at the palace of Hieria, close to Chalcedon, till some months later. All the inhabitants of Constantinople crossed the Bosphorus to meet him, and received him with taper processions and myrtle branches; but he did not enter the city in triumph until Theodore, his brother, arrived with the precious relic of the Holy Rood. Of the triumphal procession I need only remark that he made his entry by the Golden Gate and was received by Sergius in the church of St. Sophia, where the true cross, solemnly "uplifted,"¹ lent a peculiar solemnity to the service of thanksgiving. The ceremony in St. Sophia corresponded to the ceremony in the Capitol at triumphal processions in Old Rome.

The sun of Heraclius' house turned the winter of men's discontent to glorious summer for a moment, and perhaps many fondly imagined that by the battle of Nineveh and the ensuing peace with Persia the clouds which had so long loomed over the Roman Empire had been dissipated for ever. But another cloud, yet as small as a man's hand, was even then visible on the southern horizon, and unluckily its import was mistaken. The Persian war was over in 628; the Saracen

six years and made peace in the seventh, with great joy returned to Constantinople, having fulfilled thereby a sort of mystic *theoria*. For God created all the world in six days, and called the seventh the day of rest."

¹ Nicephorus makes the "uplift-ing" take place before the arrival of

Heraclius (p. 22; ἀνύψωσις is the word), but he is untrustworthy here in his chronological arrangement. He doubt- less had authority for placing the cere- mony in the second indiction = 628 after 1st September. Heraclius brought four elephants from the East to amuse the Byzantine populace.

conquests in Syria began in 633. In those five intervening years much might have been done to avert the coming storm if the danger could have only been realised, but, as it was, the policy of Heraclius was in every way calculated to ensure success to the new foes.

These five years might be considered the ultimate boundary between the Old and the Middle Ages¹; the appearance of the Saracen launches us into the medieval high seas, and few vestiges of antiquity remain. The Persian war had the double character of an age of transition. As a war of Romans against Persians it attached itself to the ancient order of things, and this element is not absent from its poet George of Pisidia, while as a religious war it was medieval, an anticipation of the holy wars of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In short, it was a Roman crusade.

It was unfortunate, from a political and economical point of view, that the Church and State, as creditor and debtor, coincided in the arrangement that the national debt should be liquidated with all possible expedition. For the sources from which it was necessary to raise the payment were the provinces, which had for many years suffered the devastations of a cruel enemy and endured the tyranny of a foreign ruler; and it was desirable that time should be allowed them to recover their old prosperity before a severe tribute was imposed. This was the first mistake, and a serious one. Had the Church been more self-denying or more patient, had Syria and Mesopotamia been left for a few years exempt from the burden of taxes, a firmer resistance might have been offered to the Arabian invader.

The second mistake was the continuation of an unfortunate policy which had already proved disastrous, the persecution of the Jews. They were massacred in Palestine, they were massacred also at Edessa, and were forced to flee to Arabia. We are tempted to think that but for this fatal error events might have taken a different course, for we can hardly overrate the

¹ In another place I have spoken of the plague in the reign of Justinian as marking a division between the ancient and medieval worlds. But just as medievalism appears before Justinian, remnants of the ancient spirit linger

after Justinian; and if the reign of the great Emperor of the sixth century is the most important epoch of partition, the reign of the great Emperor of the seventh century is a further limit. See below, p. 457.

importance of the Hebrews in those countries. Their wealth is illustrated by the princely entertainment with which Benjamin, a Jew of Tiberias, honoured Heraclius and his retinue on their journey to Jerusalem in 629. Benjamin had the reputation of being a persecutor of Christians, and yet he consented, at Heraclius' request, to be baptized a Christian himself. Other Jews would not have been so easily converted, but kindness might have made them loyal.

Heraclius remained no long time in the queen of cities after his triumph.¹ Accompanied by Martina and her son Heraclius Constantine, who had been recently created Caesar, he hastened in spring 629 to restore the cross to its resting-place in Jerusalem and to set in order the affairs of his eastern provinces, where he found much to occupy him. He was obliged to keep a wakeful eye on Persia, which was in a state of political unrest; he was engaged in schemes of religious unity, which always seems so simple and is so impracticable; and he began to direct his attention to the movements in Arabia.

The burden of Persia may be told in a few words. Siroes reigned only eight months, and, after the short reigns of two intervening sovereigns, Shahr Barz ascended the throne with the approval of Heraclius, to whom he showed himself grateful. The protracted residences of that general in the neighbourhood of Byzantium seem to have rendered him a sort of Philhellene, or, as contemporaries might have said, Philoromaic. His son, whom he named Nicetas, received the title of Patrician from the Roman Emperor, who further patronised his Persian friend and former foe by accepting the hand of his daughter Nice for the deaf prince Theodosius.² Perhaps we may combine the names of the son and daughter, "Niketas" and "Nike," with the fact that Shahr Barz gave the Holy Sponge and the Holy Spear back to Nicetas, Heraclius' famous cousin, and may draw the conclusion that there existed between the Greek patrician and the Persian general specially friendly relations

¹ Heraclius Constantine, the son of Eudocia (generally called Constantine to distinguish him both from his father and from his stepbrother), was instituted consul in 629; Niceph. p. 22.

² See Nicephorus, p. 21 (ed. de

Boor). I cannot hesitate to accept the reading of the Vatican MS. *Νικήταν υἱὸν Σαρβάρου*. This is the most important correction of a detail of received history which M. de Boor's study of Nicephorus has contributed.

which induced the latter to give his children those Greek names. But the simplest explanation may be that the children of Shahr Barz were baptized, and that Nicetas stood as sponsor for them. The cruel policy which Shahr Barz adopted when he became king led to his murder, and with some trouble Heraclius brought it about that his son Isdigerd received the crown. Isdigerd was the last of the Sassanids.

CHAPTER IV

MONOTHELETISM

WE have often had occasion to notice the heresies that pervaded and divided Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The heretics were far more numerous than the orthodox, for religion and nationality in general coincided. In Egypt, for example, there were about 30,000 Greek Melchites over against five or six million Coptic monophysites. Syria and Mesopotamia were divided between Nestorianism and Jacobitism, a sort of Neoseverianism, which had spread into Egypt and Ethiopia. And the religion of Armenia was purely and simply monophysitic.

Heraclius dreamed that it might be possible to accomplish what many Emperors before him had essayed in vain, and unite all these heretics with the orthodox Byzantine Church by a new formula more inclusive or more elastic.

A new formula presented itself opportunely, the doctrine of a single energy. It must not, however, be thought that it was discovered for this ecclesiastico-political purpose.¹ On the contrary, it was a natural development of the old christological controversies of the fifth century. Sergius had considered and made up his mind on the question before there was any thought of drawing profit from it in an irenic direction. It was a question, of course, for adherents of the council of Chalcedon, not for monophysites. The latter, holding a

¹ Cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii. p. 111; there "kam noch ein irenischer Zweck dazu." Hefele has been my chief guide throughout this chapter.

There is a good history of the controversy by Prof. G. T. Stokes in the *Dict. of Christ. Biography* under the heading "Person of Christ."

single nature, necessarily held a single energy and a single will. But it was not clear whether dyophysites should hold a divine and human energy as well as a divine and human nature. It might be questioned whether it was legitimate to ascribe a human energy and a human will to Christ, and the Ecumenical Councils had uttered no opinion on the subject. A decision in favour of monotheletism (as the new doctrine was called) would provide a common ground for monophysites and Chalcedonians to join hands. This fact was perhaps the doctrine's strongest condemnation if we assume that the monophysitic controversy was more than a verbal one, and that the Chalcedonians were right, whereas it was the doctrine's strongest confirmation if we believe that the two parties divided the truth or falsehood between them.

But while the monotheletic controversy was a natural offspring of the ancient conflicts of the fifth century, it must be admitted that the new doctrine would never have led to a conflict in the seventh century but for the irenic advantages which, it was hoped, might be extracted from it.

That Sergius initiated Heraclius in his new doctrine—it could not yet be called a heresy, as no decision of the Church had been pronounced—long before it began to have any political importance, is proved by a conversation which took place in 622 between Heraclius and Paul of Armenia, wherein the former asserted that the energy (*ἐνέργεια*) of Christ was single. It was probably at this time, when his attention was specially directed to Armenia, that it first occurred to Heraclius to make a political weapon of monotheletism and reconcile the monophysitic Church of Armenia with the orthodox Greek religion; and a synod which was held in the same year at Theodosiopolis, called the synod of Garin, has been rightly brought into connection with this scheme. I have used the convenient word *monotheletism*, but it should be noticed that in the early stage of the controversy *monenergetic* would be a more appropriate adjective than monotheletic, for the singleness of the *energy*, not the simplicity of the *will*, was the point at issue.

His military occupations did not prevent Heraclius from prosecuting this design; and we find that he issued a decree (before 626) to Arcadius, bishop of Cyprus, in which island

there was a colony of Armenians,¹ enjoining on him to teach the doctrine of "one hegumenic energy"; and perhaps the success of this attempt at unity on a small scale within the limits of an island encouraged him to apply afterwards the same balm to the wounds of the entire Empire. In 626, while he was in Lazica, he sounded Cyrus the bishop of Phasis, and, through the influence of Sergius the Patriarch, secured his co-operation.

But after the successful issue of his campaigns Heraclius could devote more assiduous attention to the question; and the problems connected with the administration of the recovered provinces of Syria and Egypt suggested that the monotheletic talisman might be used with salutary effect. And hence Greek historians² speak as though the doctrine had first emerged in 629 at an interview which took place in that year at Hierapolis between the Emperor and Athanasius the Jacobite. An agreement was made between them; the Jacobites were to return to the Church on the basis of the new theory, and Athanasius was to be raised to the patriarchal chair of Antioch. In the following year Cyrus of Phasis was made Patriarch of Alexandria, and his first act was to win over the important sect of the Theodosians or Phthartolatrai.

So far the policy of unification was successful. Sergius the Patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasius the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Cyrus the monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria were unanimous in teaching "one theandric energy."

But many orthodox Christians felt qualms of distrust touching this new panacea which had been evolved by Sergius and Heraclius. They did not feel certain of their new bed-fellows—Jacobites and Theodosians and dwellers in Mesopotamia; they suspected that there was something unsound in the doctrine of the single energy. They found an able spokesman in a monk of Palestine named Sophronius, who was possessed of considerable dialectical ability and became the champion of dyotheletism, the doctrine of two wills. He soon became convinced that there was a touch of insincerity in the new movement, that there was at least a readiness to sacrifice complete sincerity to political expediency. This was

¹ These Armenians were settled in Cyprus by Justin II (*see above*, p. 104).

² Theophanes, 6021 A.M., *i.e.* 629,

630. He calls Athanasius "a clever villain, with the native unscrupulousness of the Syrians."

indicated in the opinion expressed by the Patriarch of Alexandria that for the sake of ecclesiastical unity doctrinal expressions should be "economised," that is, adapted to expediency. The influence of Sergius, however, kept Sophronius dumb for a year or two, but when he was appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem in 634—this appointment was a false step on the part of Heraclius—he refused to keep silence any longer and prepared to forge a thunderbolt. Apprised of this, the Patriarch of Constantinople determined to anticipate him and crush his opposition by the authority of the bishop of Rome. Sergius wrote an account of the controversy to Pope Honorius; and in this letter his position, which he wished the Pope to endorse, was, that the unity of the Church now restored should not be again endangered by any use of the expressions in dispute; that no person should speak of either two energies or one energy. This evasion of the question by silence had already been enjoined on Sophronius and Cyrus. The reply of Pope Honorius (635) not only endorsed the "just mean" of Sergius, but agreed with the doctrine of monothelism, and this consenting of the Pope has given rise to much discussion. The most reasonable conclusion¹ is that Honorius, with an occidental distaste for dialectics, did not really apprehend the point at issue. It seemed to him a question of grammar rather than of theology. He uses the expression "one will," and yet we need not regard him as a monothelite, for he places "one energy" and "two energies" on exactly the same footing; and the second letter that he wrote was practically orthodox. Nor, on the other hand, need we reject as not genuine the acts of the sixth Ecumenical Council which condemned Honorius; it was for the "imprudent economy of silence" that he was condemned.

In the meantime the *epistola synodica*² of Sophronius appeared, demonstrating that the new doctrine was inconsistent with orthodoxy; but the object of the monothelites was rather to hush up the controversy, which had already produced a

¹ Cf. Hefele, whose discussion of the question is impartial. Dr. Dollinger in his *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters* has a chapter on the Honorius problem (p. 131 *sqq.*), and notices that the Pope used *energy* and *energies* in

different senses; the plural meaning manifestations of energy and not the operations of two distinct faculties.

² Hefele designates this as the most important *Urkunde* of the whole controversy.

desirable result, than to argue for their opinion. The *Ecthesis*, which was composed by Sergius,¹ was promulgated by the Emperor in 638 (639), and may be looked upon as the official answer to Sophronius' letter; it forbids all mention to be made of one energy or two energies, while it proclaims the doctrine of one will. Before the *Ecthesis* was published Sophronius had died, but he left his controversial zeal as a heritage to a certain Stephen, from whom he exacted a solemn oath that he would proceed to Rome and make war against the monothelites to the death. The four eastern Patriarchs accepted the *Ecthesis*, but John IV, who became Pope in 640, condemned it; and thus the attempt at union in the East, a union unstable as water,² led to a schism with the West like Zeno's *Henotikon* in the fifth century. What remains of the history of monothelism belongs to a future chapter.

In the eleventh indiction, 638, the year of the publication of the *Ecthesis*, the Patriarch Sergius died, and was succeeded by Pyrrhus, also a monothelite, and a most intimate friend of the Emperor.

¹ In a letter to Pope John IV the Emperor explicitly disavows the composition of the *Ecthesis* and devolves the whole responsibility upon Sergius.

The text of the *Ecthesis* will be found in Mansi, x. 991.

² ὕδροβαφὴ ἑνωσιν, a different metaphor (Theophanes).

CHAPTER V

LITERATURE IN THE REIGN OF HERACLIUS

THE works of two authors¹ of this age, a prose-writer and a verse-writer, have come down to us. The Egyptian Theophylactus Simocatta² composed a history of the reign of Maurice³ and a work on natural history⁴; while George of Pisidia celebrated the exploits of Heraclius in verse. Both the verse-writer and the prose-writer are characterised by a painful attention to style and an affected use of far-fetched expressions; in fact they were both, as we say now, euphuists. The development of euphuism at this period is highly remarkable; we can see traces of it in Agathias and other historical writers, but in the works of Theophylactus bombast, in all its frigidity, was carried to an unprecedented extreme.⁵

The *Ecumenical History*—such is the pretentious title—opens with a dialogue between the queen Philosophy and her daughter History, written in a style which the author fondly imagines to be poetical Attic. Philosophy promises to listen to the siren songs of History, and, like the hero of Ithaca, not to

¹ The *Chronicon Paschale* is also supposed to have been compiled in the reign of Heraclius, but it does not call for special notice here.

² Simocatta (Σιμοκάττος) apparently means "flat-nosed cat." The domestic cat was becoming common at this time. *κάττος* is used by Evagrius, and Gregory the Great, I believe, had a pet cat. On the word "cat," see Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce*, vol. i. p. 102 sqq. Through the Syriac *qatb*, *catus* and *κάττος* come from "African languages," cf. Nubian *kadiska*. The Egyptian *mau* and the Coptic *schau* are quite different.

³ The best edition of Theophylactus is that recently published by C. de Boor (1887), founded on a collation of the Vatican MS. and provided with excellent indices. (See my notice in the *Classical Review*, March 1888.) Theophylactus composed his history after the fall of Chosroes, "the Babylonian dragon"; see viii. 12, 13.

⁴ Letters are also extant, of which some are erotic.

⁵ So Photius, *πλήν γε δὴ ἡ τῶν τροπικῶν λέξεων καὶ τῆς ἀλληγορικῆς ἐννόας κατακορῆς χρήσις εἰς ψυχρολογίαν τινὰ καὶ νεανικὴν ἀπειροκαλίαν ἀποτελεῦσθαι*.

stuff her ears. They both rejoice that the pollution (of Phocas) has been driven from the palace by the might of the "Heracidae," and that literature is able to revive. History attributes the new movement especially to the Patriarch Sergius, "the great high priest and president of the world."¹ "He is my oldest friend," replies Philosophy, "and my dearest treasure." "He," says History, "breathed in me the breath of life, lifting me from the tomb of my illiterate plight as though he raised an Alcestis with the strength of a delivering Heracles. And he generously adopted me and clothed me with bright apparel and adorned me with a golden chain."² Here we catch a glimpse of Sergius as the centre and patron of a literary revival; and this is confirmed by all that we hear of him in the poems of his friend George the Pisidian.

The opening sentences of the funeral oration which Theophylactus pronounced over the Emperor Maurice eight years after his death (610 A.D.)³ are preserved, and are a curious specimen of his extraordinary style:—

"Let theatre and platform and freedom of speech mourn with me to-day; but let tragedy and tear keep holiday. Let dirge dance and leap in delight, being worshipped and honoured by a feast of such dejection. Let words shear themselves of sound, and the Muses shear themselves of fair speech, and Athens put off her white cloak. For the virtues are widowed, and seek for their charioteer, some violent envy having broken his wheel. Spectators, would that ye had not been witnesses of these evils. The subject is an Iliad of evils; the Furies are the chorus of my discourse; and the stage of my drama is a conspicuous tomb."

When the Persian war came to an end in 591, Maurice transported the military forces from Asia to Europe to act against the Avars. The historian describes this transaction as follows: "And so, now that day smiled upon the affairs in the East, and made not her progress mythically, in Homeric fashion, from a barbaric couch, but refused to be called 'rosy fingered,' inasmuch as their sword is not crimsoned with blood, the Emperor transfers the forces to Europe."⁴ It is hardly credible that a sane man should use such language; and most pages of

¹ τῆς ἀπανταχόθεν οἰκουμένης, reference to the title *ecumenical*.

² Philosophy goes on to say: "He philosophises on earth not in the body, or else, speculation herself, being made flesh, moves about as man with men."

³ Theophyl. viii. 12, 3: τούτων δὴτα ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως ᾠδόμενων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῆς τυραννίδος ληξάνσης. He calls himself "the father of the history," as he calls an assassin "the father of murder."

⁴ v. 16, 1.

the History teem with similar passages. When a general changes his mind, he is said to "obelise" his first plan and "give the prize of victory to his second thoughts."¹

Four important works² of George of Pisidia remain, and of these three celebrate directly the achievements of Heraclius. The *Persian Expedition*, in three acroamata or cantos, comes first, composed after the first campaign of Asia Minor, in 623. The *Avaric War* tells how the combined forces of Avars, Bulgarians, Slaves, and Huns, in league with the Persians, were driven back from the imperial city. The two cantos of the *Heracliad* celebrate the final triumph of Heraclius and the fall of Chosroes—the fall of one whereby all were saved.³ "Where now is the babble of the ever-erring magi?"⁴ George looked on the Persian war as a crusade, and on Heraclius as the champion of Christendom. This note dominates in his compositions; the *Heracliad* open with an invocation to the Trinity. His other work was the *Hexaemeron*, or poem of the six days of the Creation; it suggested too an allegorical application to the six campaigns of Heraclius. Written at the suggestion of the Patriarch Sergius and dedicated to him, it was intended to refute pagans and philosophers, not living philosophers, for there were none, but Aristotle and Plato, Porphyrius and Proclus. Euclid is confounded by the bee and Orpheus by the swan; Procluses are bidden to hold their peace and let the rustics speak—

σιγῶσι Πρόκλοι καὶ λαλῶσιν ἀγρόται. ⁵

As in the prose of Theophylactus, we are often offended by bombast and affected expressions in the verses of the Pisidian, but the poet never goes so far as the historian.⁶ It seems probable

¹ vi. 7, 7.

² Some of his minor works are also extant, for example, a poem against Severus; a poem on the Resurrection; lines on the Vanity of Life; a prose encomium on the Martyr Anastasius. The best complete edition is that of Migne. I have shown above (pp. 231, 232, 234, 236) that it is probable that George wrote other historical poems which have been lost.

³ ἐνὸς πεσόντος καὶ σεσωσμένων ὄλων (i. 52).

⁴ ποῦ νῦν ὁ λῆρος τῶν ἀεισφαλῶν

μάγων (ii. 60).

⁵ l. 69.

⁶ As an example of his stilted style I may quote (*de Exp. Pers.* ii. 289)—

πολλὴ δὲ φροντίς τῶν φρενῶν κλονου-
μένων
κατεῖχεν αὐτὸν καὶ λογισμῶν συγχύσει
τὸν νοῦν ἐπεγνόφωσαν ἐσκοτισμένον.

He thus describes winter (*Hec.* 295)—

χειμῶνος ὥρα καὶ τὰ δένδρα συντόμως
ἐκ τῆς πυράργας τοῦ κρύους μαραίνεται.
φθίνει τὸ κάλλος, ἀσθενοῦσιν οἱ κλάδοι,
ἐκρεῖ τὸ φύλλον ὥσπερ ἐκ νεκροῦ τρίχες.

that he was never indifferent to the strict laws of quantity observed by ancient writers of iambic verse; and though the rule of the Cretic ending, which Porson rediscovered, was not known to him, he adopted a harder canon and allowed only barytone words to end his lines.¹

¹ See an article by Hilberg, entitled "Kann Theodoros Prodromos der Verfasser des *Χριστὸς Παύλων* sein?" in *Wiener Studien*, vol. viii. Hilberg speaks of "die tadellose Correctheit" of George Pisides, and holds that all false quantities in his poems are due to false readings. In the *Hexameron* there

are only three cases of more than one trisyllabic foot in a line. Late corrections of proparoxytone verses (by persons accustomed to political verses, which always end with paroxytone words) are, as Hilberg remarks, often to blame for irregularities in our MSS. of George.

CHAPTER VI

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE BY THE SARACENS

THE Roman Empire was delivered for ever from the Persian foe, but, like a ship that "having 'scaped a tempest is straightway calmed and boarded with a pirate," it was almost immediately assailed by a new and more deadly adversary, who displayed the resistless energy and was animated with the uncompromising spirit of a religious enthusiasm.

When Mohammed appeared, Arabia was in a state of decline. The religion of its inhabitants, not very sublime originally—a sort of Sabaeism derived from Chaldaea¹—had degenerated into superstition, which attached to every object in nature maleficent and beneficent deities or *ginns*; and superstition was naturally accompanied by religious indifference. "The Arab of Mohammed's time was what the Bedouin of to-day is, indifferent to religion itself,"² though observing a few rites and muttering a few phrases. Many Jews and Christians resided in Arabia; there was a christian bishopric in Yemen; and thus the monotheistic ideas of those creeds were not unfamiliar to the Arabs, among whom arose a monotheistic sect called the *Hânifs*. But the *Hânifs* had no inspiration; Judaism was too worn a thing to attract; while Greek Christianity, with its metaphysical subtlety, could not take hold of the Semitic mind. A new revelation was required; and there was a wide field for social and moral reform, which a new religion would naturally cover; there was the possibility of higher civilisation and of a more advanced form of political existence. For the

¹ Seth and Enoch were its prophets.

² Palmer, in his interesting Introduction to his translation of the Q'uran.

ordinary occupations of the Arab were murder and highway robbery,¹ and the only checks on the shedding of blood were the fear of certain revenge and the institution of the sacred months, which for a short period of the year secured the sanctity of human life. It was usual to bury alive superfluous female children, and one of the reforms of Mohammed was the abolition of this custom. These habits, which transgressed the first conditions of a stable society, rendered political union impossible; and the feeling of devotion to the tribe, which was strongly developed in the Arab—and necessarily developed, for without it life in Arabia would have been impossible—tended in the same direction. Their pride in birth, the freedom of their life, their passion for poetry, lend a sort of romantic nobility to the children of Hagar, as they were called by the Greeks; but enough has been said to show that there was another and dark side to the picture.

Mohammed the Prophet has been looked upon by some as a hero,² by others³ as literally the emissary of the devil; and less extreme views fall again into the two classes of those who think, like Sprenger, that with the prophet's burning enthusiasm was combined an element of vulgar cunning, and those who, without admiring him, take a more lenient view of his character, as conditioned by a quasi-hysterical organism. His peculiar sensibility to physical pain, his tendency to fall into profound fits of melancholy indicate the frame, bodily and mental, of one who is always wandering on the borderland between illusion and reality; and "his first revelations," says Palmer, "were the almost natural outcome of his mode of life and habit of thought, and especially of his physical constitution." The significance of his attachment to *Hadijah*, the widow whom he married, consisted in her ability to charm those demons of unrest and melancholy which afflict too sensitive natures.

Widely as Mohammed is separated from the prophets of the Old Testament, there is a common element which unites the Hebrew and the Arab and separates them from all Aryan thinkers. An incapacity for consecutive thinking, a directness

¹ Palmer, in his Introduction to his translation of the Q'uran.

² Carlyle, *Lectures on Hero-worship*, "The Hero as Prophet."

³ By Muir. Sprenger in his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad* says that this theory is the only one which can lay claim to manly seriousness.

which disdains process, a love of antitheses which never seeks contentment in a synthesis, a vagueness which delights to lose itself in metaphor, a freedom which will not be bound in the close but fruitful matrices of logic and which consequently becomes as monotonous as the reaches of the desert in which it was developed,—all these kindred features belong to both Mohammed and the Hebrew prophets; all of them were alien and would have been contemptible to the countrymen of Socrates and Plato. Nor were the Semites lovers of the beautiful, in the true sense, any more than they were philosophers. They were keenly susceptible to grandeur and sublimity and all that suggests the immense or the illimitable, but they were strangers to the beautiful; their love for beauty in women did not advance beyond the limits of the sensual. Their admiration for objects of art or beautiful girls is always linked somehow with luxury or sensuality.

The "Chapter of Unity" in the Koran resumes the central point of the new religion.

" In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
Say, ' He is God alone !
God the eternal !
He begets not and is not begotten !
Nor is there like unto him any one ! ' "

The doctrine of pure monotheism was Mohammed's great inspiration. To profess belief in God and in Mohammed as his prophet was the first of the five practical duties of a Mussulman.¹ It is not necessary to go here into further details concerning the Islamitic creed; but I must not omit to remind the reader that Mohammed brought it on several sides into historical connection with the past. He did not utterly break with the pre-existing cult of Arabia, for he made the black stone in the wall of the Kaabah at Mecca the most precious object of external veneration to his followers. This stone, which is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, was originally a white stone in paradise, but it was "blackened by the kisses of sinful but believing lips."² Nor did Mohammed cease to believe in genii (*ginns*); he thought that he himself was sent as an apostle to genii as well as to men.³ He also con-

¹ The others were prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimages—duties which also bound Christians.

² Palmer, *op. cit.* p. xiii.

³ *Ib.*

nected his religion with both Judaism and Christianity, accepting their scriptures and their prophets. He used at first to look on Jerusalem as the holy city and pray with his face turned towards it; and it was not till the Jews had rejected him at Medina that he turned his face to Mecca. He regarded Christ as his own predecessor; and a prophecy of the coming of Mohammed, involving a slight change in reading and a hideous change in sense, was found in that verse of John which promises the coming of a comforter.¹

The Koran, we are told by a competent authority,² derived much of its power, impressiveness, and popularity, less from the original sayings of Mohammed than from the mode in which it introduced "popular sayings, choice pieces of eloquence, and favourite legends current among the tribes for ages before his time." It is important to observe these links which bound Mohammed with the past. He had really no original doctrine; he only taught an old doctrine, of which his countrymen were losing sight, in a new and impressive manner, at the right moment and in the right way. His originality lay in the identification of himself with his doctrine, which went so far that it seemed often mere madness or mere imposture. He contrived to wrap his own personality and his revelation in an atmosphere of magnetic enthusiasm, which is called inspiration.

In 628 Mohammed took the first step in the direction of spreading his religion beyond the confines of Arabia. He wrote letters to the Emperor Heraclius,³ to the king of Persia, and to the king of Abyssinia (Nuggâsi), exhorting them to embrace the faith of Islam.

The king of Abyssinia accepted the invitation in an enthusiastic and humble letter. Chosroes, transported with fury, characteristically ordered the governor of Yemen to send him the insolent Arab in chains. Heraclius said neither no nor yes, but sent presents to Mohammed in acknowledg-

¹ John xvi. 7; *πρόδρομος* = A'hmed substituted for *παράκλητος*.

² Palmer.

³ M. Drapeyron draws a parallel between the career of Heraclius and that of Mohammed. From 610 to 622 Mohammed was persecuted by Koreisch-

ites, Heraclius was a prey to misfortune; 622, both gird on the sword about the same time; 624, the battle of Beder, contemporaneous with the defeat of Shahr Barz in Albania, etc. This is fanciful.

ment of his communication. Arab writers boast that he was really converted to Islamism; Greek writers affirm that Mohammed came and did homage to him. After this Mohammed entered into correspondence with Mukaukas, the Coptic governor of Egypt, who, though he did not definitely profess belief in the new religion, treated the prophet with profound respect, and sent him among other suitable presents two Egyptian maidens. The first collision between the Romans and the Moslem was at Muta, near the Dead Sea, in 629. The result was a Cadmean victory for the latter, who were considerably inferior in point of numbers; and Khalid, "the Sword of God," won his first laurels in this battle. It was in the following year that Mohammed entered Mecca in triumph and made the Kaabah the central shrine of Islamism. Two years later he died (8th June 632), and for a moment the stability of his work seemed precarious. The Arab tribes fell away; Al Mundar, king of Bahrein, on the west coast of the Persian Gulf, revolted. Abu Bekr, who, along with Omar, had supplemented by practical wisdom the visionary nature of the prophet, was elected the first caliph (*successor*). He saw that the salvation of the cause must be wrought, not by conflicts in Arabia, but by foreign conquest; he apprehended that the prophet must look for honour, not in his own country or in peace, but abroad and by the sword. Accordingly preparations were made for war against both the Persians and the Romans; and while Khalid, son of Welid, was sent against Irak, four generals were commissioned to attack Syria.¹

The programme of these enthusiasts, inspired with greed and faith, lusting equally after proselytes and riches, was characteristically concise and direct. Three alternatives were offered to the foe—the Koran, tribute, or the sword. Heraclius, who had established his headquarters at Edessa, had made no adequate preparations to oppose them. He foolishly trusted that the Saracens of the deserts which separate Syria from

¹ Theophanes places this in 6124 A.M., which should correspond to 631-632 A.D., but, as Theophanes lost a year in the reign of Phocas, it means 632-633. The death of Abu Bekr (Abubachar) is correctly placed in the following year, 6125, but the capture of Bostra, the defeat of Theodore, and

the defeat at Gabatha are placed after the accession of Omar. Nicephorus records the fate of Sergius (of whom he enigmatically speaks as *ὁ κατὰ Νυκτῆρα*, p. 23). The Saracens sewed him up in the skin of a camel newly slain and left him to putrefy.

Arabia would prove a sufficient barrier against the people of the south, whose formidable character he seems to have insufficiently realised. But those Saracens soon showed that they were unwilling to resist the invaders of their own race, and even Roman governors proved recusants to their religion and country. A small army under the general Sergius was defeated, and the Arabs captured Bostra¹ and Gaza.

One who is not an orientalist and cannot consult the Arabic authorities at first hand will be inclined to conclude that it is hardly safe to venture on any but the shortest and barest account of the conquest of Syria. The interesting and romantic details which Ockley took from the dubious Al Wakidi, and which Gibbon took from Ockley, must probably for the most part be relegated to the same room as the story of Regulus. The difficulty of critically testing materials distorted by oriental fancy, Mohammedan orthodoxy, and political party spirit was fully felt by Weil,² whom I have followed, while I would refer the reader who wishes for a mixture of legend and history to the pleasant pages of Ockley.

The four generals to whom Abu Bekr had entrusted the war against the Christians were Abu Ubeida, Schurahbil, Amru, and Yezid. It was intended that each should attack a separate part of the Syrian provinces, but the serious resistance which was encountered made a combination of forces necessary, and the caliph therefore recalled Khalid from southern Mesopotamia, where he had enjoyed a career of uninterrupted success.³ It appears that shortly before the arrival of Khalid a battle was fought at Adjnadein,⁴ in which the Saracens were victorious (30th July 634), but it is not clear whether this was the battle in which Theodore, the Emperor's brother, commanded the defeated side.⁵ The decisive battle was fought soon afterwards (end of August) on the banks of the Yermuk, or Hieromax, which flows into the Lake of Tiberias.⁶ The Roman generals were a Persian named Baanes,

¹ Romanus, the governor of Bostra, betrayed it. He was the first *magariser* (see p. 267).

² *Geschichte der Chalifen*, 1846.

³ Six victories are specially mentioned by Weil, i. pp. 32, 36, 37.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 40. Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 206, places the battle of Adjnadein in spring 636.

⁵ Theoph. 6125 A.M. mentions that Theodore, being defeated, went to Heraclius at Edessa.

⁶ The most important question in the chronology of the Syrian campaigns is the date of the battle of Yermuk. Was it fought in 634 or in 635? Was it the battle of Adjnadein or the battle of Yermuk that imme-

but called by Arabic authorities Vartan,¹ and Theodore Trithyrius, the imperial treasurer, who is to be distinguished from the Emperor's brother of the same name.² Khalid on this occasion was the life and soul of the Saracens; he allayed the discords of the commanders and won a complete victory.

Great preparations had been made by the Romans, and 60,000 light-armed troops of the Philhellene Arabs of Ghassan reinforced the army of Baanes.³ It is difficult to harmonise the accounts of this fiercely fought battle, and we cannot but see that the chaff of legend is mixed with the grain of history, as in the "Homeric" siege of Damascus. The storm of sand, for example, which blinded the Persians at Cadesia, has been transferred in one narrative to the banks of the Yermuk. Abu Ubeida yielded to his more martial captain Khalid the chief command in the action, and contented himself with the humble and useful post of standing in the rear and driving forward the fugitives. The Arabs were fortified for their toil by the concise and vivid words, "Paradise is before you, behind you the devil and the fire of hell." In the engagement we can detect that the Moslem were again and again compelled to retreat, and were exposed to terrible showers from the bows of Armenian archers. For a long time the result wavered, and the balance of Mars was equal. It was perhaps decided by a curious ambush devised by the Arabs, who placed around the tents of their camp camels with their

diately preceded the advance on Damascus? It is to be observed that Theophanes, while he places the battle in 6126 A.M., that is 635 (not, as is generally stated, 636), makes the attack on Damascus a consequence of it, and when we combine this with the circumstances that (1) he places it at the end of the first year of Omar instead of at the beginning, and that (2) 23d August (*al.* 23d July), the day of the battle, fell on Tuesday in 634, we may conclude that it took place in 634; see Weil, i. p. 45 note, and p. 47 note. Most historians, however, accept the date 636, while Finlay holds that there were two battles of Yermuk, the first in 634, before the siege of Damascus, and the second in 636. In any case the date 636 seems unfounded. Muir places a battle of Wacûsa or Yermuk in April 634, and a second greater

battle at the same place in August-September of the same year, the intervening months having passed away in skirmishing (p. 98).

¹ Another of the difficult questions which beset the history of these years is the identity of Vartan; was he Baanes (Vahan) or not? Finlay distinguishes two generals (vol. i. p. 360).

² This is clear from the narrative of Theophanes. After the defeat of Heraclius' brother, Baanes is sent with Theodore, the sacellarius, against the Arabs (6125 A.M. = 634); they win a victory and drive the enemy to Damascus. It is to be observed that Theophanes places the departure of Heraclius from Syria before the battle of Yermuk.

³ Weil gives the number of the Greeks as at least 80,000.

feet bound together.¹ The Romans did not hesitate to attack the camp, and a large company of concealed foes cut them to pieces or put them to flight. A general rout ensued, and many of the Romans were drowned.

The result of this battle decided the fate of Damascus, the stronghold of southern Syria. The small army that hastened to its relief was met and vanquished, and in 635 the city surrendered.²

It is not a little surprising how completely this first expedition of the Saracens paralysed an Emperor who had deservedly won a high military reputation. It did not occur to him to lead his army in person, and when we combine this fact with the utter physical prostration and mental derangement from which he suffered in the following year, we cannot avoid the conclusion that his health was already rapidly failing. It is to be further observed that Martina, his constant companion, who possessed the same sort of influence over him that Schirin had possessed over Chosroes, aware of her husband's declining health, was in all probability taking measures to secure her own interests in the case of his possibly approaching decease. The offspring of the intrigues of an ambitious queen is suspicion, distrust, and division; and not only does the conduct of Martina after her husband's death compel us to entertain the idea that she was an intriguer while he lived, but direct indications of division and distrust in the imperial family are preserved. The relations of an Emperor are often obstacles to the designs of his consort; and Theodore and Martina, though uncle and niece, were antagonists. Accordingly we find that Theodore's defeat at Adjnadein or Gabatha was made a pretext against him; Heraclius sent him bound as a prisoner to Constantinople, and instructed Constantine to make his disgrace public and keep him in strict confinement. We can hardly avoid suspecting that the disgrace of Theodore was due to the

¹ The authority is the Armenian history of Sēpēos. See Drapeyron, *L'Empereur Héraclius*, p. 367.

² According to the romance of Al Wakidi, Damascus was defended with heroism and suffered a cruel vengeance. When the soldiers became weary of slaughter the remainder of the inhabitants received permission to withdraw from the city, and set out in the direc-

tion of Laodicea under the conduct of Thomas, the commander of the garrison, and his wife, one of the imperial princesses. But the Saracen general, repenting of his clemency, overtook the fugitives as they rested in a valley and massacred them. The daughter of Heraclius, we are told, was spared and restored to her father, while her husband died fighting.

enmity of Martina, as we hear that he was one of those who condemned her marriage.

After the capture of Damascus the invaders appear to have remained quiet for almost the space of a year, but at the end of 635 or the beginning of 636 the "high roofs of Emesa"—*Emcsae fastigia celsa*—or Hims, as it was called by the Arabians, and the city of Heliopolis or Baalbec were taken. Thereupon Heraclius, who was at Edessa or Antioch, forgetful of his ancient valour, despaired of saving the provinces of Syria, and determined to save his own person by flight to Constantinople,¹ even as he had fled on another occasion many years before at Selymbria. He was able, notwithstanding the proximity of the Saracens, to hurry to Jerusalem and seize the cross, which he was resolved to prevent from falling again into the hands of unbelievers. He bade farewell to Syria, and when he arrived at Chalcedon he established his residence in Hieria, his favourite palace, and was seized there by a sort of hydrophobia. He was afraid to go on board a ship for even such a short voyage as the crossing of the Bosphorus, and used to send his sons to represent their father at public ceremonies in the capital. At length some one proposed to make a wide bridge of boats, and by covering it with earth, and hedging it with green branches, lend it the aspect of a hedged lane on dry land. Over such a bridge the Emperor consented to ride. The reception of the cross at St. Sophia was a rite of sad solemnity, contrasting doubtless in the minds of spectators with the glory of its reception six years before.

During these days there was a usurper in Syria, and there were conspiracies in Constantinople. Baanes the Persian, Heraclius' general, took advantage of the Emperor's withdrawal, which he might represent as a shameful desertion, to proclaim himself Augustus; but, under the circumstances, the matter was not of much importance. In the conspiracies the Emperor's love-child Athalaric and his nephew Theo-

¹ The farewell of Heraclius to Syria is placed by Ockley and Gibbon in 638; but cf. Weil, p. 79, and Finlay (i. p. 360) who points out that "Ockley's Arabian authorities confounded the young Heraclius with his father." Theophanes is hardly right in placing the event in 634. Muir (*op. cit.* p. 201)

places it in 636, after the fall of Aleppo, Hims, and Antioch. The same authority sets the capitulation of Jerusalem at the end of 636, whereas I have accepted the date of Theophanes, 637; Nicephorus (p. 24) implies that Egypt was being conquered while Heraclius was still in Syria.

dore¹ were the chief offenders; they were both banished to islands.

Abu Bekr had died just before the battle of Yermuk was fought, and had been succeeded by the great and austere Omar, for whom the attractions of the future life did not consist in its licensed sensuality. He was sterner than Abu Bekr, and his drastic management soon restored the discipline of the army, which had degenerated after the capture of Damascus. The turbulent and ruthless Khalid was deposed from the chief command and made the lieutenant of Abu Ubeida.

The captures of Emesa and Heliopolis were soon followed by the fall of Tiberias, of Chalcis, of Beroea, of Epiphania, and of Larissa. Edessa agreed to pay tribute; Antioch fell,² probably by treachery, for so much credit I am inclined to give to the story of Yukinna, the typical *magariser*. There can be no doubt that the rapid conquest of Syria was facilitated by the apostasy of Christians, as well as by the treachery of Jews; it was expected that the yoke of the Arab might prove lighter than the yoke of the Roman; and there was certainly no lack of *magarisers*. The very name *magarise*, "to embrace Islam," is a Syriac form which passed into Greek,³ and proves the frequency of apostasy to Mohammedanism in that country.

The chronological order of the capture of these towns is uncertain, but there is little doubt that after a siege of two years Jerusalem was compelled to surrender in 637. The inhabitants refused, however, to yield to any general save Omar himself.

Accordingly the Caliph Omar came from Arabia to take

¹ The implication of Theodore, son of the general of the same name, seems to connect the conspiracy with the imprisonment of his father.

² Theoph. places the capture of Antioch in 638 or at earliest in last months of 637 (6129 A.M.)

³ I conjectured myself that *μαγαρίζειν* was connected with *Ἀγαρηός* (Saracen, lit. descendant of Hagar) and had come through the Syriac, whence the initial *μ*; but I find that Payne Smith had already noticed it in his *Thesaurus*. Dr. Gwynn communicated to me the following note: "From the name *ἡσῶ*

are formed the verbs *ἡσῶναι* and

ἡσῶν (as if Aphel and Ethpacl), both meaning to become Moslem. Their participles are *ἡσῶν* and

ἡσῶν. The latter is the form I have met in the continuator of the *Chronicon* of Barhebraeus, but I find in the *Thesaurus* that the Aphel form is more usual. Payne Smith (*s.v.*) mentions the Greek *μαγαρίζω* as formed from it, as you supposed."

formal possession of the Holy City,¹ and men wondered at his austere surroundings and his rough dress, which was simple even to ferocity, a much worn and much torn skin. The Patriarch Sophronius, the combatant against monotheletism, acted as a lugubrious guide through the holy sights of the city, and with difficulty persuaded the caliph to array himself in more decent costume to enter the precincts of the church of the Resurrection. The sight of Omar kneeling at the shrine drew from the bishop the exclamation, uttered in Greek, "The abomination of desolation which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, is in the holy place." A mosque was erected on the site of Solomon's temple, but the Christians were tolerated as subjects of the caliph, on condition that they made no attempt to proselytise the disciples of Mohammed, and paid a tribute.

Heraclius made a last desperate attempt to recover the lost provinces in 638. He sent his son Constantine to Syria, and an army was collected at Diarbekr or Amida, which proceeded to besiege Emesa. Khalid hastened from the north, Abu Ubeida from the south, to relieve it, and a battle was fought in the neighbourhood which decided that Syria was to remain in the hands of the Mohammedans until three centuries hence the valour of imperial successors of Heraclius should set up a christian standard once more in Syrian provinces. In 638 Muavia was appointed emir of all the Saracen empire from Egypt to the Euphrates. Once Syria was conquered, the Roman possessions in Mesopotamia were an easy prey to the Saracens. Edessa, Constantina, and Daras were taken in 639, and the reduction of these strong places meant the conquest of Mesopotamia.

Meanwhile the Persian kingdom had been overthrown in the great battle of Cadesia (636). That field was the scene of struggles which lasted four days, but ultimately the elements intervened, and a storm of sand contributed to the victory of Said (Sa'ad).² Some months later the conqueror entered Ctesiphon, and divided its riches and its marvels. Among the treasures found in the palace Takht-i-Khosru may be mentioned

¹ Theophanes places the conquest of Palestine at end of 637 A.D. (see *sub* 6127 A.M.) He describes Omar as ὑπόκρισιν σαταρικὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος.

² The Persian army numbered 120,000. The great standard of the Persian kingdom, said to be a blacksmith's apron, was captured in this battle.

the golden horse, the silver camel with the golden foal, and the immense carpet of white brocade "with a border worked in precious stones of various hues to represent a garden of all kinds of beautiful flowers."¹ Sixty thousand soldiers received about £312 apiece. The battle of Yalulah, fought early in 637, finished the work of Cadesia, and by the end of that year all the land west of Mount Zagrus from Nineveh to Susa was Arabian. The last king, Isdigerd, had sought a refuge in distant mountain fastnesses, and three years later he made a forlorn attempt to recover his kingdom. But the battle of Nehavend, "the victory of victories" (Fattah-hul-Futtûh), stamped out for ever the dynasty of the Sassanids, which had lasted somewhat more than four hundred years (226-641).²

The Arab conquest of Persia was marked by the foundation of Kufa on the ruins of Ctesiphon, and the erection of the city of Bussora, or Bassra, on "the river of the Arabs," as was called the united stream of the Euphrates and Tigris. Bussora became soon a great mercantile centre.

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY AMRU.—The general Amru, who is said to have had previous acquaintance with Egypt, and was doubtless aware of the internal dissensions which prevailed in that land, obtained with difficulty the permission of the caliph to invade it in 639 or 640. If a foreign invader was welcome to some in Syria, still more was he welcome in Egypt. The native Copts, who were Jacobites, hated the Greeks, who were Melchites, and this element in the situation was made use of by Amru to effect his conquest.³

The conquest of Egypt is somewhat clearer in detail than the conquest of Syria. Perenum or Farma was taken first,

¹ Rawlinson, *op. cit.* p. 566. Careless of the unity of a work of art, the caliph allowed it to be cut up and divided.

² Isdigerd lived for ten years in refuge among the Turks and the Chinese. In 651 he made an attempt with their help to recover his kingdom, but was repulsed and slain.

³ In 635 Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, had, without consulting the Emperor, agreed with the Saracens to

pay them 120,000 dinars a year. When Heraclius heard thereof he indignantly sent Manuel, an Armenian, as *præfectus augustalis*, who refused to pay the stipulated money. Hence the expedition of Amru (Theoph. 6126 A.M.) Nicephorus notices the scheme of Cyrus to marry one of Heraclius' daughters to Amru and convert him to Christianity (p. 24). But the dealings of Cyrus with the unbelievers drew suspicions of paganism on him (p. 26).

with the help of the Copts; the invader was next opposed at Bilbeis and at Umm Danin by Greek forces, and, having overcome in two battles, he laid siege to Babylon. Here he waited for reinforcements from Omar, who sent him 12,000 men, and after a siege of some months Babylon fell. The capture of this city was as decisive for the fate of Egypt as the capture of Damascus had been for the fate of Syria. It is probable that a great many Syrians were influenced by the latter event to desert the imperial cause; it is certain that the success of Amru at Babylon decided Mukaukas, the Coptic governor, to yield to the Arabs, and exchange the yoke of Constantinople for the yoke of Mecca. The simple life of the Arabs, their religious enthusiasm, and their contempt for death inspired him with reverence; he did not hesitate to make peace, and agree, on behalf of the Copts, to pay a moderate tribute.

The impression made upon him by the followers of Mohammed was thus described by Mukaukas when the Emperor Heraclius upbraided him for submitting to the invader¹: "It is true," he said, "that the enemy are not nearly so numerous as we, but one Mussulman is equivalent to a hundred of our men. Of the enjoyments of the earth they desire only simple clothing and simple food, and yearn for the death of martyrs because it leads them to paradise; while we cling to life and its joys, and fear death." This illustrates the spirit which enabled the Arabians to carry all before them in the first years of their new greatness; the joys of paradise were before their eyes as they fought. Al Wakidi gave poetical expression to this spirit in the words which he placed in the mouth of a youth fighting under the walls of Emesa: "Methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me; one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them an handkerchief of green silk and a cap of precious stones, and she beckons me and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee."²

From Memphis and Babylon the Greeks retired to Alexandria, fighting as they went. Four places³ can be dis-

¹ Weil, vol. i. p. 111.

² Gibbon, cap. li.

³ Weil, *ib.* p. 112 sq. (1) Terenut,

five days' journey from Alexandria;

(2) Kom Scharik; (3) Siltis; (4) Ker-iun, a day's journey from Alexandria.

tinguished at each of which a stand was made, and at some of these stages more battles than one were fought, in which the Arabs were usually victorious. At length Alexandria was reached. The great Greek city which supplied New Rome with corn might perhaps have been saved and formed the basis for the recovery of Egypt if Heraclius had lived longer. But as he was making preparations to send an armament for its defence he died of a painful disease, which had been long afflicting him (10th February 641), and the intrigues and disturbances which ensued upon his death absorbed the attention of Constantinople. No help was sent to Alexandria; on the contrary, it even seems that troops were withdrawn from it, for selfish purposes, by one of the opposing parties in the capital. The inhabitants ultimately abandoned all thoughts of defence; those who possessed property left the city by sea, carrying off their possessions; and in December 641, after a siege of fourteen months, Amru made his entry.¹

Egypt was now a possession of the Saracens; and, with the exception of Cyprus, the Roman Empire no longer held any territory in the East south of the Taurus mountains. Omar would not permit Amru to make Alexandria the capital of the new province; it was too far from Medina, and the land about Misr (Babylon) was more fertile. Accordingly a new city was founded on the spot where Amru had encamped when he was besieging Babylon, and was hence called Fostât, "the Tent"; but the town afterwards assumed a more ambitious name and became Cairo, "the City of Victory," and the mosque of Amru commemorates to this day the Saracen conquest of Egypt. To the Egyptian population, whose squalor formed a vivid contrast to the splendour and luxury of Alexandria, the change of masters did not seriously matter. The cultivation of the soil was left in their hands; Egypt was now to be a granary for the Arabs, as it had been formerly a granary for the Romans. The old canal which connected the Nile with the Red Sea was opened up. "The channel followed the most eastern branch of the river as far north as

¹ Weil, i. 114. According to Theophanes, Manuel was the general of the Greeks. Nicephorus mentions three generals who were successively sent to defend Egypt (p. 24). John was slain

in battle, Marinus was defeated and hardly escaped with his life, and Marianus suffered a great defeat and was himself slain.

Bilbeis, then turned to the right through the vale of Tumlât, and, striking the salt lakes near Timseh, so reached the Red Sea by what is now the lower portion of the Suez Canal.”¹

I may quote part of a letter² which the Caliph Omar wrote to the conqueror of Egypt, to illustrate the government of the first caliph and especially the character of Omar. One might imagine that he would have shown respect and honour to the general who had won such an important land for Islam, but his words express the sternness of an austere deity, who is not satisfied with works and reaps where he has not sown:—

“I have reflected on you and your condition; you are in a great and excellent land, whose inhabitants God blesses by number and might, by land and sea—a land which even the Pharaohs, in spite of their unbelief, brought by useful works into a flourishing condition. I am therefore extremely surprised, that it does not bring in half of what it brought in formerly, although this decrease cannot be excused by famine or a bad year. You wrote to me before of many imposts which you laid on the land. I expected they would pour in; but instead I receive excuses, which do not please me. I shall not accept a whit less than the former revenue.”

The preceding account of the Saracen conquests may appear a dry sketch, because it is barren in details. But this is unavoidable. For in the story of the conquest of Syria legend is so mingled with history, that if we once attempt to choose among the details, which come mainly from oriental sources, we can never be sure with which element we are dealing. No compromise is possible between Weil and Ockley. Again, it may seem to some that the conquest of Syria demands as a sort of due, even in a Roman History, a long disquisition on the Saracens, an elaborate biography of Mohammed, and a collection of anecdotes to illustrate the characters of the caliphs and their emirs. But here, as in the case of the Lombards

¹ Muir, *op. cit.* p. 244. The statistics of the population of Alexandria given by Arabic historians are interesting if true. The male population was 600,000; the number of male taxable Jews was probably about 70,000; the Greeks numbered 200,000, of whom 30,000 escaped before the siege. In the city were 4000 baths, 400 theatres; in the harbour 12,000 vessels (?) (p. 240, cf. Weil, i. p. 116). The burning of the library by the Saracens is only a legend (cf. Weil, *ib.*) Weil sketches the history of the canals from the Nile

to the Red Sea; the first was begun and abandoned by Necho, son of Psammetichus, about 615 B.C., but the Persian Darius completed it; the second was dug by Ptolemy Philadelphus, but fell into neglect, and was opened again by Trajan; it fell into neglect again under the later Emperors, and was restored by Amru (p. 120 *sqq.*)

² Weil, who is more inclined to reject than to accept, concludes that this letter is genuine. I translate from his translation (p. 124).

and the Franks, where the temptation to write episodes is strong, I have diligently avoided Herodotean digressions.

Before we conclude this chapter we must bid a more solemn farewell to Heraclius, whose death has been already casually mentioned. On the 11th of February 641 the saviour of New Rome was laid beside Constantine, her founder, and Justinian, who had made her glorious, in the church of the Holy Apostles, which Constantine's mother had built. For three days the body was exposed to view in an open coffin, watched over by eunuchs, in accordance with the wishes of the dead Emperor.¹

Heraclius is one of those unfortunate heroes who have outlived their glory, and have thereby won the sympathy as well as the admiration of posterity. Alexander the Great died in the fulness of his prosperity; Constantine the Great did not experience the mortification of seeing his work undone; Justinian passed away before his successes in Italy were half reversed by the Lombard invaders and before his system collapsed. But the Emperor who saved the inheritance of Rome at the time of sorest need, the warrior who, like Alexander, overthrew a Persian sovereign, the champion who maintained the cause of Hellenism as well as the cause of Christendom, was destined to live too long. He was to live to see the provinces which he had won back from the fire-worshipper fall a prey to the Semitic unbeliever; he was to live to behold the Holy City in the power of a more dreadful foe than the Persian; he was to live to hear a new word of more ominous sound than the old and familiar "Medism." And the woes of his latter years were aggravated by a hideous disease.² But his name was not forgotten; like Alexander the Great, he passed into medieval legend.³

¹ Nicephorus, p. 27. He died at the age of sixty-six.

² Dropsy, *ἡνίκα ἀπουρεῖν ἐμελλε σανάδα κατὰ τοῦ ἥτρου ἐπελθεῖν ἐστρέφετο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄφθαλμοι ἐκέμπεν*. To the superstitious mind of a Patriarch the nature of the disease was determined by the nature of the sin which Heraclius had committed in marrying Martina. The member which offended suffered. Niceph. *ib.*

³ Otto of Freisingen wrote a romance of Heraclius in the twelfth century. M. Drapeyron (*op. cit.* p. 282) notices that there is a colossal statue at Barletta, supposed to be of Heraclius. Heraclius conquering Chosroes was the subject of a painting on enamel at Limoges (*ib.*). Heraclea, a town in Venetia, was founded soon after the victory of 628, commemorating in its name the same hero (*ib.*)

CHAPTER VII

THE SLAVONIC SETTLEMENTS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

IN the first half of the seventh century important Slavonic migrations took place which affected the future of the Haemus peninsula. The details and the dates of these movements are obscure, but the general outline is sufficiently clear.¹

In the year 610 we hear of Bavarians in conflict with Slaves (Slovenes) on the upper Drave,² and we find the latter taking up a permanent abode in the district of Carniola or Krain. At the same time, farther south, the settlements of the Slovenes in Illyricum, Macedonia, and Moesia were increasing, so that there was a considerable Slovene population extending from the frontiers of Bavaria almost to the Aegean. But this homogeneous population was not destined to become welded together and form one nationality; for a few years later—at what moment cannot exactly be determined, but certainly during the reign of Heraclius—two other peoples, Slavonic but not Slovenic,³ known as the Croates and the Serbs, pressed into the lands of Upper Moesia, Lower Pannonia, and Dalmatia, which they permanently occupied, thereby cutting off for ever the Slovenes of Carniola and Carinthia from the Slovenes of Macedonia and Lower Moesia. The lot of the north-western Slovenes was to be linked with that of the Franks and the Western Empire; while their south-eastern

¹ My chief guide has been Dümmler's excellent article on the history of Dalmatia in the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* (23d April 1856, p. 353 *sqq.*), to which I may refer the reader who is curious as to the literature of the subject.

² Paul, *Hist. Lang.* iv. 39.

³ I use the adjective Slovenic of those Slaves who were called Σλαβηνοί or Σθλαβηνοί by Greek writers. Their descendants in Carniola, Carinthia, etc., speak a language closely related to the Serbo-Croatian.

brethren were to be closely connected with the Eastern Empire.

Dümmler supposes that the Croates and Serbs¹ were tribes under Avaric suzerainty, and that with the consent of their lords they crossed the Danube to take possession of Dalmatia and Upper Moesia, which the Slovenes had laid waste. The fact that Pope John IV, a Dalmatian by birth, sent an abbot to Istria and Dalmatia, between 640 and 642 A.D., to collect christian relics and ransom christian prisoners from the heathen, proves that the newcomers occupied those provinces in the reign of Heraclius. In later years, when the power of the Avars had passed away and the Serbs and Croatians had been converted to Christianity and entered into connection with Byzantium, the idea arose that they had been originally invited to settle in their homes by the Emperor Heraclius, and this idea, accepted and echoed by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos, has been generally received.

I have been speaking of the Croatians as an unequivocally Slavonic people, and this is the generally received doctrine. I believe, however, that it is not a strictly correct view. Before the tenth century the legend had arisen that the Croatians came to their new abodes from the land of White Croatia under the leadership of five brothers, Klukas, Lobel, Cosentzes, Muchlô, Chrobátos, and two sisters, Buga and Tuga.² This Croatian legend has a strong family resemblance to the Bulgarian legend of Krobat (or Kubrat) and his five sons, which will be related in another chapter³; and I think we can hardly hesitate to suppose that Krobat and Chrobátos are the same prehistorical hero of the Hunnic nation to which the various closely related tribes of the Bulgarians, Cotrigurs, and Onogundurs belonged. If this be a true view, the name *Croatia* is not Slavonic, and, as a matter of fact, no probable Slavonic

¹ Constantine Porphyrogennetos says that the original home of these peoples was in White Servia (beyond Hungary), but he is confusing the Serbs and Sorbs. Dümmler believes that there may be some foundation for a Great or White Croatia (Βελοχρωβάτοι) to the north-east of Bohemia, as the Croatian name appears in the neighbourhood of Krakau. Constantine thought Σέρβλοι was a Latin word equivalent to *servi* (de

Adm. Imp. iii. 152), whence also the name σέρβουλα for poor shoes such as Slaves wear, and τσερβουλιανοί for the cobblers who make them; the Serbs, he says, were so called because they were the δοῦλοι of the Roman Emperor. Σπόροι in Procopius, *B. G.* iii. 14, has been identified by Safarik with the Serbs.

² Const. Porph. iii. p. 143 (ed. Bonn).

³ Below, cap. xi.

explanation of it has ever been suggested. On the other hand, the Hunnic or Bulgaric name leads us to the interesting conclusion that the establishment of the Croatian Slaves as an independent state in Dalmatia was due to the same conditions that established the kingdom of the Bulgarian Slaves in Moesia. The Slaves of Croatia were clearly conquered by a Bulgarian people, just as the Slaves of Moesia were conquered by a Bulgarian people. But when and where the former conquest took place cannot be determined. It does not seem probable that Hunnic Croats suddenly entered Dalmatia in the seventh century and conquered the Slaves who had been forming settlements there for the past hundred years. Some definite record of such an event would have been preserved, and there would have been most certainly a Croatian kingdom ruled by sovereigns of Hunnic names, instead of a number of practically independent župans. We must therefore suppose that Dalmatia was invaded in the reign of Heraclius, not by Croatian Huns, but by Croatian Slaves, that is to say, Slaves who had been conquered many years before in some country north of the Danube by Bulgarians, and had already absorbed the individuality of their conquerors. Turanian Chrobat or Krobat was associated in the legend with Slavonic names, *Buga* and *Tuga*, Weal and Woe. I may add that this theory is supported by the non-Slavonic name of the Croatian governor, Boanos (*Βοάνος*), which strongly reminds us of the Avar Baian, and of Baian or Batbaian, who in Bulgarian legend was one of the sons of Krobat.

The invasion of Croats and Serbs caused a general flight coastwards among the Roman inhabitants of Dalmatia, and new towns were founded on islands and promontories, just as Venice is said to have been founded by fugitives from the Huns and as Monembasia was probably founded in the Peloponnesus by fugitives from the Slaves. The inhabitants of the ancient Tragurium (Traù)¹ withdrew to the opposite island of Bua; Rausium,² or Ragusa, was founded by the citizens who fled

¹ Tragurium is mentioned by Polybius (xxxii. 18). It is called *Τετραγγούριον* by Const. Porph.

² It is hard to decide whether there is anything in the statement of Constantine Porph. (*de Adm. Imp.* iii. 136)

that the original name of the *Ῥαουσαίον* was *Λαυσαίον*, from a "Romaic" word *λαῦ* = cliff (apparently connected with *lâas*). The change from *λ* to *ρ* is highly improbable, as there is no other liquid in the word to cause assimilation or

from the old Greek colony of Epidaurus; and the town of Cattaro (Dekatera) had a similar origin. Salona, the home of Diocletian in his last years, did not escape destruction, and some of its inhabitants founded the town of Spalato,¹ or Spalatro, around the palace of Diocletian, from which it derived its name. Is it fanciful to suppose that, when the people of Salona fled from their city at the approach of the invaders, they made for the Emperor's palace, and that some cried in Greek, 's *palation* (ἡ *παλάτιον*—that is, "to the palace!"), and that hence the name *Spalation*, which became Spalato, was given to the new town? Further north, in the district of Liburnia, the city of Jadera² (Zara) defied the Slave, and four islands opposite the mainland—Veglia, Arbe, Cherso, and Lussin, of which the two latter together are called by one name, Opsara—also remained under the supremacy of the Empire. The inhabitants of these cities and islands were called *Romanoi* by the Greeks, and retained the Latin language. A Byzantine stratêgos, in whose hands military and civil powers were combined, resided at Zara, and it may be conjectured that he was responsible to the exarch of Ravenna. The payment of a certain tribute and the contribution of ships and sailors for service in the Adriatic were practically the only link of connection that bound these dependencies with the Empire.

The kingdom of the Croats was probably much larger from the seventh to the ninth century than in later times; for at first it seems to have included Bosnia, which was afterwards lost to the Serbs.³ Croatia was divided into four župes, governed by independent princes called župans. There was one great

dissimilation (as e.g. in *Iusciniola*, ro-signal). *Argosy* is generally derived from the ship *Argo*; but it is possible that Ragusan galleys may have been the original argosies, and that the metathesis of the first two letters may have been due to reminiscences of the mythical vessel.

¹ Ἀσπλάθων, interpreted by Constantine Porphy. as *παλάτιον μικρόν*, a little palace; a derivation which seems in the highest degree doubtful. *ἀσπλάθος* is a prickly shrub with a fragrant oil, and this Greek name seems to have been a Volksetymologie.

² Const. Porphy. says that Diadora was called in "Romaic" *Jam erat*

(Romaic in this passage means Latin), in the sense that it was founded before Rome (!) It is not easy to see how he got *jam erat* from Jadera.

³ Dümmler deduces this from the statement of Const. Porphy. that Croatia had declined in the middle of the ninth century, and that its military power had once amounted to 60,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry—numbers incredible from the size of their land in later times—combined with the notice that at first the Croats spread themselves in Pannonia (evidently Lower Pannonia) and Illyria, i.e. Dalmatia and the land north and east towards the Save and Drina.

župan, but his was merely a titular greatness, which, however, afterwards developed into real monarchical power under the external influence of other monarchical constitutions.¹

South of the Croats, who had occupied northern Dalmatia as far as the river Cettina, were the four races of maritime Serbians. The Narentanes,² who became renowned as pirates, dwelled between the Cettina and the Narenta, and for many generations, living amid inaccessible rocks, resisted the influences of Christianity, whence they were called by their Roman neighbours *Pagans*, a word which a Greek writer of the tenth century supposed to be Slavonic and translated "unbaptized." The district between the river Narenta and the town of Ragusa was occupied by the Zachlums, an important tribe; south of whom dwelled the less considerable Travouni between Ragusa and Cattaro; and the Dukljani³ between Cattaro and Antivari, in the district corresponding to modern Montenegro.

We seldom meet with the Romans of Dalmatia and their Slavonic neighbours in the general current of Roman history during the seventh and eighth centuries. We may conclude that as the power of the Avars decreased, the power of the Slaves increased; and that when Avaric influence had quite passed away, the Slaves entered into peaceful relations with the Emperor of Constantinople before the end of the seventh century, perhaps in the year 678, when all the powers of the West vied in establishing friendly relations with Constantine IV. Soon afterwards they were converted to Christianity.

We may now turn from the south-western Slaves, who were destined to remain free from Turanian influence, to the south-eastern Slaves, who were soon to pass under a Turanian yoke. The statement of Constantine Porphyrogenetos that Heraclius settled the Slaves in Thrace and Macedonia cannot be accepted without reservation. We have seen how during the last thirty years of the sixth century Thrace and Illyricum were receiving a considerable Slavonic population; the invaders took up their abode in the land, and lived half as peasants half as freebooters. During this time the valiant and experienced Priscus was at

¹ Dümmler notices that the court of the great župan bears clear traces of Frank influence.

² The islands of south Dalmatia,

Lesina, Curzola, Měleda, were colonised by the Narentanes.

³ So called from the town of Dioclea.

the head of a Roman army in those provinces, and could to a certain extent keep the Slaves in check and prevent the land from being deluged with the strangers. But during the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius the political anarchy and the pressing difficulties of the Persian war rendered the government unable to extend its protection to the Illyrian and Thracian provinces; they were left to shift for themselves. The large fortified towns, Thessalonica, Hadrianople, or Marcianopolis, were able to defy the Avar and the Slave, or to purchase exemption from their hostilities; but there were no forces to hinder the occupation of the land. When the great Scythian destroyer marched against the city of Constantine in 626, to capture it in conjunction with the Persian, it must have been through an almost Slavonic land that his way lay. The connection then of Heraclius with these Slavonic settlers, which had been somehow handed down to the imperial antiquarian, probably consisted in arranging a "mode of living" with them. Heraclius doubtless made compacts with the chiefs of their tribes—even as Constantine and Aetius made compacts with Visigoths and Vandals, and Zeno with the Ostrogoths—that they should inhabit certain limited territories. It cannot be doubted that Heraclius, after his Persian victories, directed his attention to the condition of the Haemus countries, which sorely needed succour after a long neglect; but for us their history is buried in obscurity during this period. At the same time the decline of the Avar monarchy, which set in soon after the failure of the chagan at Constantinople, influenced the political situation, and a general revolt of the subject Slaves and Bulgarians, which drove the Avars westward, may have been attended with new migrations to the lands south of the Danube.¹

Regions of Lower Moesia and the lands of Macedonia about Thessalonica seem to have been the two chief Slavonic districts, or, as we may call them, the Sclavinias.² The action of Heraclius doubtless consisted in recognising these settlements as dependencies on the Empire. Before we reach the end of the

¹ Of the fall of the Avar monarchy we hear little. Suidas, *sub voce* Ἀβάρης, has this notice, *οὗτοι τοὺς Ἀβάρης οἱ Βόλγαροι κατὰ κράτος Ἀρδην ἠφάνισαν*. In late legends the Avars are called Ὀμβροί, and a Russian proverb is preserved by

Nestor—"They have vanished, like the Obri, without posterity, without heir" (*ni plemene ni naslédka*).

² *Sclavinia* (Σκλαβινία) is now used of the lands which corresponded to the ancient Pannonia.

seventh century we shall hear of the "seven Slavonic tribes" in Moesia, which were subdued by the Bulgarians, but we know nothing more precise about the Moesian Scлавinia.

Of the Macedonian Scлавinia we know more; the *Life of St. Demetrius* has preserved some details touching the tribes which, settled in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica, harried its territory and threatened its walls. Between Thessalonica and Beroea, in the valleys of the Axios and the Haliacmon, abode the tribes of the Drogubites and Sagudates. South of these, a district on the Gulf of Pagasae (Volo), in Thessaly, was occupied by the Belegezêtes (whose name survives in the modern Velestino), the Berzêtes, and the Bajunêtes. All these tribes combined to besiege Thessalonica in the episcopate of archbishop John II (675-681), and the city of St. Demetrius was hardly saved by the miraculous protection of its patron. Other Slaves were settled on the Strymon, and the Runchines were among the most formidable neighbours of the cities of Macedonia. Most of these barbarous tribes infested the sea as well as the land, and penetrated in their light piratical boats into the waters of the Propontis.¹

We saw reason to suppose that in the reign of Maurice Slaves had begun to settle in the lands south of Mount Olympus. It is almost certain that the Slavonic element in Greece increased during the reign of Heraclius, while the entire attention of the government was occupied by the struggle with Persia, for we can hardly refuse to allow so much credit to the strong statement of the contemporary Isidore of Seville that "the Slaves took Greece from the Romans," *Scłavi Graeciam Romanis tulerunt*.² But while we infer so much from the words of the Spanish bishop, I think we can hardly infer more. It is certain at least that the large towns did not fall a prey to the Slaves. Athens, for example, was still Greek and to some extent still a seat of learning, for the great Theodore of Tarsus, to whom our own England owes so much, was educated there. Nor had the country yet become Slavised, as it is said to have become in the following century.

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. iv. pp. 162-174. See Hopf, *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 94, and below, p. 337.

² *Chron.* 120.

CHAPTER VIII

CONSTANS II

THE history of the successors of Heraclius is veiled in the most profound obscurity. We have no contemporary historians; the writers on whom we are obliged to rely almost entirely, lived more than a hundred years later,¹ and it is not even certain from what sources they obtained their materials. From the curt and scanty notices of these chronicles it is impossible to obtain a clear or definite idea of the state of the Empire, and

¹ Theophanes, confessor, and Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople. Both wrote, the former his *Chronicle* and the latter his *Short History*, at the beginning of the ninth century. The interesting question is, what were their sources for the history of the seventh century. We have seen that Theophanes utilised George of Pisidia for the Persian wars of Heraclius, and up to the year 628 (or perhaps for a few years later) there were the entries of the *Chronicon Paschale*, which was doubtless consulted both by Theophanes and Nicephorus. But these sources (1) do not account for all their notices in the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius, and (2) entirely deserted them for the later part of Heraclius' reign and for the reigns of the Heraclidae. If we compare the two chronicles it is easy to see that the sources used by Nicephorus were also used by Theophanes, and in some cases their very words are the same. But it is also clear that Theophanes had access to earlier writers whose works were not in the hands of Nicephorus; for (1) the sources of Nicephorus deserted him entirely for the reign of Constans, (2)

Nicephorus is not clear, like Theophanes, in the matter of chronology. One of the authorities used by Theophanes was doubtless the Chronicle of John of Antioch, called Malalas, who probably lived about 700. I suspect that for the reign of Constans, Malalas was the chief source. It is worthy of note that in several places Theophanes uses the Macedonian names of the months (6136, 6150, 6164, 6186, 6205 A.M.), generally in recording such occurrences as earthquakes. As this was a characteristic of the *Paschal Chronicle* (not of John Malalas), I would conjecture that he consulted some lost Alexandrine continuation of the *Paschal Chronicle*.

Besides these later writers we have, chiefly for the ecclesiastical history, the *Acta Conciliorum* and the *Liber Pontificalis*. Some chapters in Paul's *Historia Langobardorum* are important for the later years of Constans. The *Vita Scti. Demetrii* has been already referred to. Zonaras and Cedrenus (or rather John Scylitzes) preserve some details unnoticed by Theophanes, which they probably drew directly from Theophanes' sources.

our account of the reigns of Constans II, Constantine IV, and Justinian II must necessarily be defective.

Yielding doubtless to the persuasions of his beloved and ambitious wife and niece Martina, Heraclius had drawn up an impracticable will, in which he enjoined that the administration of the Empire after his death should be carried on jointly by his eldest son and colleague Constantine, by Heraclonas¹ his son by Martina, and by Martina herself. Accordingly, when her husband had closed his eyes, Martina called a conclave, consisting of the senate and the Patriarch Pyrrhus, and laid the testament of the dead Emperor before them. It seems that she then summoned the citizens of Byzantium to the hippodrome, and there, supported by the presence of Pyrrhus and the senate, made known publicly the last injunctions of the great Heraclius. The people demanded with impatient clamours that the two young Emperors should appear, and Martina unwillingly allowed them to come forward. She was determined from the beginning to take the first place, and keep both her august stepson and her own son, also august, in the background. But the public opinion of the Romans disapproved of the sovereignty of a woman, and they made her understand that her audacious project would meet with opposition. Some one is said to have cried out to the Augusta, "You are honoured as the mother of the Emperors, but they as our Emperors and lords." A cogent reason too was assigned for her remaining in an honoured obscurity; "When foreign ambassadors come to the court, you cannot receive them or reply to them"; and this decisive objection was thrust home by the rude exclamation, "God forbid that the Roman Empire should fall so low." The people dispersed cheering the Emperors, and the Empress retreated, discomfited but not hopeless, to the imperial palace.

This first scene, in which the schemes of Martina were baffled, was of evil augury for the future, and we shall not be surprised to hear that, failing to accomplish her ambitious

¹ Theophanes calls him Heraclônas, Nicephorus calls him Heraclius. His proper and imperial name was doubtless Heraclius, and he was named popularly Heraclonas to distinguish him from his father. He attended his father in Syria

against the Saracens, and was crowned Augustus in 638 (Nicephorus, pp. 23 and 26). He was born in 615, and therefore was about twenty-six years old at his father's death.

purposes by fair means, the stepmother was prepared to resort to more doubtful practices. For not only had she been herself repulsed, but the public voice had unmistakably declared that Constantine, the eldest son, who had held the position of Augustus for many years, should enjoy a greater dignity and authority than his younger stepbrother.

There were two opposite parties now, the party of Martina in close league with the monotheletic Patriarch Pyrrhus, and the party of Constantine, who had faithful adherents in Philagrius the lord treasurer (*comes sacrarum largitionum*), and his squire (*ὑπασπιστής*) Valentinus. As Constantine was orthodox and believed not, like his father, in One Will,¹ the opposition of Pyrrhus to his government was all the bitterer. If Constantine had been a stronger man he must certainly have prevailed against his enemies, supported as he was by general public opinion. One is tempted to think that he might have safely banished his stepmother. He won at least one success with the help of Philagrius, who revealed to him that Heraclius had consigned to the care of Pyrrhus a sum of money which might serve as an ample reserve store for Martina if she should ever be driven from the court. Constantine forced the reluctant Patriarch to produce the money.

After this, Constantine fell sick, and for change of air crossed over to his palace at Chalcedon. But the salubrious atmosphere of Asia did not avail, and he died, after a reign of three months and a half. It was generally supposed that poison was administered to him by his stepmother, but as one of our authorities, who gives fuller details of these events than the others, does not even hint at such a suspicion,² we are not entitled to assert it as a historical fact, though it may seem credible or even probable. When Philagrius, who waited on the Emperor, saw that his master's end was approaching he felt fears for his own safety, and advised Constantine to engage the army to protect the rights of his children to the succession, in case he died.

¹ Zonaras, vol. iii. p. 313 (ed. Dindorf).

² Nicephorus, from whom the preceding account is derived; as he uses the expression *νόσω χρονιά συνέλχεται*, and Constantine seems to have lain ill for some time at Chalcedon, the poison, if there was poison in the case, must

have been a slow one. Pyrrhus, according to Theophanes, had something to do with his death; but then Pyrrhus was a monothelete. Martina's guilt was generally believed, and Constans asserted it as a fact in a speech to the senate after his accession.

Constantine gladly accepted the advice, and sent Valentinus with a letter to the army, also entrusting to his care a large sum of money,¹ with which he was to persuade the generals and soldiers to resist the machinations of Martina and her children.

Heraclius was proclaimed in the city successor of Constantine; and the proclamation of her son meant the ascendancy of Martina. One of his or her first acts was to banish Philagrius to Septae, a fort in Africa near the Straits of Gibraltar; and other persons attached to Constantine were punished, though not with death. Valentinus meanwhile was not inactive, and he appeared at Chalcedon, with the troops of Asia Minor, as the champion of the children of Constantine. The time of the vintage was approaching, and, as a large number of the inhabitants of Constantinople possessed vineyards on the Asiatic coast round about Chalcedon, the presence of Valentinus there in a hostile attitude threatened to be eminently vexatious. Heraclius, the eldest son of Constantine III, was in Constantinople, and his stepuncle Heraclonas, in order to anticipate, or perhaps repel, the suspicions and murmurs of the people, produced him in public as a proof that he was safe, and embraced him as if he were his own son. This display of affection seemed credible, as he had received Heraclius in his arms after immersion in the baptismal font. He confirmed this demonstration by swearing on the wood of the cross, in the presence of Pyrrhus, that neither from himself nor from others should the children of Constantine receive hurt. The asseverations of his own good faith were accompanied by imputations against the genuineness of the conduct of Valentinus, whom he accused of aiming at the imperial throne. To confirm this charge he crossed over to Chalcedon in the company of the young Heraclius and tried to persuade Valentinus that his intentions towards the princes were friendly and loyal. But the squire of Philagrius refused to accept his suspicious assurances; and when they of the city heard this, they believed the Emperor and reviled Valentinus.

Meanwhile the vintage was ripe, and the soldiers did not spare the grapes; nor were the vintagers from the city allowed

¹ Nicephorus, p. 29: *χρήματα συντε- λοῦντα εἰς ποσότητα ἀριθμοῦ μυριάδων* [πέντε] *διακοσίων καὶ ἑνὶ μύρια καὶ ἑξακι- σήλια νομίσματα* = 2,010,600 aurei = £1,256,625, omitting *πέντε* which is very doubtful.

to land in Asia. This state of things produced impatience and discontent, which were augmented for the orthodox by the fact that the monotheletic and unpopular Patriarch was closely associated with the Emperor and his mother. Pyrrhus was called upon, perhaps by a deputation, to crown Heraclius, and the importunity of the people was so urgent that the Patriarch communicated it to the Emperor, and the Emperor assented to the coronation. The crown of his father Constantine, which Heraclonas had put away in the sanctuary of the church, was placed on the head of Heraclius,¹ whose name by the will and acclamation of the people was changed to Constans² or Constantine.

A strong feeling of odium prevailed against Pyrrhus. The ignorant and superstitious portion of the community thought doubtless that his impious views on the matter of one will were mysteriously connected with the disagreeable state of things that had come about. It appears that on the day of the coronation the rabble proceeded to St. Sophia with intent to lay rude hands on Pyrrhus. When they failed to find him there they entered the thusiasterion, with a crowd of Jews and other "cacodox" persons; they tore up the sacred robes and defiled the holy place, and then paraded through the city with the keys of the church gates hung on a pole. That night Pyrrhus, seeing that his life was in jeopardy, stealthily entered the great church, and worshipped there for the last time. He laid his cloak (*ᾠμόφορον*) on the altar and said, "I resign not my sacred office, but I take my leave of a disobedient people." He crept out unobserved and remained concealed in the house of a pious woman until he found an opportunity to sail to Carthage.³

¹ Nicephorus says that Heraclius (Heraclonas) bade Pyrrhus crown his nephew, "but the people constrained the Emperor to accomplish the work." I suppose the incident indicates the odium that prevailed against Pyrrhus. The crown, valued at 70 lbs. of gold, belonged to Heraclius; it had been buried with him, but his son Constantine had exhumed it, and, after the death of the latter, Heraclonas dedicated it in St. Sophia.

² Theophanes calls him Constans, but on his coins he is called Constantine, and Nicephorus the Patriarch was ignorant of the name Constans. I

strongly suspect that Constantine was his imperial name, and Constans only a popular name (a parallel case to Heraclonas). In that case he was the true Constantine IV, and sixteen, not fifteen, Constantines ruled over the Romans.

³ Nicephorus, p. 31: *πρὸς τὴν Χαλκηδόνος* [sc. πόλιν] *ἀπέπλει*. The editor, de Boor, queries "*Καρχηδόνος*?" in a footnote, and it is almost certain that here (as in other places) there has been a confusion between Chalcedon and Carthage. For the following reference to Maximus and Theodosius, the pillars of orthodoxy in Africa, *ἐν Ἀφρικῇ*,

The coronation of Constans the Second rendered it practicable to make an arrangement with Valentinus and his soldiers at Chalcedon; and this was really the motive of the popular movement. The terms of the compact were that the Caesar David, the brother of Heraclonas, should be crowned Emperor, and named Tiberius,¹ that Valentinus should be created *comes excubitorum*, that no account of the money which the late Emperor had given him should be demanded, and that the soldiers should receive a largess. These events took place in the month of October (641), and at the same time Paulus, the chancellor of St. Sophia, was elected to the patriarchal chair instead of Pyrrhus, whose theological views he shared.

Thus at the end of the year 641 there were three Emperors, Heraclonas, Constans, and Tiberius; but the mode in which the coronation of Constans had been extorted and the well-known unscrupulousness of Martina precluded the hope of a permanent harmony. Concerning the course of events our authorities fail us; all we know is that before a twelvemonth had elapsed the senate resolved to adopt the violent measure of deposing Heraclonas and banishing him, along with his mother Martina. The sentence of banishment was accompanied by a barbarous act of justice or revenge; the tongue of the Empress was cut out and the nose of her son was slit. We cannot hesitate to suppose that some terrible provocation had been given. It is remarkable that Valentinus was banished at the same time, whence we must conclude that he had

is hardly relevant if it was not at Carthage that Pyrrhus was questioned by the curious monks—*τίνας τῶν μοναζόντων . . . ἀνερεύνων*; and it is not conceivable that monks at Chalcedon would have to seek information from Pyrrhus concerning what must have been perfectly familiar to them, the *Ecthesis* (τῶν ἐκτεθέντων) of Heraclius.

¹ Niceph. p. 31. (David and Marinus, the sons of Martina, had been created Caesars, and her daughters, Augustina and Martina, had been created Augustas in 639 or 640, *ib.* p. 27.) After this point there is a gap of more than thirty years in the epitomised history of Nicephorus, who proceeds from the election of Paul to the patriarchate in 641 to the death of Constans, whom he calls Constantine, in 668, and having

barely mentioned this event goes on to the year 673. Thus for the reign of Constans we depend chiefly on Theophanes (for other sources, *see* above, p. 281).

There is no reason to ascribe this lacuna to our MSS. and not to Nicephorus himself. It seems to me, as I already stated, to indicate that for the reign of Constans there was extant only one Greek source of any value, and that this source was consulted by Theophanes, while it was not in the hands of Nicephorus. I hold that this source was the Chronicle of John Malalas of Antioch. Theophanes probably also consulted some other meagre chronicle in which the Macedonian months were used. *See* above, p. 281.

changed parties. What became of the Emperor Tiberius we are not informed.

Before September 642 Constans, then a boy of eleven years, was sole sovereign, and not long after that date he made a short statement to the senate¹ which has been preserved and deserves to be quoted:—

“ My father Constantine, in the lifetime of Heraclius, his father and my grandfather, reigned in conjunction with him for a considerable time, but after his death for a very short space of time. For the envy of his stepmother Martina cut off his excellent hopes and deprived him of his life,—and this for the sake of Heraclonas, the son of her incestuous union with Heraclius. Your vote chiefly contributed to the just deposition of her and her son from the imperial dignity, that the Roman Empire should not behold a most illegal thing. Your noble lordships are well aware of this; and I therefore invite you to assist me by your advice and judgment in providing for the general safety of my subjects.”

This short speech is noteworthy in two ways. It shows that a general belief prevailed that Martina had poisoned Constantine; and it indicates the importance of the senate at this time. By the decision of the senate Martina and Heraclonas had been deposed, and the tender age of Constans obliges us to assume that the administration of the Empire was entirely in the hands of the senate during the next few years.

Two revolts may have alarmed the inexperience of Constans in the early part of his reign. A patrician named Valentinian, who was apparently a general of troops in Asia Minor, rebelled, but Constans caused him to be executed, and recalled the army to the duty of loyalty (645). It is tempting to suppose that Valentinian is a mistake for Valentinus, and that the squire of Philagrius who undertook the cause of the children of Constantine had been made a Patrician; but the other statement that some one named Valentinus was banished along with Martina makes us hesitate to accept this identification.

Two years later Gregory,² the exarch or governor of Africa, revolted “along with the Africans,” but was soon afterwards

¹ Theoph. 6134 A.M. Κώνστας πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἔλεγεν.

² One is fain to conjecture that this Gregory may have belonged to the

Heraclian family—may have been a son or grandson of Gregory the uncle of Heraclius.

routed by the Saracens, who invaded those provinces and compelled the people to pay tribute (647-648).

While this tragic drama was being enacted among the children of Heraclius at the court of Byzantium, the Saracens were extending their power. In the year 646 the officer Manuel, who had unsuccessfully defended Alexandria, made an essay to recapture it, with a fleet of 300 ships, but the Greeks were utterly defeated in a battle which was fought close to the city. In consequence of this attack the Arabs razed to the ground the walls of the city of the Ptolemies, and made Fostât, afterwards to become Cairo, the capital of Egypt. To the Egyptian dominion of the caliph, Amru had added the western line of coast, including the town of Barca,¹ as far as Tripolis, and in these regions tribute was paid to the Arabs in the form of African slaves. In 647 Abu Sarh, who had succeeded Amru as governor of Egypt, advanced along the coast in the direction of Carthage, and, as has been already mentioned, defeated the Roman governor Gregory, who opposed him at the head of an army of 120,000 men. The Semites were beginning to reappear in a quarter from which a powerful branch of the same race had been exterminated eight hundred years before.

In the same year which witnessed the failure of the armament of Manuel at Alexandria, another expedition sent by land against Muavia, the general in Syria, was also repulsed, and the Saracens overran parts of Asia Minor and Armenia, and advanced as far as Tiflis. In the meantime the death of the unbending Omar and the election of the more flexible Othman led to many consequences, good and bad, for the power of the new nation. The chief injurious consequence was that the dissensions and discords, which the strong personality of Omar had firmly suppressed, broke out under the weaker and less unselfish supremacy of Othman. The chief advantage was that Muavia, the energetic ruler of Syria, was permitted to organise a fleet, which Omar, who had a superstitious distrust of the perfidious sea, had obstinately forbidden.

¹ The surrounding district seems to have been called Barkaine, for we read in Nicephorus (p. 24) that John was

appointed *stratêgos* (general) of Barkaine, and sent to Egypt against the Saracens.

The first expedition of the new naval power was against Cyprus (649). The armament numbered 1700 ships; Constantia, the capital city, was taken, and the whole island was ravaged. But Muaviah did not attempt to occupy it permanently, and perhaps he was prevented from doing so by the news that the Roman chamberlain Kakorizos was sailing against him with a large force. The emir sailed back to the coast of Syria and turned his attention to the little island of Aradus, lying not far from the mainland between Gabala and Tripolis. But all his endeavours to take the fort were vain; and equally vain was his attempt to induce the inhabitants to surrender by the mediation of a bishop named Thomarichos. The Saracens returned to Damascus, but next year attacked Aradus again with greater success. The city was burnt, the island was left uninhabited, while the people were allowed to depart and settle elsewhere. Aradus had been a flourishing mercantile city for many centuries; it was the Venice of the Syrian coast, secured by its insular position. Strabo the geographer noticed that the Aradians resisted all temptations to follow the example of the Cilicians and adopt the trade of piracy. The destruction of the place by Muaviah is an example of the barbarous and short-sighted policy of Mohammedan conquerors.

In the following year (651) an Arab general marched into the southern provinces of Asia Minor and carried away 5000 captives. Constans, who was hampered by Italian and perhaps by other affairs at this time, sent an ambassador to Muaviah and arranged a peace of two years, for which he was probably obliged to pay a considerable sum. This peace was not actually violated, but in the following year the Romans lost Armenia by the revolt of the Patrician Pasagnathes (a Persian), who made a treaty with Muaviah, delivering up his own son as a pledge. The Emperor, who had proceeded to Caesarea in Cappadocia in order to see what measures could be taken, despaired, we are told, of Armenia, and returned to Byzantium. Nevertheless, two years later he sent forth an army under Maurianus to recover that important country; but Maurianus was driven before the Saracen general Abib to the foot of Mount Caucasus (654 A.D.), and Armenia remained tributary to the caliph.

In the same year (654) the Romans met with another reverse in the loss of the important commercial island of

Rhodes. We are told that the celebrated statue of Helios, called the Colossus of Rhodes, was sold¹ to a Jewish trader of Edessa, who carried off the metal on 900 camels; a notice which shows the wealth and enterprise of the Jewish merchants at this time.

Encouraged by his successes, achieved on an element strange to the children of the desert, against Cyprus, Rhodes, and the little fort of refuge at Aradus, Muaviah ventured to organise a grand expedition against New Rome herself (655 A.D.) Constans, informed of his intention, prepared a fleet, and, sailing to the coast of Lycia, anchored at Phoenix. The events that followed may be told in the words of the chronicler:—

“All the armament of Muaviah was collected at Tripolis in Phoenicia. And having seen this, two brothers, servants of Christ, who abode in Tripolis, the sons of Bucinator, pierced by the zeal of God, rushed to the prison of the city, where there was a multitude of Roman prisoners. Bursting open the gates and loosing the prisoners they rushed to the house of the amîr (emir) of the city and slew him and his staff, and, having burned all the furniture, sailed to Romania. Muaviah, however, did not give up his design. He marched himself on Caesarea in Capadocia, and made Abulathar captain of the naval armament. The latter sailed to a place in Lycia called Phoenix, where the Emperor Constans was stationed with the Roman fleet, and fought a naval battle with him. And as the Emperor was preparing to fight, on that night he dreamed that he was in Thessalonica, and awaking he related the dream to an interpreter of dreams, who said, ‘Emperor, would that you had not slept, nor seen that dream; for your presence in Thessalonica means, being interpreted, that the victory inclines to your foe.’² But the Emperor took no account of this, and drew up his fleet in line-of-battle and challenged an engagement. The ships met, and the Romans were defeated, and the sea was stained with the blood-streams of the Romans. The Emperor changed garments with another; and the son of Bucinator (mentioned

¹ Theophanes incorrectly describes it as *now* pulled down. The colossus had been thrown down by an earthquake about 225 B.C. (Polybius, v. 88). Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 34, 18) writes *sed jacens quoque miraculo est*. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and either its

material or the price thereof was supplied by the siege-engines of Demetrius Poliorcetes. See Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 334 and 342 sqq.

² *Θὲς δὲς ἀλλὰς νικῆν*, “give victory to another.”

above), leaping into the imperial vessel, hurried off the Emperor into another vessel and unexpectedly saved him. But he himself, standing bravely in the imperial ship, slew many, this most noble man, and devoted himself to death for the Emperor; for the enemy surrounded him and compassed him about, supposing him to be the Emperor, and, having slain many, he was himself slain by the foe, along with the man who wore the imperial clothes. But the Emperor was thus saved by flight, and having left all he sailed to Constantinople."¹

After this great reverse an event happened which proved fortunate for the Romans, by preventing Muaviah from following up his success. This event was the murder of Caliph Othman (656 A.D.), which was succeeded by a struggle for the caliphate between Muaviah and Ali. The weak Othman had fallen the victim of a conspiracy, and Muaviah assumed the part of his righteous avenger. On a pulpit in the great mosque of Damascus he hung up the bloody shirt of the slain caliph and the mutilated fingers of Nâila, who had tried to protect him. Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, had made the new city of Kufa the capital of his caliphate. Having subdued a revolt at Bus-sora by the celebrated victory "of the Camel," he invaded northern Syria, and the battle of Siffûn, where the forces of the rival caliphs met, was finally decided by an appeal to the infallible Koran. Having signed a document by which both agreed to accept the arbitration of the sacred book, Muaviah and Ali returned to their respective cities, Kufa and Damascus. The arbitrators appointed were Amru, as the representative of Muaviah, and Abu Mûsa, as the representative of Ali. Abu Mûsa was outwitted by the cunning of Amru, and Muaviah, according to the terms of the contract, was the rightful caliph. But, as Ali declared the arbitration unfair, and would not surrender his claim, the double caliphate lasted until his death in 661 A.D., after which event his son Hassan² abdicated in favour of Muaviah.

Occupied with these conflicts and rivalries, Muaviah was obliged to submit to a treaty favourable for the Romans in 659 A.D. The caliph agreed to pay to Constans 1000 nomismata

¹ Theophanes *ad* 6146 A.M. He of the caliphs.

always calls Muaviah *Mavias*. He ² Weil, i. 265. Hassan was the hero
uses the word *ἀμειρά*, "be ameer," of no less than seventy divorces.

(£625), and for every day as long as the peace should last, a horse and a slave.

In the preceding year Constans had availed himself of the tranquillity of his neighbours on the south-eastern frontier to make an expedition against the Slaves who were settled in the provinces of the Balkan peninsula, and were manifesting an unruly spirit. The country which these Slaves occupied was called Scлавinia, but we are not informed where this country lay. Thus we cannot decide with certainty whether Constans marched westward to the Macedonian land beyond Mount Rhodope, where, as we know, there were Slavonian settlements, or northward to the Moesian lands beyond Mount Haemus, which were then almost entirely Slavonic; but the former alternative, which is adopted by the German historian Hopf,¹ seems the more likely. Constans compelled them to pay the tribute which they had refused, and led away many captives.

Constans was a man of strong will and restless energy, and he displayed these qualities in the sphere of religion as well as in other departments. To his ecclesiastical policy we must attribute, in the first instance, his unpopularity with the people of Constantinople, whose detestation he cordially reciprocated; and this unpopularity, hampering and oppressing him at every step, drove him to make the remarkable resolution of transferring the seat of empire to the West. This then is the most fitting place to give a brief account of the ecclesiastical affairs of his reign, with which his expedition to Italy naturally connects itself.

After the death of Heraclius a monk named Maximus carried on a vigorous campaign in Africa against monothelism; and in 646 A.D. the African councils, at his instigation, drew up a manifesto against the heresy, which they forwarded to Pope Theodore, a Greek by birth. In accordance with a suggestion made by the orthodox African bishops, the Pope wrote on the matter to Paul, the monothetic Patriarch of Constantinople, and Paul replied in a letter professing in the strongest terms adhesion to the doctrine of one will. The Pope decided to excommunicate the heretical Patriarch, and performed the ceremony with the utmost solemnity.

¹ *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 94.

The reply made by New Rome to the deposition of Paul was an edict of the Emperor Constans known as the *Type*.¹ This document is not a declaration of monothelitism, like the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius, but deals with the question of one will as the *Ecthesis* had dealt with the question of one energy. Under pain of serious penalties, it is commanded that no one shall speak of either one will or two wills, one energy or two energies; that the whole controversy shall be buried in oblivion, and that "the scheme which existed before the strife arose shall be maintained, as it would have been if no such disputation had arisen."

The spirit of the *Type* of Constans was similar to the spirit of the *Henotikon* of Zeno, but was marked by a more absolute and imperial tone. Paul, doubtless, urged Constans to issue an edict establishing the doctrine of one will, but if Constans was not wholly indifferent on the subject, he was certainly not a bigot,² and such an edict would have been dangerous, or at least imprudent, in the face of the great body of orthodox opinion in Constantinople. He was only seventeen years old when the *Type* was promulgated, and we are not informed whether he acted by the advice or against the counsels of the senate. The document certainly displays the true spirit of imperial indifference which cares more for the State than for the Church; and its form, an edict and not a symbolum, distinguishes it essentially from the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius. The penalties to be incurred by those who disobeyed the decree were, in the case of a bishop or clerk, deposition; in the case of a monk, excommunication; in the case of a public officer in civil or military service, loss of his office; in the case of a private person of senatorial rank,³ loss of property; in the case of a private person of obscure position,⁴ corporal punishment and banishment for life.

The strict or bigoted orthodox adherents of the doctrine of two wills deemed the Laodicean injunction of neutrality no less to be reprobated than a heretical injunction of monothelitism. The *Type* implied that the one doctrine was at least as good as the other; and in Rome there existed a strong feeling

¹ The text of the *Type* (Τύπος) is preserved among the acts of the Lateran Council of 649; Mansi, *Concil.* x. 1029, 1031. Compare Hefele, *Con-*

ciliengeschichte, iii. 186 sqq.

² His father Constantine had not been a monothelite.

³ τῶν ἐπισήμων.

⁴ τῶν ἀφανῶν.

on the matter, which led to the convocation of the Lateran Synod in the following year (649 A.D.) Pope Theodore had died in the meantime, and his successor, Pope Martin, presided at a council which condemned monotheletism and the Type. Martin was a man of learning and endowed with a fine physical frame, "marked out by providence," says a Catholic historian, "to be the martyr for the dyotheletic faith." After the synod he wrote to the Emperor, informing his Majesty of its conclusions, and requiring him to condemn the heresy, "for the safety of the State is always wont to flourish along with the orthodox faith, and the Lord, *rightly* believed in by your clemency, will assist your power in making war justly against your enemies."

While the Lateran Synod was sitting, Olympius arrived ✓ as the new exarch from Constantinople, with imperial instructions to secure the observance of the Type in Italy and not to respect the person of the Pope. It is said that Olympius ordered his squire to kill Martin at the communion office, but, though the man constantly watched and waited, by some miraculous accident he was never able to see the Pope. The superstition of Olympius was touched by this evidently supernatural frustration of his impious plans, and he revealed the whole design and the reason of his presence at Rome to the intended victim. "Having made peace with holy Church, he collected his army and proceeded to Sicily against the Saracens who were dwelling there. And on account of sin there was a great mortality in the Roman army, and after that the exarch fell ill and died."¹

But a new exarch, Theodore Calliopas, who did not arrive in Italy until 653 A.D. (15th June), was not of such impressionable stuff. He was obliged to wait for some days in Rome until he could conveniently arrest the Pope, who happened to be ill; but he soon seized a favourable opportunity and conveyed the holy father to a ship which lay in readiness to bear him to Constantinople, that he might there reply to charges of treason which were alleged against him. Martin was said to have conspired with Olympius in revolting against the Emperor, and it was on this charge of conspiracy, and not on the ground of ecclesiastical opposition to an imperial edict,

¹ Anastasius, *Vit. Pont.*, *Vit. Mart.*

that it was resolved to condemn him. He was not taken directly to Constantinople, but was detained a prisoner at the island of Naxos for a whole year.¹ He relates himself that he was allowed to enjoy such meagre comforts as an inn could afford, and to refresh himself occasionally with a bath. He arrived at New Rome in September 654, and on the day of his arrival was left from morning until evening on the deck of the ship, exposed to the jeers and scoffs of Byzantine scurrility.² At night the weary pontiff was carried from the ship to the prison of Prandearia, where he was obliged to remain for ninety-three days. It is said that during this time he was not permitted to bathe once. It is evident, although not expressly stated, that these long periods of imprisonment antecedent to the trial were adopted in order to break the Pope's firm spirit and torture him into accepting the Type. This treatment was an imitation of the measures that Justinian had employed to tame Pope Vigilius.

At last the unhappy bishop of Rome was brought before the tribunal; a *sacellarius*³ or private treasurer of the Emperor conducted the proceedings. The illustrious prefect of the city was also present, but not apparently as presiding judge. We need not describe the details of the trial, which seems to have lasted but a short time. The Pope denied all the vain allegations of conspiracy and rebellion, and sometimes retorted on his ignorant or malignant accusers. It appears that the Emperor sat during the proceedings in an adjoining room, for it is related that the *sacellarius* came forth from the Emperor's chamber and said to Martin: "Thou hast fought against the Emperor—what hast thou to hope? Thou hast abandoned God, and God has abandoned thee." The same minister gave orders that the pontifical robe should be torn from the body of the Pope, and then turning to the prefect of the city, said,

¹ Naxos was reached in three months, but we are not told where they halted en route. The Pope was allowed only six servants (*pueruli*) and a *cauculus*, perhaps a personal attendant (Ducange, *Gloss. Med. Lat.*, explains it by *famulus*). According to our notions, this part of the treatment was not too fell. The arrest and voyage of Martin are related by himself in a letter to a friend (Mansi, x. 851-853); of his sufferings at Con-

stantinople we have the account of a *quidam Christianissimus* (*ib.* 853 *sqq.*), cf. Hefele, iii. 208 *sqq.*

² Martin lay "a spectacle for all angels and men," says our "most christian" informant; he calls the mockers *lupaces* (which is perhaps intended to suggest a *lupanar*), *ib.* 854.

³ The general name in the seventh century for the count of the sacred patrimony (*see below*, p. 324).

"Take him, and hew him in pieces." He also called upon all those who were present to curse the primate of Christendom. The executioners roughly rent the tunic from neck to skirt and exposed the venerable person of the Pope to the gaze of his enemies or judges. Iron chains were cast upon his neck and he was dragged off to the praetorium, where he was detained for a short time, caged up with common criminals. Thence he was conveyed to the prison of Diomede and thrown with such violence into a cell that his legs were cut and the floor was stained with his blood. It was now midwinter and bitterly cold, so that the Pope, who was in a weak state of health and unable to use his limbs (he had been obliged to assume an erect position at the trial), must have suffered intensely. Two women connected with the prison pitied and were fain to assist him, but fear withheld them.

While the bishop of Old Rome was undergoing these hardships, his rival, Paul the Patriarch of New Rome, was lying sick, nigh unto death. Constans, after the trial of Martin, visited the bedside of Paul and related all that had happened, to cheer the sick man's heart with triumph. But Paul felt no satisfaction. He said, "Woe unto me, that I have this too to answer for," and conjured the Emperor to desist from further cruelty and not to put Martin to death. The Emperor did not indeed relent, but he decided to change the fate of Martin from death to banishment; and, after a space of eighty-five days spent in prison, the fallen Pope was permitted to say farewell to his friends. He was then confined for two days in the house of the secretary Sagoleba, and on the 26th of March 655 was sent to the remote shores of Cherson, where he died before the end of the year (16th September),¹ having endured great privations. In the meantime Paul the Patriarch had died and was succeeded by Pyrrhus, the same who had held the patriarchal chair in the days of Heraclius and Martina, and had relinquished without resigning the office. He had in the meantime visited Carthage and Italy, and at Old Rome had for a while, really or feignedly, acknowledged the error of his ways and confessed the doctrine of the two wills, but afterwards returned, in the choice language of an orthodox

¹ Some letters written by Martin at Cherson are preserved, *Mansi*, x. 861 sqq.

writer, "like a dog to his vomit." His second patriarchate lasted for less than five months.

Although Constans was a friend of Paul, and naturally desired to support the Byzantine archbishops, his policy in persecuting Pope Martin was by no means the same as that of Justinian in persecuting Pope Vigilius. The Caesaropapism of Justinian, who composed ecclesiastical works himself, was different from the imperialism of Constans. Both sovereigns wished to make the Church dependent on the State, but to Justinian the ecclesiastical unity was an end in itself, while to Constans it was mainly a means to political unity. Justinian was interested in the nature of the doctrine for its own sake, Constans only desired that the doctrine should be uniform. The eyes of both Justinian and Constans were fixed on Italy; his Italian policy influenced perceptibly the ecclesiastical measures of Justinian; but it was solely with a view of drawing Italy closer into the frame of the Roman Empire that Constans was so earnestly concerned for the unity of religious belief.

A great object of Constans was to bring the outlying provinces of the Empire, the exarchate of Africa and the exarchate of Italy, into closer union with the centre, so that the Empire might present a compact resistance to Mohammedan progress. Syria and Egypt had been lost, and Constans could hardly look forward to recovering them in the immediate future; in Rhodes, Cyprus, and Armenia, however, he might hope to re-establish Roman supremacy. But first of all it was imperative to prevent Saracen aggression in the West, where the fertile provinces of Africa and Sicily¹ were seriously threatened by the unbelievers. At this time the affairs of the Balkan peninsula, already thoroughly penetrated with the Slavonic element, seem to have occasioned little concern. When he had recalled the refractory Slaves to a sense of their obligations to the Empire by his expedition in 658, Constans might feel secure in regard to those provinces; and as for Asia Minor, it was well garrisoned with soldiers and regularly organised under a military administration. He was free then to fix his

¹ The first expedition of the Saracens against Sicily was made from Syria in 652; it was against them that Olym-pius, the exarch, fought. See Amari,

Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, i. p. 82 sqq. The second expedition was from Alexandria in 669 (*ib.* pp. 98, 99), for which see below, p. 310.

attention on the West, and he might dream of recovering the lost lands of Italy from the Lombards and rivalling the fame of Justinian.

Circumstances suggested to his mind a new idea, and carried him further in his occidental policy than he had meditated. He was personally unpopular at Constantinople, and we may suspect that conspiracies sometimes menaced his throne and his life. By the orthodox he was naturally detested. He had followed up the persecution of Pope Martin by the persecution of Maximus and his two disciples,¹ who enjoyed a wide celebrity as champions of the true faith against the monotheletes, and this persecution seems to have created even greater odium than the affliction of the Pope. But an unwise act in the year 660 embittered still more the hatred with which the Emperor was regarded.

Of Theodosius, the brother of Constans, we hear for the first time on the occasion of his death, and we know not whether he held the rank of Caesar or not. He seems to have been orthodox in religion, but we are ignorant in what way he became an object of suspicion to his brother. Constans had compelled him to become a deacon, before the death of the Patriarch Paul, who consecrated him; and it is said that Theodosius often administered to his imperial brother the "undefiled mysteries in the holy cup." In the year 660 the suspicions of the Emperor were again aroused, and he put Theodosius to death. It is said that he repented afterwards of this act. "After his death," we are told, "he (Theodosius) frequently appeared to him (Constans) in his sleep, wearing a deacon's dress and offering him a cup of blood, saying, 'Drink, O brother'; for which reason, overcome by despair and dread of the apparition, he determined to go to Sicily."²

It is vain to suppose that we can guess all the motives that may have influenced Constans to bid farewell to the city of the Bosphorus in 662, but we may decidedly reject a sensational story like this, related by a writer of the eleventh century, and evidently emanating from the church party inimical to Constans. It is bound up with other suspicious details. "He left his wife and three sons," proceeds the

¹ The Anastasii (Theoph. 6160 A.M.)

² This is related only by Cedrenus (Bonn), vol. i. p. 762.

chronicler, "in the city, and embarked in a fast sailer (dromon); and he turned back and spat at the imperial city. But even in Sicily the dream did not leave him," etc. This attribution of an act of childish and indecent spite to a man of strength and ability like Constans, throws suspicion on the whole narrative.

The scheme of Constans to transfer the seat of empire from New Rome back once more to Old Rome¹ was, we may presume, influenced by two chief motives, one negative and one positive, either of which would alone have hardly been sufficient to determine him to take such a course. The negative motive was a desire to leave Byzantium, where he did not feel at ease and was hampered by his unpopularity. The positive motive was a resolve to attempt to reconquer Italy, if not the whole peninsula at least southern Italy, from the Lombards. He would at the same time be able to protect Sicily and Africa from the advance of the Asiatic foe.

When we remember the scheme entertained by this Emperor's grandfather Heraclius and thwarted by the influence of the Patriarch Sergius, to transfer the imperial residence from New Rome to Carthage, we are tempted to draw an analogy, and conclude that this westward tendency, manifested on two occasions in the seventh century, was due to the pressure from the East—a sort of unconscious retreat, in the case of Heraclius before the Persians, in the case of Constans before the Saracens, in order to win a breathing space for organising forces and means of resistance. This was a direct motive with Heraclius; it may have been an indirect cause with Constans. At least we may be sure that in resolving on the important step, he took the Saracen problem—the "eternal question"—seriously into consideration. But the negative motive, the feeling that their administration was cramped in the pampered city of Byzantium, was operative with both Emperors. The Byzantines would not allow Heraclius to leave them, but they made no effort to retain his grandson. Yet afterwards, when Constans sent for his wife and his three sons, they were not permitted to obey the summons.²

¹ Constans said it was fitting to pay higher honour to mothers than to daughters (Zonaras, vol. iii. p. 316

(ed. Dindorf), Bk. xiv. cap. 19). This is not mentioned by Theophanes.

² See below, p. 305.

On his way to Italy, Constans visited Athens. This mention of Athens as a station of the imperial journey indicates the flourishing condition of the Greek city in the seventh century. Thence he proceeded to Tarentum. An army accompanied him; we are not told of what numbers it consisted, but it was large.¹ A story is narrated that when Constans landed at Tarentum his first act was to consult a hermit whether his project to subdue the Lombards would be successful. The holy man prayed a whole night, and in the morning replied, "No, because a certain queen coming from another province built a basilica of St. John the Baptist in Lombard territory, and therefore they are protected by the saint. The time will come when the *oracle* will be despised, and then the race shall perish."²

Notwithstanding the hermit's answer, Constans invaded the territory of the duke of Beneventum and captured almost all the towns that he passed.³ He razed Luceria to the ground, but failed to take Aventia. Finally, he laid siege to Beneventum. The duke at this time was Romuald, a stripling, the son of Grimuald. Grimuald had seized the Lombard crown when it was disputed by the two sons of Rotharis, and had left the duchy to his son. Romuald despatched his *nutricius*,⁴ Sesuald, to the lands beyond the Po, to obtain succour from his father. Constans meanwhile pressed the town hard, but the resistance was brave. At length Sesuald returned, bearing the news that Grimuald was coming to the rescue of his son, but the Romans—or Greeks, as the Latin historian calls them—captured the messenger before he reached the city. The Emperor was frightened at the news, and hastened to make a truce with Romuald, who gave him his sister Gisa as a hostage. Constans then⁵ led Sesuald in front of the walls, having instructed him, on pain of death, to announce to the men

¹ *Acta Scti. Barbari; collecta innumera suorum multitudine mare transgressus est.* Cf. F. C. Schlosser, *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser des oströmischen Reichs*, p. 80.

² We are told that the prophecy was fulfilled by the basilica at Modicia (Monza) becoming the resort of adulterers, etc. Paul the Deacon, the historian of the Lombards, who wrote in the latter part of the eighth century, is the main authority for the proceed-

ings of Constans in Italy and Sicily (Bk. v. cap. 6 sqq.)

³ *omnesque pene per quas venerat Langobardorum civitates cepit* (Paul, v. 7).

⁴ A tutor or *τροφεύς* (educator).

⁵ This is the order of events in Paul; but, as the editor of the *M. G. H.* edition remarks in a note, the narrative hardly hangs together, and perhaps we should suppose that the episode of Sesuald preceded the peace.

of the city that Grimald could not come. Sesuald demanded to see Romuald himself, and, when the duke appeared, bade him hold out a little longer with constancy, as the king was approaching, and prayed him in return for his own sacrifice of life to protect his wife and children. By the order of Constans the head of the dauntless Sesuald was hurled by an immense catapult¹ into the town.

Aware of the approach of the Lombard king, Constans abandoned the siege and proceeded in the direction of Naples, but on the way he was harassed by an attack of Mitola, the count of Capua, near the river Calor.² Remaining himself at Naples, the Emperor committed 20,000 men to the command of a noble named Saburrus, who boldly promised to subdue to his sway the Lombards of the Beneventan duchy. But Saburrus was ignominiously defeated at Forino by Romuald, who advanced to meet him with part of his father's army.

It appears that, discouraged by this defeat and the unexpected resistance of the Lombards, Constans surrendered his idea of shifting the balance of the empire to the West; he certainly abandoned the project of fixing his capital at Rome. He proceeded thither from Naples, and was met at the sixth milestone from the city by a great procession, led by Pope Vitalian, who presented him with a cloak inwoven with gold. He stayed for twelve days within the walls, the first Emperor of New Rome that had visited Old Rome for wellnigh three centuries. But he showed scant respect for the eternal city, the venerable mother of the Empire. He dismantled her of her bronze ornaments,³ in order that he might enrich her daughter, the younger Rome.⁴ This incident seems to signify that he intended to return to his eastern residence at some future time.

Meanwhile he had resolved to live in the city of Syracuse, whither he proceeded⁵ from Rome by Naples and Reggio. A

¹ Paul, v. 9, *petrariam*.

² Near Beneventum.

³ He stripped the Pantheon of its bronze tiles, *tegulas aeræas*. Phocas had given the Pantheon to the Roman Church, and it had become the basilica of the Blessed Mary (*beatæ Mariæ*), Paul, v. 11. It is also worthy of note that Maurus, the archbishop of Ravenna, induced Constans to make him independent of Rome, and give the

Ravennate archbishops the privilege of receiving the *pallium* directly from the Emperor. The epitaph of Maurus lauds him for having freed Ravenna from the yoke of Roman servitude (Agnellus, *Vita Mauri*, cap. 4).

⁴ *casque [tegulas] simul cum aliis omnibus ornamentis Constantinopolim transmitteret (ib.)*

⁵ *per indictionem septimam, 663-664 (ib.)*

Latin historian complains that he governed with a rod of iron. "He imposed such afflictions on the people, on the inhabitants or proprietors of Calabria, Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia, as were never heard of before, so that even wives were separated from husbands and sons from their parents."¹ Churches were robbed of their treasures. The south of Italy belonged, not to the exarchate of Ravenna, but to the government of Sicily and Sardinia; and perhaps the disorganised state of Africa, owing to the attacks of the Saracens, induced Constans to attach its administration also to that of Sicily. He thus formed a sort of special imperial prefecture or principality, with Syracuse for capital and residence. How far he directed the administration in the East we are not told, but his son Constantine is represented by the historians as acting irresponsibly at Constantinople, and carrying on negotiations with the court of Damascus.

In his sphere of government, where he presided for about five years, Constans had two enemies, one on either side, the Saracens in Africa and the Lombard duke of Beneventum in southern Italy. He recovered Carthage and other cities which had fallen into the hands of the Mohammedans, but these successes were obliterated by the great defeat which a Roman army of 30,000 men experienced at Tripolis. The Saracens, however, did not yet obtain a permanent footing in Africa, and if Constans had not imposed such severe taxation, and thus appeared less a deliverer than an oppressor, it is possible that Africa might have remained a Roman province longer than it did. In Italy, Romuald gained some successes, but made no considerable addition to Lombard territory. The presence of Constans in the West seems to have roused some apprehensions in the Frank kingdom; the mayors of the palace may have thought that he cherished the daring design of recovering the long-lost Gallic provinces for the Empire.

In the year 668 Constans was assassinated at Syracuse in the baths called Daphne. A certain Andreas, the son of Troilus, went into the bath with him to wait upon him. As the Emperor was preparing to smear himself with Gallic soap,² Andreas, seizing the vessel in which the soap was contained,

¹ Agnellus, *Vita Mauri*, cap. 4.

² γαλλικῷ σμήχεσθαι (Theoph. 6160 A.M.)

struck him on the head with it and fled. When the Emperor tarried long in the bath, his attendants, who were waiting outside, rushed in and found him dead. As soon as he was buried, unknown persons¹ compelled an Armenian named Mizizios to assume the purple, "because he was very good-looking and handsome." The usurper's reign was short, for the young Constantine arrived promptly from Constantinople with a large armament² and put both Mizizios and Andreas to death. It is possible that Andreas may have been the instrument of conspirators greater than himself; for a certain Justinian of high position was executed, and his son Germanus,³ who was destined in future days to be famous as a Patriarch of Constantinople and an opponent of iconoclasm, underwent the indignity of emasculation. The names Justinian and Germanus remind us of the great imperial house of the sixth century, and one is tempted to conjecture that Germanus the Patriarch may have been a descendant of kinsfolk of the Emperor Justinian.

Constans may be considered a typical example of a certain class of later Roman Emperors. There is, I apprehend, a general idea current that the Emperors who reigned at Constantinople were, almost without exception, either weak and cruel profligates or strong and cruel profligates, and that, if any were strong, their strength was generally misdirected. Such an idea is totally false. Brought up in an atmosphere of intrigue and danger, calculated to foster the faculty of self-help in a strong boy and at the same time to produce a spirit of cynicism, Constans grew up a stern and inflexible man, with decided opinions on policy and administration, resolved to act independently and not afraid of innovation, surprisingly free

¹ Theoph. (6160 A.M.) does not define who the persons were. That the elevation of Mizizios was not the will of the army is stated by Paul. Diac. v. 12, *regnum arripuit sed absque orientalis exercitus voluntate*; but the editor of Paul (in *M. G. H.*) thinks that Paul's only source was the *Life of Pope Adeodatus*, and that he misunderstood the words *Mezzius qui erat in Sicilia cum exercitu orientale intartizavit et arripuit regnum*. These words, however, do not justify us in making the army primarily responsible, though of course it must have tacitly consented.

² Paul does not mention the presence of Constantine. He says: *contra quem Italiae milites, alii per Histriam, alii per partes Campaniae, alii vero a partibus Africae et Sardiniae venientes in Siracusas eum vita privarunt*. Some MSS. insert *emiliae* before *milites*, and I believe it should be retained, as referring to troops from the exarchate. I would read *Italiae alii Aemiliae milites*, alii having fallen out after the similar letters of *Italiae*; or perhaps omit *Italiae*, which is unnecessary.

³ Zonaras, vol. iii. p. 316 (ed. Dindorf).

from religious bigotry in a bigoted age, an unusually strong and capable ruler. Although his ecclesiastical attitude drew upon him the disfavour of orthodox contemporaries and historians, we hear not a single hint that he was addicted to sensuality, and this is a testimony to his austere life—negative indeed, but extremely weighty when we consider what scandalous calumnies it has always been usual to circulate on the smallest pretext regarding persons of obnoxious religious opinions. He was never under the influence of ministers, as far as we know, and his independent self-reliant conduct may have sometimes seemed obstinacy; but it is hard, on our insufficient data, to judge of individual deeds. In regard to the act which has excited most odium, the execution of his brother, we are ignorant of his motives and the circumstances of the case. It was an unwise act for a prince who was unpopular with the orthodox; an orthodox prince, like Constantine the Great, might have done worse things with impunity.

We can, however, form an opinion of the general policy of Constans, and we must pronounce it to have been perverse, though not fruitless. In two different ways he opposed the tendencies of his age.

In the first place, the Roman Empire was becoming every year more deeply tinged with an ecclesiastical colour. In this respect a great change had silently taken place during the last hundred years, since the time of Justinian. The christian element of the christian Roman Empire has become dominant in men's minds, the Roman element has fallen into the background. The importance of the Patriarch has increased, and a close union between him and the Emperor is more than ever necessary. I do not refer to any change in State mechanism or in the administration of law, though here too Roman traditions have undergone distinct alterations, but to a change in the public mind, and the views of people on politics, society, and life in general. Now when Constans, by the issue of his *Type*, asserted, as it were, the insignificance of the burning theological problem of the day, and, assuming an attitude of indifference to the doctrinal question, regarded the matter entirely from a political point of view, he clearly opposed the tendency of his age to look upon church matters as the vital interests of the world. In this respect Constans had more

in common with the earlier than with the later Roman Emperors, and so far he was retrograde.

In the second place, ever since Constantine the Great had built his new capital on the Bosphorus, the gravitation of the Empire had tended to centre in New Rome; the Roman Empire had tended to contract itself to south-eastern Europe, while the provinces which it still retained in the West became, as it were, important outposts. The idea of Constans to take the sceptre from the daughter and restore it to the mother was retrograde and unpractical; and he could make no serious attempt to realise the scheme. It would have involved a struggle against the conditions of geography, a struggle wherein only in its best days the Roman Empire could succeed. Since the time of Theodosius the Great, nay since the time of Diocletian and still earlier, we can trace the tendency of south-eastern and south-western Europe to throw off the unnatural unity superinduced by Roman sway. Notwithstanding, Constantinople retained a hold on parts of Italy and Sicily for many centuries, but the bond was always loose. At the same time the influence of Greek civilisation on western Europe through these Italian provinces was of high importance; and thus, although the scheme of Constans to abandon New Rome was perverse, he must have done useful work in consolidating the Roman power in southern Italy, and laying a foundation for its permanence there until the eleventh century.

But if Constans stands condemned in the light of ecumenical tendencies, Demosthenes, Cicero, Julian, and many others stand by his side. It may seem startling to place him among men devoted to an ideal or inspired by enthusiasm; but this severe Emperor of the seventh century, animated with some reflection of the old Roman spirit, and out of touch with his own age, was one of the men in history who have trodden the winepress alone. Of his domestic life we know nothing, not even the name of his wife. The only record on the matter, washed up from the waves of time, is that from Italy or Sicily he summoned his wife and sons, and that two powerful ministers (or, some writers said, the Byzantine people¹) refused to permit

¹ Zonaras, xiv. 19, "Some of his friends prevented this. But others say that the people (τὸ πλῆθος) of the city did not permit them to go." Theophanes says in one place (6153 A.M.) that the Byzantines would not let them go, in another place (6160 A.M.) he attributes the intervention to Andreas

them to obey the summons. The last years of his life at least were not enlivened or encumbered by domestic society.

As to the Saracens, little was added to their previous conquests during the reign of Constans, and therefore we must pronounce that his foreign policy was on the whole successful. They had indeed secured a footing in Armenia, in Cyprus, in Rhodes,¹ even in Africa, but these were small reverses compared with the losses experienced by Heraclius. It may also be said that Muavia^h would probably have extended his dominions farther but for the war of succession with Ali; nevertheless we are only entitled to consider actual results, and we must agree with Finlay when he says of Constans that "the Empire underwent no very sensible diminution of its territory during his reign, and he certainly left its military forces in a more efficient condition than he found them." Nor should I omit to mention that to Constans may have been due a partial reorganisation of the provinces.

The Saracens were not inactive while Constans was in the western regions of the Empire; they invaded Asia Minor almost every year. In 663 "Romania," as the Roman Empire was called in Asia, was invaded, many captives were led away, and many places rendered desolate. In 664 Abd Errahman repeated the expedition, and this time wintered in Roman territory, where in the following year he was joined by a body of Slaves, who had crossed the Hellespont and preferred to be the slaves of the caliph than the subjects of the Emperor. Five thousand of these Slaves were settled in Syria, at a place called Seleucobolus, in the district of Apamea.² The years 666 and 667 were marked by expeditions of Busur against Romania. It does not appear that any permanent injury was inflicted by these incursions.

At this time the troops stationed on the Armenian frontier, and called *Armeniakoi*, were commanded by a general of Persian origin, named Saborios (Sapor). In 668 he revolted against the Emperor and sent his captain³ Sergius to Muavia^h, promising that he would subject Romania to the Saracens if the

the chamberlain and Theodore, ὁ κολωνέας (see below, p. 309). He had evidently two sources before him.

¹ Rhodes was only held for a short

time.

² Theoph. 6156 A. M.

³ στρατηλάτης, apparently used in a general, not a technical sense.

caliph would help him against the Emperor. Constantine, the Emperor's son, who directed the administration at Constantinople, sought to checkmate this movement by sending another ambassador to the court of Damascus, but the diplomacy of Sergius was successful, and Muavia's general Phadala was sent to assist Saborios. Then Constantine appointed Nicephorus, a patrician, to lead a Roman force against Saborios, who was stationed at Hadrianopolis in Bithynia, prepared for war. An accident hastened the suppression of the revolt. Saborios was in the habit of taking exercise daily on horseback outside the walls of the town. One day, as he was approaching the gate, he applied the whip to his horse too severely, and the animal disdaining the bridle rushed off at a furious gallop, the head of the rider was dashed against the gate, and death followed.

Meanwhile Phadala had advanced to Hexapolis, and, seeing that the Romans were united, the Armeniac troops having returned to their allegiance after the death of Saborios, he sent for reinforcements to Muavia. The caliph sent his son Yezid with an army, and the combined forces proceeded to Chalcedon and captured many prisoners. They also took the important town of Amorium in Phrygia, and, having secured it by a garrison of 5000 men, returned to Syria. Towards the end of the year Constantine commissioned Andreas, the same chamberlain whom he had sent as an ambassador to Muavia, to recover Amorium. Andreas arrived by night, and the deep snow aided his enterprise by raising the ground and so lowering the height to be scaled. By means of a plank or ladder, he and all his company entered the city, and every Arab in Amorium was slain.

CHAPTER IX

CONSTANTINE IV¹

WHEN Constantine IV set out from Constantinople at the time of his father's death to arrange the troubled affairs of Sicily, his face was smooth. When he returned, having successfully accomplished his mission, he wore a beard, and the Byzantines gave him the name of Pogonatos or "the Bearded." This circumstance is interesting, because since the fifth century, when Leo was called Makelles and Anastasius Dikoros, there is no record that any Emperor received a nickname, but from the end of the seventh century forward, few Emperors escape unhonoured by some popular appellation, so that the practice of nicknaming sovereigns is one of the minor features of the Byzantine world. Had the imperial residence been Alexandria, not an Emperor from Constantine to Heraclius would have escaped the stinging wit of the Alexandrines, who were notorious for their love of mockery, like the Florentines in later centuries. When Alexandria was lost to the Empire, her mantle, or at least some shreds of it, fell upon Byzantium.

Constantine had no intention of sharing the administration or the imperial title with his two young brothers Heraclius and Tiberius, who had perhaps received the rank of Caesar before their father's death. But the army of the Anatolic district, which embraced the regions of Isauria, Lycaonia, Pisidia, and western Phrygia, suddenly marched to Chrysopolis and sent over the straits to Constantinople a deputation demanding that the two brothers should be crowned Emperors. They

¹ For this reign we have the history of Nicephorus as well as the chronography of Theophanes.

based their demand on the ingenious and fanciful idea that, because they believed in the Trinity, it was meet that they should be governed by three Emperors. The assignment of such a reason indicates a religious and theological view of things becoming dominant in men's minds, so as to penetrate other and alien relations of life. Constantine entrusted to Theodore, captain of Coloneia,¹ the delicate task of praising the soldiers for their excellent motives and persuading them to return to their stations, while their leaders visited the capital and consulted with the senate touching the execution of the wishes which they had expressed. When the army had obediently departed, Constantine caused the instigators of the movement, who came at his invitation to Constantinople, to be gibbeted at Sycae. We are also informed, in apparent connection with this affair, that the Emperor slit the noses of his two brothers, but the record is considered somewhat suspicious, as we learn on the same authority that in the year 680 Constantine deprived his brothers Heraclius and Tiberius of the imperial dignity and reigned alone with his son Justinian.² If this seems unlikely, we may suppose, with Finlay, that the noses of the two princes were not slit until 680, and that the first notice of the chronicler anticipates the order of events; or we may suppose that the mutilation took place in 669, but that at some time between that year and 680 Constantine was compelled by political considerations or public opinion to associate his brothers in the Empire again.³

The chief events of the reign of Constantine IV were the Saracen war, including the seven years' siege of Constantinople, the establishment of the Bulgarian power on the south side of the Danube, and the sixth Ecumenical Council. Bul-

¹ The meaning of this title is not quite clear. Coloneia is of course the town (near the river Lycus, and almost due south of Cerasus), after which the theme Coloneia was called in later times. It can hardly have been formed into a separate district at this time, but perhaps the commandant of the city had an independent and honourable position. Theodore seems to have been an important personage of Byzantium; but why the captain of Coloneia should be an influential minister in the capital is not clear.

² This is confirmed by a letter of

Pope Agatho (Mansi, xi. p. 233). Constantine's marriage with Anastasia probably took place about the time of his father's death.

³ See Theophanes, 6161 and 6173 A.M. Perhaps, however, Schlosser's explanation (*Gesch. der bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, p. 89) is the true one. He thinks that, if we find a difficulty in the statements of Theophanes, it is because we forget that the mutilation took place secretly in the recesses of the palace ("dass dies im innern des Palastes vorgeht"). It may be observed that Theophanes' dates at this period are rather untrustworthy.

garian and Slavonic affairs will be dealt with in another chapter.

The usual invasions of Asia Minor by Saracen generals continued as before. The severe winter of 669 was spent by Phadalas on the shores of the Propontis at Cyzicus, and in 670 many Roman subjects were led into captivity by Busur. Africa had been attacked in 669, and, after the death of Constans, a formidable descent was made on Sicily by the Saracens of Alexandria, who carried off all the treasures that Constans had collected.¹

But in 672² Muaviah, who had conceived the ambitious project of conquering the whole Roman Empire, and thought perhaps that the young Constantine would prove a less firm adversary than his father, prepared a great naval expedition. The armament set sail under the command of Abd Errahman before the end of the year; and during the winter months some of the ships anchored at Smyrna, the rest off the coast of Cilicia. The troops of Abd Errahman were reinforced by yet another squadron before they proceeded to the Hellespont, into whose waters they sailed about April. From April to September (673) the fleet lay moored from the promontory of Hebdomon, on the Propontis, as far as the promontory of Kyklobios, near the Golden Gate, and engagements with the Roman fleet which defended the harbour continued from morning to evening. Constantine had made provision in good time to receive the enemy. He constructed a large number of fireships and fast-sailing boats provided with tubes or siphons for squirting fire, of which we do not know the exact nature.³ These engines were very formidable, and in September the Saracens, having accomplished nothing, sailed to Cyzicus, which they captured and made their winter quarters. The same operations were carried on during the following year with the same result, and were repeated every year until 677.⁴ Then

¹ Their leader was Abd Allah Ibn Kais (*see* Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, pp. 98, 99; Paul. Warn. *Hist. Lang.* v. 13). This was the second landing of the Saracens in Sicily. After this all their attacks were from Africa.

² Elmakin places the expedition in 672, and this agrees with Theophanes. The Arab authorities say very little

about it, as it was not an exploit to be proud of. Their silence confirms the Roman accounts. *See* Weil, i. p. 293.

³ διήρεις εὐμεγέθεις κακκαβουρφόρους καὶ δρόμους σιφωνοφόρους (Theoph.)

⁴ Theophanes says the siege continued for seven years; but this statement is at variance with his own chronology, for while he makes 673 (*i.e.* 674)

at length the Saracens, "put to shame by the help of God and the Mother of God, and having lost many fighting men and received great injury, returned in great grief." This was not the end of their disasters. The unsuccessful fleet was caught in a storm at Syllaëum and dashed to pieces on rocks. All the ships that escaped were attacked by a Byzantine admiral, who commanded the Cibyraiote fleet,¹ and were destroyed. The naval armament in the Hellespont had been doubtless supported every year by a land army on the Asiatic shore²; it is at least certain that, concurrently with the rout and destruction of the fleet of Chaleb, the Saracens met with a disaster on land. An army under Sofian was defeated by the Roman generals Florus, Petronas, and Cyprianus, and 30,000 Arabs were killed.³

It is not clear from the words of our authorities whether "Romaic (Greek) fire" was actually used during the siege; but at all events the Greeks discovered it about this time. The discovery is attributed to Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis in Syria, who fled to the Romans, "and having prepared marine fire, burned the ships of the Arabs and their crews alive." *Marine fire* (πῦρ θαλάσσιον) is the name by which it was known. It is an obvious supposition that the siphon-boats, mentioned above, were connected with the new discovery, but our best authority mentions the marine fire subsequently, as if it had been introduced after the siege, so that it will be safer to conclude that the siphon-boats and the *caccabopyrphori* were inventions of a simpler and less infernal kind, like the fireships of Gaiseric, or the sulphur-machines said to have been used by Proclus against Vitalian.

the first year of the operations, he places the peace with Muaviah in 677 (6169 A.M. = September 676 to September 677) i.e. 678. I have no doubt that a siege of seven years was a fabulous tradition, and it may be observed that Theophanes makes the siege of Caesarea by the Saracens in the reign of Heraclius last seven years. The tradition can be partly accounted for if we remember that the Saracens set sail in 672, and suppose that the peace may not have been concluded until the end of 678; it might be roughly said that seven years had elapsed between these extreme dates, and this very loose statement might have

been transferred to the actual siege.

¹ τοῦ τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν στρατηγοῦ (Zonaras, xiv. 20), a detail mentioned neither by Theophanes nor by Nicephorus, which indicates that Zonaras had another source before him.

² That the Saracens were not idle in other parts of the Empire is shown by the fact that Phadadas wintered in Crete in 673-674.

³ The commander, Abd Errahman, was killed during the siege, a victim (say Arab historians) of the envy of Muaviah. He was succeeded by Sofian Ibn Auf. Yezid, Muaviah's son, took part in the expedition.

The utter failure of his ambitious enterprise inclined Muaviah to peace, and another circumstance confirmed his inclination. Bands of freebooters, or *armatoli*, who led an outlaw life in the wild heights of Mount Taurus, had penetrated to the recesses of Mount Lebanon,¹ where they assisted the cause of Christendom by harassing and plundering the unbelievers and affording a safe shelter to christian refugees. The Greeks called these outlaws *apelátai*,² but they are more generally known by the name Mardaites ("rebels"), which was applied to them by the Saracens.³ They increased in number and power, being constantly reinforced by Slaves and Syrian natives, and they soon dominated Palestine "from the Black mountain to Jerusalem."⁴ The presence of this hostile mountain population of Christians was a serious danger to the Saracen power in Syria, and a notable advantage to the Roman Emperor. It is not surprising that Muaviah was glad to accept a disadvantageous peace. The Greek chronicler states that he and his counsellors were much afraid, "supposing that the Empire of the Romans is guarded by God." He therefore sent ambassadors to Byzantium, offering to pay a yearly tribute. The Emperor sent back with them to Damascus a patrician named Johannes, and nicknamed Pitzigaudes,⁵ as an old and experienced statesman of sound judgment, to arrange the terms of the treaty, and Muaviah, we are told, showed him the most profound respect.

Two instruments were drawn up to the effect that the peace was to last for thirty years, on condition that the Saracens paid the Romans 3000 lbs. of gold, fifty captives,⁶ and fifty thoroughbred horses annually.

The repulse of the first great expedition organised by the

¹ The clearest account of the origin of the Mardaites is given by Sathas, *Bibl. Græc. Mediæ Aevi*, ii. Introduction, p. 45 sqq.

² Equivalent, as Sathas says, to *ἀντὶ βλήττοι* or *ἀρπᾶγες*. They carried great iron clubs, whence *ἀντὶ βλήτων* "a club."

³ *Mardaitarum, hoc est rebellium nomen eisdem creatur* (Edenensis apud Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* i. 502). The Turkish equivalent would be *şorupçâdes* (Sathas, *loc. cit.*) Cf. the notices in Theophanes *sub annis* 6169, 6176, 6178. The accounts given by Theophanes of the Mardaites are confirmed by Syrian

and Saracen historians (Sathas, *ib.* p. 51). Nicephorus calls the Mardaites *ὀπλίτας*.

⁴ Theophanes, 6169 A.M. In the days of Justinian II they numbered 12,000.

⁵ Pitzigaudes, or Pitzigaudios, may perhaps be connected with the word that was used in a diminutive form to revile Justinian (*see* vol. i. p. 343), *σγαύδαρι* = *τὸ σγαυδάριον*.

⁶ So Nicephorus; Theophanes gives (absurdly) 8000, a mistake which perhaps arose from a confusion of N' = 50 with H = 8000.

Asiatic foe to pull down the bulwark of Europe was a noble triumph for Constantine. On him devolved the defence of European Christendom and European civilisation against the withering wind which blows from Arabian deserts, against Islam which blights thought and slays freedom; and he conducted the defence well. And the European nations recognised what he had done, and acknowledged him as the most powerful representative of the great cause of Europe.¹ We are told that the advantageous peace which Constantine made with the Saracen caliph created a great sensation throughout the West, and redounded to the name and glory of the Roman Emperor. The chagan of the Avars, and the kings who ruled beyond him, the governors and castaldi, and the greatest chiefs of the western nations sent ambassadors laden with presents to Constantine, and entreated him to confirm peace with them. The Emperor received the embassies graciously, and there was a universal state of security both in the East and in the West. It is to be regretted that our historians have not mentioned precisely the names of the nations which desired the friendship of him whom they recognised as a champion against the Moslem. By the kings who ruled beyond the Avars we may understand the Franks, and perhaps even the Anglo-Saxons, while the governors and castaldi (*κάσतालδοι*) evidently refer to the Lombard duchies and castaldies. It is possible that the Visigoths may have also sent envoys to the great "Republic."

It is a curious coincidence that it was under an Emperor bearing the name of its founder that the city of Constantine was first to undergo the assault of the Mohammedan destroyer, and that also under an Emperor Constantine it was finally to pass into Mohammedan hands. We may say that in this siege the keynote was struck of all that New Rome was to

¹ It is important to remember, as I have from time to time in the preceding pages observed, that the western sovereigns throughout the sixth and seventh (and eighth) centuries never ceased to regard New Rome as the centre of the civilised world, and to consider themselves, not co-ordinate with, but subordinate to, the Roman Emperors in dignity. This spirit is reflected in Gregory of Tours, and in John of

Biclaro, who cares far more for the *urbs regia*, where he spent many years, than for the Gothic court of Toledo. But it is equally reflected in Fredegarius and Isidore of Seville. Isidore writes of the prosperity of the Gothic kingdom: *fruiturque hactenus inter regias infulus et opes largas imperii felicitate securo*. This is the ideal,—the happiness of the Empire.

perform as the bulwark of Europe while she was still Rome¹; and we may regard the embassies of the western nations on this occasion as an unconscious recognition of the fact.

Muaviah died in 680, and his son Yezid, who had succeeded in obtaining his recognition as heir-apparent four years before, reigned in his stead. Yezid's short reign was disturbed by the opposition of Abd Allah Ibn Zubeir and saddened by the tragedy of Kerbela. A plague in Syria, the hostile inroads of the Mardaites of Lebanon, and serious agitations in Arabia disposed Abd Almalik to maintain the peace with the Empire, and the treaty was renewed (685) on the slightly altered conditions that the payments were to consist of one pound of gold, one slave, and one horse for every day in the year.²

In the reign of Constantine, Crete was the only Roman country that the Arabs succeeded in making tributary, and this success was only temporary. The christian inhabitants indeed may not have felt much repugnance to the Saracen yoke, for the policy of Muaviah was to make his burden light and to treat with clemency, humanity, and toleration his christian subjects. It is even related that in the year 678, when an earthquake shook Mesopotamia, and the ambo and dome (*batan* and *trullus*) of the church in Edessa fell in, Muaviah, at the request of the Christians of the place, rebuilt the edifice.

Having made a brilliant peace with the caliphate, and having also made a treaty more prudent than honourable with the Bulgarians, as will be related in another chapter, Constantine enjoyed peace until his death, and was at leisure to turn his attention to ecclesiastical affairs. He did not, like his father, struggle against the current; he did not think of pressing any measure like the Type of Constans; but, professing a strict impartiality, which was probably genuine, he was willing to let the monotheletic question be decided entirely by the Church.

After the death of Constans, Pope Vitalian, apprehending

¹ For the last four centuries she has been an outpost of Asia instead of a bulwark of Europe; but it is possible that in the future, when she is no longer Stamboul and neither Turkish nor Greek is spoken by her rulers, she may have to perform the same functions as in the days when she

was called New Rome.

² Theoph. places the peace in 6176 A.M., which corresponds (as Theophanes is a year wrong) to 684-685. Muaviah II succeeded Yezid in 683, Mervan followed in 684, and Abd Almalik (called by Theoph. Abimelech) in April 685 (died 705).

no danger from the young Constantine, whom he had assisted in quelling the usurper Mizizios, was emboldened to declare himself in favour of the two wills.¹ In consequence of this, Theodore, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Macarius, the Patriarch of Antioch, pressed the Emperor to allow Vitalian's name to be struck off the diptychs of Constantinople (678 A.D.) Constantine refused to act hastily, but, as soon as the peace with the Saracens gave him time for other affairs, he conceived the idea of organising a "Catholic assembly" to decide finally on a controversy, concerning which he had not himself made up his mind. He therefore wrote a letter to Pope Donus, whom he addressed as "Ecumenical Pope" (*οἰκουµενικὸς πάππας*), and proposed a Catholic congress, to be held in Constantinople, at which the western dioceses should be fully represented. He suggested that the Pope should send three or more deputies connected specially with the Roman curia, twelve archbishops and bishops from other dioceses under his jurisdiction, and four monks from each of the four Greek cloisters at Rome. He also promised that the exarch of Italy should receive commands to assist and further the journey of the delegates by supplying money and ships, even armed vessels—castellated *carabi*—if necessary.

But when Constantine dated this letter (12th August 678), the Pope to whom it was addressed had been already four months dead (since 11th April)—an indication of the rate at which news travelled at this period. Pope Agatho had succeeded Donus, and on receipt of the imperial epistle he determined to hold a preliminary synod at Rome, in order to obtain a consensus of the opinions of western divines touching the matters in dispute. A considerable time intervened before the bishops could be collected, as many came from great distances, and the synod was not held until Easter 680. Bishops from all the "nations" were present—from the Lombards, from the Franks, from the Goths, from the Slaves,² from the "Britons," or, as we should say, the Anglo-Saxons. Felix of Arles represented the Gallic Church; Wilfrid of York was present, but by accident and not as a deputy.³ The synod condemned mono-

¹ See Hefele, iii. 225. Robertson erroneously ascribes this step to Pope Adeodatus, of Donatist name, Vitalian's successor.

² That is, Dalmatia.

³ Other synods were held about the same time, e.g. one at Milan, another at Hedfield convoked by Thomas of Canterbury.

theletism, and a report of its acts was despatched to Constantine, accompanied by a letter from Pope Agatho, intended to be a sort of appendix to the *Epistola dogmatica* of Leo I.¹ The Pope apologises for the delay in assembling the synod, owing to the great distance of the bishoprics, some of which were at or beyond the northern ocean. He states that he had hoped for the presence of the archbishop and philosopher of the great island Britannia, Thomas of Canterbury, but that prelate was unable to come. In compliance with the Emperor's suggestion, he sends three bishops—Abundantius of Palermo, Johannes of Reggio, and Johannes of Porto, with two priests, a deacon and a subdeacon of Rome, along with Theodore, a priest, to represent the Church of Ravenna,—not, however, trusting much to their learning, for people who live among the "nations" and have to win their livelihood by bodily labour cannot acquire much erudition; they were, however, well grounded and firm in the tenets of the five general councils. He then proceeds to expound a symbolum of the orthodox faith. The letter was addressed to Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius.

When the Italian delegates arrived at Constantinople they were received with honour and maintained at the Emperor's expense, the palace of Placidia being placed at their disposal. It is related that on a certain Sunday they took part in a solemn procession to the church of St. Mary in the suburbs of Blachernae. The Emperor meanwhile issued a *sacra* "to the most blessed archbishop and ecumenical patriarch" Georgios, directing him to summon an assembly of metropolitans and archbishops.

The sixth Ecumenical Council² met in a domed chamber (*trullus*) in the imperial palace on the 7th of November, and its sittings, eighteen in number, lasted for wellnigh a year, the last being held on the 16th of September 681. As the Bishop of Rome sent delegates, as the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch were present in person, and as the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem were represented by priests, the council was ecumenical.

The holy Gospels were placed in the middle. The Emperor, surrounded by ministers and officers, presided, but directed

¹ "A sort of Seitenstück to the *Epistola* of Leo to Flavian" (Hefele).

² For this council, see Mansi, xi. p. 208 sqq.; Hefele, iii. 235 sqq.

only the formal side of the proceedings, as an impartial and disinterested chairman, and took no share in the theological discussions. He thus followed the example of Marcian, who presided at the council of Chalcedon. To the right of the Emperor sat George the Patriarch of Constantinople, Macarius the Patriarch of Antioch, the representative of the patriarchate of Alexandria, and others; to the left sat the delegates of the Pope, Theodore of Ravenna, Basil of Gortyn, and the representative of Jerusalem. It should be noticed that several of the Greek bishops were really representatives of the Roman Church, namely Johannes, the archbishop of Thessalonica, "vicar (*βικάριος*) of the apostolic throne of Rome"; Stephanos of Corinth, "legate of the apostolic throne of Rome"; and Basil of Gortyn in Crete, "legate of the holy synod of the apostolic throne of elder Rome." At the first eleven sittings and at the eighteenth the Emperor presided; his presence at the others was prevented by business.¹

The council unanimously, with the exception of two individuals, condemned the monotheletic doctrine, as savouring of Apollinarianism, in that it diminished the fulness of Christ's humanity, and asserted as the true doctrine that "there are two natural wills and two natural energies, without division, alteration, separation, or confusion." It also anathematised the chief representatives of the false doctrine, including Pope Honorius. The Patriarch George had declared his acceptance of the two wills at the eighth session (7th March), and on the same occasion it was voted that the name of Pope Vitalian should be restored to the diptychs,² to which course the Emperor consented, and the members of the synod cried out:

"Long live the preserver of the orthodox faith! Long live the new Constantine the Great, the new Theodosius the Great, the new Marcian, the new Justinian! We are slaves of the Emperor!

"Long live the orthodox Pope Agatho of Rome!

"Long live the orthodox Patriarch George!

"Long live the holy senate!"

At the ninth sitting Macarius of Antioch, who had read a

¹ At the last sitting 174 members were present, but the earlier sessions were not so fully attended.

² Theodore, the predecessor of George, had struck out his name, apparently in spite of the reluctance of the Emperor.

manifesto of his articles of belief, and Stephanos were deposed from their offices, and therefore could not attend the succeeding sessions.¹ We may observe that Macarius, when he was pressed concerning his doctrine, had declined to use a numerical adjective—one or two—and professed to hold simply, with Dionysius, a theandric energy. This position was perhaps more philosophical than either of the debated alternatives, but it tended to coincide with monotheletism.

A curious incident diversified the course of discussion at the fourteenth sitting. A certain Polychronius, who was a monothelete, offered to prove the truth of his doctrine by the performance of a miracle, and the council consented to witness the experiment. In the open air outside the palace a corpse was laid, and Polychronius detained in suspense or amusement a large crowd, while he endeavoured to resuscitate the dead body by whispering formulae in its ears. Doubtless many who watched his operations were not sure of the event, but, when all his incantations proved vain, he was hooted as a new Simon Magus.

The proceedings of the council concluded as usual with an address to the Emperor, who affixed his signature to the acts, with the words "we read and approved."²

I cannot leave this subject without a word on the delicate problem of the condemnation of Pope Honorius, which bears directly on the question of papal infallibility, and was brought up in that connection at the Vatican Council of 1869 and 1870. It is not of serious consequence whether Honorius, who was not a strong man, deserves the benefit of a doubt, though it is plain enough that his own words are not consistent with the accepted orthodox belief; but it is of great consequence, from an ecclesiastical point of view, whether the sixth Ecumenical Council anathematised a Pope as a heretic, as in that case one Pope at least was not infallible. Baronius could not admit such a monstrosity, and resorted to a theory,—generally rejected as baseless and elaborately refuted by Hefele,—that the acts of the sixth Council were tampered with by the Patriarch Theodore, who abandoned his heretical belief

¹ Theophanes was appointed to succeed Macarius and was present at the fourteenth sitting; hence Zonaras

mentions him as the Patriarch of Antioch at the council.

² ἀνέγνωμεν καὶ συνηγάμεν.

and was restored to the see of Constantinople after the death of George. As he had been anathematised by the council, it was his interest, says Baronius, to erase his name from the black list; and accordingly he substituted ONOPION for ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ, and also made certain additions and alterations in the order of the acts. For further details on the subject I may refer the curious to Hefele.¹

Constantine died in the year 685, leaving the Empire, at peace with foreign nations, to his son Justinian. He was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles.

NOTE ON GREEK FIRE

THE invention of Greek fire is attributed to a Syrian named Callinicus. It was preserved for a long time as a secret by the Roman government, but in the tenth century books were written on the subject.

The following receipt for the manufacture of Greek fire is contained in a treatise by a tenth-century writer, known as Marcus Graecus, on the composition of inflammatory powders and liquids for military purposes. "Take pure sulphur, tartar, sarcocolla (Persian gum), pitch, dissolved nitre, petroleum, and huile de gemme (?); boil these ingredients together; saturate tow with the concoction, and set fire to it. The conflagration will spread, and can only be extinguished by urine, vinegar, or sand."² Another compound closely resembled gunpowder: a pound of sulphur was pounded in a mortar with two pounds of charcoal and six pounds of nitre; the mixture was poured into long, narrow, and tight envelopes, like cartridges, closed at the ends with iron wire. These shells were ignited and hurled through the air, probably by catapults. The naphtha or fire of Medea mentioned by Procopius seems to have been a simpler form of the later *πῦρ θαλάσσιον*.

¹ *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. iii. 278.

on Marcus Graecus in the *Biographie littéraire*.

² I have taken this from the article

CHAPTER X

JUSTINIAN II

JUSTINIAN II, like his father Constantine and his grandfather Constans, was placed in the position of an absolute ruler at a very early age. He was only sixteen when his father died. But, although the energy of the Heraclian family descended to him in sufficiently full measure, he was not endowed with the cool judgment and steady head of his father and grandfather, and he was seduced by a desire of personal glory, which had never misguided them into taking a false step. The consequence was that he committed many fatal blunders, and became extremely unpopular. This public odium, however, was indirectly incurred, for it attached primarily to the misconduct of favourite ministers, against whose influence the young monarch was not proof. It is in the days of adversity, after he has been ignominiously expelled from the throne, that the vigour and spirit of the man are most clearly revealed.

Abd Almalik renewed with Justinian the peace which he had made with Constantine on terms that superficially seemed more favourable.¹ The caliph undertook to pay 1000 nomismata and the daily tribute of one horse and one slave, while the Romans and Saracens were to divide between them the revenues of Armenia, Iberia, and Cyprus. Justinian, on the

¹ 688 A.D. The date given by Theophanes is 6178 (= 685-686, i.e. 686-687), but I believe with Weil that this must be wrong. For Theophanes agrees with the Arab sources in placing the peace and the revolt of Said in the same year; but the Arab sources, whose authority on purely Saracen history is

worth more than that of a Greek writer, place the rising of Said not earlier than 688; hence we must conclude that Theophanes' date is wrong. See Weil, ii. 468. Similarly we must place Justinian's dissolution of the peace in 692 or 693, not, as Theophanes, in 6182.

other hand, undertook to compass the removal of the Mardaites, who were a perpetual thorn in the side of the caliphs, from their homes in Lebanon. These mountaineers "rendered unsafe and uninhabited all the mountain towns of the Saracens from Mopsuestia to the Fourth Armenia." They were, however, monotheletes, and this fact made the Roman government look on them with disfavour, in spite of the services which they rendered in weakening the common enemy. And so Justinian did not demur to a measure, which really meant, in the chronicler's words, a maiming of the Roman power, by removing "the brazen wall," that is the Mardaites. We are not informed how the measure was executed; but it must be remembered that these christian outlaws considered themselves the subjects of the Emperor, and it was perhaps at the instance of Constantine IV that they had entered the highlands of Syria. Certain it is that the Mardaites, to the number of twelve thousand, were transferred to Romania. Of these some were settled in Thrace,¹ others in Asia Minor, while others were enrolled in the army, and Justinian proceeded in person to the Armenian provinces in order to superintend the disposal of the immigrants. In the meantime Leontius, general of the *Anatolic* troops,² had subjected Albania and Iberia to the Roman supremacy, and sent a large return of tribute money to the Emperor. This expedition involved direct hostility with the Saracens and was a breach of the peace, but Abd Almalik was then too much hampered by other affairs to retaliate.

During the year 689 or 690 Justinian was occupied by a war with the Bulgarians, provoked by himself, in which he was successful; and the Slavonic captives whom he carried off he established in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont, and formed of them "a supernumerary corps" (*περιούσιος λαός*) 30,000 strong. It appears that Justinian by his policy in regard to the Mardaites had lost the support of the soldiers of Mount Taurus and the Anatolic district, and was obliged to have recourse to the Slaves.³ Trusting to the strength of these new military forces,

¹ M. Sathas (*op. cit.* p. 53) says that they were divided into two bodies, of which one was scattered throughout Hellas, especially Epirus, where to the present day their descendants are called Mirdites, *Μιρδίται*, while the other division was ultimately settled in the

Cibyraiote theme. See Theophanes, 6178, 6179 A.M., and Constantine Porph. *de Adm. Imp.* cap. 50, iii. p. 229.

² For the *Anatolic* theme, see below, cap. xii.

³ M. Sathas, *loc. cit.* M. Sathas notices that from Justinian II to 1204

he was not afraid to defy the power of the Saracens and dissolve the peace. In 692¹ he refused to receive a new Saracen coinage, introduced by Abd Almalik, inscribed with verses of the Koran.² The payments had been made before in the municipal coins of Syria, on which the effigy of the Roman Emperor was represented. Abd Almalik protested that he had fulfilled his part of the bargain, and that he desired peace. But as he had reduced to his sway Persia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, his hands were free, and he did not shrink from war; and, as Justinian was obdurate, the Saracens marched to battle with the document on which the terms of the peace were inscribed stuck on the point of a lance, as a standard and a protest. The engagement took place in Cilicia, near Sebastopolis, and victory was ensured to the Saracens by the desertion of the "super-numerary corps" of Slaves, in which the Emperor had too lightly placed his confidence. Two-thirds of these troops joined the enemy and turned upon the Romans.³ Justinian fled to the Propontis with the remnant of the barbarians, and at Leucata, near Nicomedia, he put to death the Slaves who had been faithful to him in his fury against those who had been false.

The defeat at Sebastopolis led to the revolt of Symbatius (Simpad), a patrician of Armenia holding the same position that Saborios had held in the reign of Constans. He subjected southern Armenia to the Arabs.⁴ Soon afterwards the Roman dominions were invaded by the unbelievers, and on this

the question of the imperial succession is solved exclusively by the troops of the Taurus (including the Anatolic theme).

¹ The chronology is extremely uncertain, and I have ventured to depart from Theophanes, for it seems probable that he may have erred in the dates of other events as well as in those of the Saracen wars. I am persuaded that the Bulgarian war followed the peace with the Mohammedans.

² See Weil, ii. 468 sq.

³ An Armenian historian, according to St. Martin, gives the number of deserters as 7000 horse.

⁴ Theophanes places the dissolution of the peace in 6182, the battle of Sebastopolis in 6183, and the revolt of Symbatius in 6185; he mentions no events in 6184. But the revolt of Simpad must have followed hard upon

the affair of Sebastopolis, and it seems probable that Theophanes, led on by the context, anticipates events, as he sometimes does, and that both the battle and the revolt of Armenia took place in 6185, or in 693.

It will be convenient to put together in this place (after St. Martin) the chief facts regarding the relations of the Arabs to Armenia:—

637. First Saracen invasion.

639. Saracens penetrate to Tovin, which, however, is soon afterwards lost.

650. Armenia becomes a Saracen province.

656. Armenians revolt against the Arabs, but in 657 return to their allegiance.

The country is ruled by tributary Armenian princes.

686. Romans attempt to recover Armenia, and hostilities continue till

693, when the Arabs subject the land and Arab governors are appointed.

(see St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i. 340).

occasion the Slavonic refugees proved serviceable, because they were versed in the topography of the country.

Other transplantations and immigrations, as well as those of the Mardaites, took place in the reign of Justinian. A famine in Syria (687) induced a number of the natives to migrate to Romania. I have already mentioned the transportation of the Slaves to Asia Minor, and although most of these were formed into a military body, some were doubtless settled as agriculturists in the north-western provinces on the Propontis. To the same regions the Emperor also designed to transplant part of the population of Cyprus. Cyprus, by the new arrangement which had been made with Abd Almalik, was half-Roman and half-Saracen territory; and Justinian wished to leave the whole island to the rival power without surrendering the Roman tributaries. As the Cypriotes sailed across to the mainland the ships were caught in a storm, many were drowned, and the rest returned to the island. But the design was carried out notwithstanding this mishap, and the Asiatic residence of the bishop and people of Cyprus was a new city, named Justinianopolis, in the neighbourhood of Cyzicus.¹

The fact that the north-western provinces, known at this time as the district of Opsikion, were chosen for the transplanted settlers can be explained by historical events. Throughout the entire century they had been continually exposed to the devastations of foes, first the Persians, then the Saracens, who used to establish themselves on the shores of the Propontis or the Bosphorus, to menace the capital of Romania. This circumstance necessarily brought about depopulation in those districts, and there was need of new colonists.

Justinian's foreign policy, including his idea of a supernumerary Slavonic corps, had been eminently unsuccessful; his domestic policy was also a failure. This was chiefly due to the proceedings of his two notoriously unpopular and unprincipled ministers of finance. The influence of ministers or subordinates had been almost quite inoperative in the reigns of Constans and Constantine, both strong and independent monarchs; but Justinian was a man of more impulse than

¹ The repopulating of Cyprus is attributed by Constantine Porph. (*de Adm. Imp.* cap. 47) to the same monarch, Justinian, but M. Sathas has shown that

the imperial writer was mistaken, and that the act was really due to Tiberius III (Apsimar). See below, p. 356.

steadiness, and was amenable to both good and bad influences. He unwisely allowed great latitude to his two favourites, Stephanus and Theodotus, whose cruelty and rapacity covered him with odium and obloquy.

Theodotus, who had been the abbot of a monastery,¹ was general logothete² (γενικός λογοθέτης), an officer corresponding

¹ A monastery in Thrace, built near the straits called Stenon at the mouth of the Euxine.

² The history of the financial bureaux of the Roman Empire is curious. (1) Originally the private property of Augustus and his successors (*patrimonium*) was distinguished from the *fiscus* or property of the *princeps*. (2) But when the Flavians succeeded the Julio-Claudian dynasty they inherited the patrimony, which therefore came to be regarded as crown property instead of family property. Hence arose a second distinction between the *patrimonium* (which soon became merged in the *fisc*) and the *res privata*, which corresponded to the old *patrimonium*. This *res* (or *ratio*) *privata* branched off in the time of Septimius Severus, and the distinction was between the *fisc* + *patrimonium* and the *res privata*; and after Caracalla there are no traces of patrimonial officers (procurators) in Italy. (3) The *res privata* in turn travelled along the same path as the *patrimonium*. In the fourth century the *fisc* is administered by the illustrious count of the sacred largesses, and the private estates by the illustrious *comes rei privatae*; but the *res privata* ceases to grow, and the personal property of the Emperor is managed (probably) by the grand chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*). This was certainly the case in the fifth century, and at length the Emperor Anastasius, finding it an inconvenient system and approving of the principle of division of labour, instituted a new officer, the *comes sacri patrimonii*. And thus *patrimonium* emerges once more as an official term bearing its original significance. At the beginning of the third century the *patrimonium* meant crown property and *res privata* meant personal property; at the beginning of the sixth century *patrimonium* meant personal property and *res privata* crown property. (See O. Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, i., especially p. 43).

We learn of this measure of Anastasius from John Lydus, ii. 27: ὁ λεγόμενος πατριμῶνιος φύλαξ τῆς ἰδίας πῶς ἀνηκούσης τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τυχὼν ἐκ προγόνων περιουσίας, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πρὶν ἀριθμούμενον Ἀναστάσιος ὁ πάντα ἐμφρῶν ἀνεστήσατο, διάκρισιν ὥστερ εἰώθει περινοῶν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὅπως μὴ συγχύσει κάμνοισιν. I think the word ἀνεστήσατο, "re-established," refers to a temporary institution of an office of similar name in the reign of Arcadius (*sacri patrimonii comitiva*, mentioned in an inscription). This notice of Lydus is confirmed by *Basilica*, vi. 1, 102, 103 (ed. Heimbach, i. p. 148), and by certain juristic glosses quoted by Böcking, who has a learned and valuable note on the subject in his *Notitia Dignitatum*, ii. 376 sqq. As Böcking says, the names of the three officials *com. sacr. larg.*, *com. rei priv.*, and *com. sacr. patr.* might be translated in German (respectively) by *Finanzminister des Reichsschatzes*, *F. des Kronschatzes*, and *F. des kaiserlichen Privatvermögens*.

In Greek the *patrimonium* was generally called ἡ ἰδικὴ περιουσία or οὐσία, and thus the *com. patr.* is called in the *Basilica* (*loc. cit.*) κόμης τῆς ἰδικῆς περιουσίας. But in popular speech he was known as the *sacellarius* or purser. The words *σακέλλιος* and *σακελλάριος* occur in an *oratio* of Gregory of Nazianzus in *Julianum*, and come from the Latin diminutive *sacellus* (*sacellarius*), a little bag. In later times *σακελλάριος* passed back into Latin (*sacellarius*, with only one c). In the *Chronicon Paschale*, Leo (or Leontius) the Syrian is called ὁ ἀπὸ σακελλαρίων, and I presume this means that he was once count of the patrimony. In the reign of Heraclius we meet the *sacellarius* Theodore, whom Nicephorus describes as τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίαν, and now in the reign of Justinian we meet Stephanus holding the same office. The old Latin name was probably almost obsolete.

As the adjective *ἰδικός* was applied to the Emperor's private property, it was

to the former count of sacred largesses. A monk who forsook his retreat to become a civil minister would naturally be looked upon in those days with the utmost suspicion. The oppressions which he exercised and the extortions which he practised are reported to have been terrible. But his offences were aggravated by the fact that he went beyond his jurisdiction and succeeded in exacting money with no sufficient reason from men of senatorial rank, on whom the office of the private domains had no legal claim, and confiscating their property; he was able even to put them to death. He was cruel to his victims, we are told, and used to hang them up by ropes and scorch their bodies with a straw fire¹ lit beneath them.

Stephanus, a Persian eunuch, was *sacellarius*, or keeper of the privy purse, and he too by his "bloodthirsty" oppression of the citizens made the Emperor hated. A story is told that once, when the Emperor was absent, "the savage beast" amused himself by administering a whipping to the Empress-mother Anastasia as if she were a little school-girl. Whether it was at the suggestion of one or other of these two men that the prefect of the city was empowered to imprison for years many persons of high rank and position, or whether the prefect was like unto the ministers of the treasuries, we cannot say. The general result was that Justinian's government was detested.

Like his distinguished namesake Justinian I., the Emperor was seized with a passion for building. He erected a new and splendid triklinos² in the palace, and appointed Stephanus as a kind of taskmaster to superintend the progress of the building and accelerate its completion. It was a con-

natural that men should apply a conjugate adjective to the public treasury. The adjective chosen by the instinct of the Romans was *γενικός*; the exchequer was called τὸ γενικόν; and the count of the sacred largesses came to be called the λογθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ or λογ. γενικός, a name which Nicephorus (p. 37) paraphrases as τῶν δημοσίων λογιστήν. In the year 609 we meet with Anastasius, κόμητα τῶν λαργιτιῶνων, but in the course of the seventh century the name fell into disuse. I suspect that some changes in the financial administration were made by Constans, who was probably his own chancellor of the exchequer.

Meanwhile we hear nothing more of

the *comes rei privatae* (κόμης τῶν πρῖβάτων). I conjecture that the same fate that befell the *patrimonium* in the third century befell the *res privata* in the seventh; the private estate was absorbed by the fisc (that is, the *sacrae largitiones* or the *γενικόν*).

¹ μετεώροις σχοινοῖς ἀναρτῶν καὶ ἀχύροις περικαπνίζων (Nicephorus, p. 37), while Theophanes uses the word ὑποκαπνίζων. For their accounts of these two ministers, Nicephorus and Theophanes had the same source before them, as is clear from the similarity of their language.

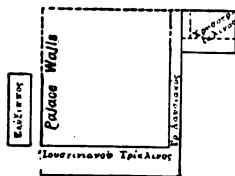
² This large hall extended from west to east, and was connected with the Χρυσοσπρίκλιος by a long gallery called

genial work to the inhuman sacellarius, who did not content himself with beating the workmen, but used to stone both them and the overseers.

Close to the palace was a church sacred to the Mother of God, whose situation presented an obstacle to new plans of Justinian. He wished to utilise the place partly for a fountain¹ and partly for tiers of benches to accommodate the members of the blue faction when they were receiving the Emperor on public occasions. He therefore begged the Patriarch Callinicus² to deconsecrate the church that he might pull it down, but the Patriarch replied, "We have received a form of prayer for the establishment of a church, but for the abolition of a church we have not received such." But when the Emperor pressed him hard, he said evasively, "Glory be to God, who is long-suffering now, always, and for ever and ever, Amen!" This convenient formula was accepted as an adequate prayer of deconsecration; the church was pulled down and the fountain was made; and at Petron a new church to the Virgin was built to compensate her for the demolition of her house in the Augusteum.

Justinian professed to concern himself for the morals of his subjects. At least he assembled a synod (*in trullo*) in 692,³

the *Τρίκλιος Λαυσιακός*, according to the reconstruction of the palace by M. Paspatis.



George Pachymeres writes thus of Justinian's triklinos (ii. 145, ed. Bonn):
 ἔξαιτον οὐτα καὶ μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν
 λέχριον οὐτα τοῖς κατὰ πύλας εἰσιόνσι
 πρώτῃς καὶ ἀνωθεν ἕως κάτω διήκοντα,
 λαμπρὸν μὲν τοίχοις, λαμπρὸν δ' ἐδάφει
 καὶ περιττὸν τὸ κάλλος. C. Manasses
 (l. 3301) calls the room—

δείγμα λαμπρότητος αὐτοῦ
 καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας
 ὃ χρυσεὺς τε καὶ τερπνὸς ἐν
 ἀνακτοροῖς οἶκος.

Paspatis conjectures that it was covered

with a roof, partially if not wholly (p. 256).

It is hardly necessary to remark that *τρίκλιος* means a hall or gallery or large room (roofed or open) provided with seats or couches, and does not, like the Roman *triclinium*, imply a dining-room.

¹ *φιάλη*, a cascade fountain (like modern fountains in appearance), such as is represented in mosaics in the apse of San Vitale at Ravenna. This church of the Virgin is called τῶν μητροπολίτου, that is one of the churches under the immediate care of the metropolitan.

² The form Gallicinus occurs in some MSS. of Paulus Diaconus (vi. 31), apparently a Latin popular etymology. To an Italian, Callinicus meant nothing; the very similar Gallicinus suggested "crowing cock." The mistake is of course due, not to Paul, but to a copyist, and also occurs in the case of Callinicus a patrician.

³ It was held in the same domed room in the palace as the sixth Council,

of which the object was to consider important matters which had been neglected at previous councils. Amid the excitement of theological discussion, moral life had declined and church discipline had become relaxed; the Emperor desired to reform morals, to bring christian life into order, and to uproot the remains of Jewish and heathen perversity. The acts of this synod are peculiarly interesting to the general historian, as illustrating manners and morals, and we shall return to it in another place. It was called *Quinisextum*, because it was a sort of supplement to the fifth and sixth general Councils and it purposed to be ecumenical, but the Pope, Sergius, refused to sign the acts on account of certain clauses, such as the prohibition of fasting on Saturdays and the permission to priests to marry.¹ Justinian attempted to force the Pope to his will by violence, such as Constans had used to Martin, but the feeling in Italy was strong for the bishop of Rome, and the soldiers of the exarchate supported him against the spatharius whom Justinian had sent to seize him.

At length in 695 the inevitable retribution came, and Justinian suffered the penalty of his unpopular policy and injudicious oppression of the higher classes. His fall came about on this wise.

Leontius, an Isaurian, the general of the Anatolic theme, whom we saw fighting in Armenia and Iberia and gaining repute in war, had incurred the Emperor's suspicions or the enmity of his favourites, and had pined for three years in prison.

and is known as the synod *in trullo* (for excellence). Its date has divided historians, but there seems no doubt that 692 is right, as Hefele thinks. Tarasius (at the seventh Council, at Nicaea) said that this synod took place four or five years after the council of 680-681, that is in 686; but it took place in the fifth indiction, whereas 686 fell in the fourteenth indiction, and the date is otherwise untenable. Tarasius probably confounded the synod *in trullo* with the synod which met to preserve the acts of the sixth Council from forgery (687). We must read 6199 A.M. (*spqθ'*) instead of 6109 (which on any theory is absurd) in the third canon of the acts of the synod, where the preceding year is referred to and defined as the fourth indiction; whereby,

reckoning according to the Byzantine era of the world, we obtain 691, and therefore the synod met in 692 (or in last four months of 691). It is strange that Hefele makes no reference to the remarkable passage in Theophanes (*ad* 6177 A.M.), who quotes the third canon in full and gives the correct date, *spqθ'*, but falls into a mistake through computing by the Alexandrian era, and thus places it in 707, which is impossible.

¹ The four others which they rejected were, the approbation of the eighty-five apostolic canons; the command to abstain from blood and things strangled; the clause against representing Christ as a lamb; and the equality of the bishop of Constantinople with the bishop of Rome.

Perhaps it was in connection with the defeat at Sebastopolis that Justinian placed him in confinement. But at length (in 695) he was suddenly released, and at the same time informed that he had been appointed "General of Hellas" and must without delay set out for his district with three fast sailers. He had two friends who used to visit him in prison, Paulus, a monk and astronomer, and Gregory of Cappadocia, who had once commanded a mountain fort, presumably in Asia Minor, with the title of *kleisuriarch*, and, having since become a monk, was then abbot of the monastery of Florus. These two monks had often averred to Leontius, while he was in prison, that he was destined to become Emperor of the Romans. On the night of his departure for Greece he met them,¹ to say farewell; he reminded them of their prediction, and observed bitterly, "Now my life is ending in misery, for I shall be expecting every moment death to follow me." "Fear not," they replied, "the prophecy will be soon fulfilled. Only listen to us and follow us."

In accordance with the directions of these ecclesiastics, Leontius took his men and his arms and proceeded silently to the praetorium, or residence of the prefect of the city. He knocked at the gate and announced to the porter that the Emperor was waiting without, having come for the purpose of arranging the treatment of some of the prisoners who were incarcerated in the buildings. The prefect, informed of the imperial presence, came hastily down to open the gate; and was immediately overpowered by Leontius, beaten and bound. Then the prisoners, who were numerous and of exalted rank, were set free. Most of them were soldiers, and some had languished in the dungeons for seven or eight years. Leontius, sure of their fidelity, provided them with arms, and then proceeded with his party to the Augusteum, crying aloud, "Ho, all Christians to St. Sophia!" and he sent others to cry the same summons in other regions of the city. A multitude of citizens thronged to the church, and in the meantime the revolutionist, along with the two monks and the most important of the released prisoners, went to the *Patriarcheion*, where they found the Patriarch filled with alarm.

¹ In the Julianian port of Sophia, near the region of Mauron, in the southwest part of the city.

It is stated as the cause of his fear that the Emperor had given orders to a patrician and general named Stephanus, and surnamed Rusius (not to be confounded with Stephanus the sacellarius), to massacre the people of Constantinople by night, beginning with the Patriarch. This mandate would be quite credible if attributed to Justinian after his return from exile, but I feel considerable hesitation in believing that he had at this time reached such a pitch of insanity.

The Patriarch Callinicus not unwillingly accompanied Leontius to the cathedral. There he said to the people, "This is the day which the Lord has made," and all the people cried, "Let the bones of Justinian be dug up," that is: may Justinian be accursed.¹ After this preliminary quasi-religious sanctification of their future acts, all proceeded to the hippodrome. Thither the unfortunate Justinian was led at day-break; and in the southern crescent, where such scenes usually took place,² his nose and his tongue were slit, after which spiteful usage he was shipped off to the Tauric peninsula, whither his grandfather had banished Pope Martin.

The mutilation which Justinian suffered cannot have been so severe as the terms naturally suggest. The operation performed on his tongue did not deprive him of the power of speaking, and we may assume that the cutting of the nose did not mean its total removal. In fact, it seems probable that the words are more cruel than the acts really were; and that the *rinokopia* and *glossotomia*, which were ordinary occurrences in Byzantium, and are cited as instances of Byzantine cruelty, were little more than a very severe and indelible brand, which, however, did not materially affect the victim's general wellbeing.³

The expulsion of Justinian was accompanied by the execution of the two detested ministers of finance Stephanus and Theodotus, who with their feet tied together were dragged

¹ ἀνασκαφή τὰ ὀστέα Ἰουστινιανοῦ (Theoph.) 'This was the regular form of cursing in Byzantium, so that ἀνασκάπτω came to mean "curse."

² σφενδόνη.

³ In regard to Byzantine punishments Zachariä (*Griechisch-römisches Recht*, Pref. p. viii.) remarks: "Freiheits- und Gefängnisstrafen bleiben den Byzan-

tinern fast ganz fremd, weil ihnen, wie allen Orientalen, das *far niente* ein Genuss statt eines Uebels ist, und selbst die freiwillige Absperrung in Klöster und Zellen etwas verlockendes hat: statt der Freiheitsstrafen entwickelt sich vielmehr ein raffiniertes System von Leibes- und Lebensstrafen, welches die Türken nur zu eifrig adoptirt haben."

through the thoroughfare and burned at the place called Bous.

Thus the prediction of the astronomer Paulus came to pass, and Leontius the Patrician, instead of being "General of Hellas," became Emperor of the Romans. And thus too the dynasty of Heraclius, having lasted for eighty-five years, came to an end; for we need hardly reckon to its credit or discredit the few years during which Justinian, having returned from exile, enjoyed the supreme power again and committed acts that were worthy only of a madman.

I may conclude this chapter by putting forward the conjecture that Justinian II. made Justinian I. a model for his own acts. I do not mean that he attempted to adopt the spirit of the great monarch's administration; I mean that he had a fancy for aping his namesake in certain minor matters. In the first place, unlike his immediate predecessors and forefathers, he caused expensive architectural works to be executed; like Justinian I., he desired to be remembered as a builder. In the second place, he intended to force Pope Sergius to comply with his will by violence, as Justinian I. had forced Pope Vigilius. Here of course he had the more recent example of his grandfather Constans. In the third place, when he was in exile he married, as we shall see, the sister of the chagan of the Khazars. As Justinian's wife she was called Theodora, and I conjecture that the banished monarch, when he chose this name for her, thought of Theodora the wife of his great namesake. In the fourth place, he formed designs against Abasgia, as we shall learn in a future chapter, and here too I think he was recurring to the days of Justinian I. Certain it is that from Justinian I. to Justinian II. we hear of few dealings between the Empire and the Abasgians. Again, the foundation of Justinianopolis recalls the eponymous cities of Justinian I. Once more, Stephanus and Theodotus, the instruments of cruelty and extortion, remind us of John the Cappadocian; and since John's prefecture no Emperor is recorded to have employed such notorious oppressors until the monk became logothete and the eunuch *sacellarius* under the second Justinian.

CHAPTER XI

FOUNDATION OF THE BULGARIAN KINGDOM

By the middle of the seventh century the Balkan lands were, as we have seen, covered with Slavonic settlements, so that in Moesia, Illyricum, Macedonia the Slaves constituted the bulk of the population. The towns on the sea-coast were still Greek, and the remains of the old Albanese and Thracian nations lingered still among the mountains; but it was evident that destiny had marked out the peninsula north of Mount Olympus for a Slavonic country.

The Slaves, however, were themselves incapable of union; they had no political instinct in that direction; and if a principle of unity had not been induced from without, they might have never become dominant, they might have even been gradually crushed by the Emperors of Constantinople.

The people who supplied the unity, which the Slovenes were by themselves incapable of realising, were the Bulgarians, a non-Aryan race allied with the Khazars, Magyars, etc., and belonging to what is called the Ugro-Finnic branch. We have already met them as early as the end of the fifth century fighting with Theodoric, and defeated by him; we have then seen them invading the Roman Empire in the reigns of Anastasius and Justinian, and afterwards, at the end of the sixth century, reduced to a condition of semi-dependence on the Avar monarchy. These Bulgarians, who dwelled on the Euxine coast north of the Danube in Budžak and Bessarabia, had separated from the great Bulgarian nation, whose home

was in the lands between the Don, the Volga, and the Kuban, east of the Sea of Azov.¹

The Greek historians Theophanes and Nicephorus,² living at the end of the eighth century, record a story about the Bulgarians, which they must have drawn from a common source, as not only their facts but their verbal expressions coincide. This story is legendary, but it has a historical foundation. Kobrat, or Kourat, was king of the kindred nations of the Bulgarians and Kotragoi in the reign of Heraclius. He died in the reign of Constans, leaving five sons, whom he exhorted to cling together and not break up the Bulgarian power. As might have been predicted, they did not follow his admonition. The first son, Baian or Batbaian (a name that reminds us of the chagan of the Avars in the reign of Maurice), remained in the territory of his father; the second, whose name was Kotragos, established himself on the right bank of the Don; the third, Asperuch, crossed the Dniepr and Dniestr, and settled near the north bank of the Danube; the fourth migrated to Pannonia, and was subject unto the Avars; the fifth travelled still farther west, and settled in the "pentapolis of Ravenna."

This notice crowds into the reign of Constans the Second events that took place nearly two centuries before. The migration of the third brother, Asperuch (or Ispereich, as he is called in the Slavonic record of Bulgarian monarchs³), represents a migration that took place before the year 480 A.D. We may further conjecture that the migrations of the fourth

¹ *περὶ τὴν Μαυρίτιν λίμνην κατὰ τὸν Κώφωνα ποταμὸν* (Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 33).

² M. Jiriček, in his excellent chapter on "die Einwanderung der Bulgaren," is not quite accurate in his statement touching the Greek account of the *Vorgeschichte* of this people. In the first place, he speaks as if it were only to be found in the history of Nicephorus, and does not once mention Theophanes; and yet Theophanes is fuller in his details than Nicephorus, although both drew from the same source. But the curious point is that M. Jiriček, while professing to quote from Nicephorus, really quotes Theophanes—*e.g.* the name Batbaian is the form in Theophanes, Baianos the form in Nice-

phorus, and Jiriček gives the former. In the second place, he places Kobrat's death and the division of the kingdom in the reign of Constantine IV; but Nicephorus (like Theophanes) places it in the reign of "the Constantine who died in the West" (*i.e.* Constans II). Apparently M. Jiriček has quoted his authorities here at second hand.

³ This obscure record (*see* Jiriček, p. 127) contains several inexplicable Bulgarian words, which Hilferding has tried to interpret by the help of Hungarian. According to it, Kurt reigned sixty years. The name of the royal Bulgarian family was *Dulo*. The list begins from the earliest times and goes down to 765 A.D. The first Bulgarian king, Avitochol, reigned 300 years.

and fifth brothers do not represent separations from the mother nation on the bank of the Kuban, but rather offshoots from the daughter nation between the Danube and Dniestr. Both these later settlements of the Bulgarians in Pannonia and in Italy must have taken place in the seventh century; and we must evidently connect the fifth with the notice of Paul, the historian of the Lombards, that King Grimuald settled some Bulgarians, who entered Italy peacefully under the leadership of one Alzeco, in the neighbourhood of Beneventum.¹

The Bulgarian king² who revolted against the Avars and allied himself with Heraclius, Kobrat or Krobat, is called Kurt in the Slavonic list of Bulgarian monarchs to which we have already referred. Nicephorus records that Kubrat, the nephew of Organ and chief of the Onogundurs, revolted against the chagan of the Avars and made a treaty with Heraclius, who conferred on him the title of Patrician; moreover, Kubrat expelled the Avars from his own land. This event was decisive for the history of the Bulgarians, just as the battle of Netad was decisive for the history of the Ostrogoths.

In the reign of Constantine IV the independent Bulgarians began to distress the neighbouring Roman territory by their incursions. The Emperor determined to take vigorous measures immediately, and, instead of merely strengthening the frontier defences, to attack the enemy in their own country and teach them a salutary lesson. He prepared a naval armament as well as a land army, and transported the Asiatic troops to Europe. The territory of the Bulgarians was called Oglos or Onglos (an angle or corner), and corresponds to the district marked Budżak on modern maps. Here they possessed strong

¹ Paul. Diac. v. 29. The places conceded to the Bulgarians were Sepinum (Sipicciano), Isernia (Sergna), Bovianum, and other *civitates*. Alzeco's title was changed from *dux* to *gastaldius*. Those who were subjects of the Avars afterwards migrated to the territory of the Franks, who treacherously murdered them all (Fredegarius, cap. 72).

² King of the Onogundurs (Nicephorus, p. 24). Nicephorus does not identify the Onogundurs with the Bulgarians, nor Onogunduric Kubrat, of the reign of Heraclius, with Bulgarian Kubrat, of the reign of Constans (as he sup-

poses); but Theophanes, 6171 A.M., makes the former identification, τῶν Οὐνογονυδοῦρων Βουλγάρων καὶ Κορδάγων. The first Kubrat or Kurt is historical, and really reigned on the Danube, but the second Kubrat is legendary, or at least a personage of remoter antiquity. The actual reign of a famous Kubrat in the seventh century led to the old legends being attached to his name, and it was supposed that it was he who led the Bulgarians from the Caucasus to the Danube. *Organ* (the father of Kubrat) is a Turkish name.

and inaccessible fortresses, secured by precipitous rocks which rose behind and perfidious morasses which stretched in front, so that it was a difficult country for an invader. When they saw the great expeditions by land and sea that had come against them, the Bulgarians, greatly terrified, retreated into their fastnesses, and for four days endured a siege. But unluckily the Emperor, who had accompanied the naval armament in person, fell sick of a pain in his foot, and, commanding his forces to continue the siege, departed with a few ships to Mesembria. Some regiments of cavalry misconstrued the departure of the sovereign as flight, and, seized with a groundless panic, fled themselves. The panic was communicated to the rest of the army, the flight became general, and the Bulgarians, issuing from their retreats, pursued and completely routed the Romans. All whom they captured they put to death. Still pursuing, they crossed the Danube and advanced to Varna, near Odessus. Struck by the natural features of Moesia, which seemed to lend it a peculiar security,—the Haemus on the south, the Danube on the north, the Euxine on the east,—they determined to change their habitation and establish themselves south of the Danube.

Accordingly, the Bulgarians reduced to subjection the seven Slavonic tribes that dwelled in Moesia, experiencing probably little resistance, and disposed them along the frontiers of the new Bulgarian kingdom, to defend it on the west against the Avars and on the south against the Romans.¹ The tribe of the Severs² (*Σεβέρεις*) was placed to guard the pass of Beregaba in the eastern Balkans. The Roman towns and forts were gradually reduced, and Constantine, after the failure of his great expedition, was constrained to make a treaty with the new kingdom that was being founded within Roman territory, and to agree to the payment of a certain sum of money every year to the Bulgarian king, Isperich. The motive of Constantine in paying this tribute seems to have been to save Thrace from immediate invasion, so that he might have time to take measures for its permanent security against "the new and abominable" neighbours.

¹ There is a story, resting on Arabian authority, that the entire Bulgarian kingdom was surrounded by a thorn

hedge provided with wooden windows (Jiriček, p. 133).

² Roesler regards them as Huns.

The chief towns of the new kingdom founded by Isperrich were Prêslav (Peristhlaba),¹ on the Kamčija (about a degree due west of Varna), and Drster (Durostorum, the modern Silistria), on the Danube; and in these regions the kingdom continued for more than two centuries with little change in its boundaries, nearly corresponding to the modern principality of Bulgaria. It was not till the tenth century that Bulgarian supremacy extended to the south-west, and included the Slaves of Macedonia and Dacia. In the meantime the conquered Slaves were by a gradual process conquering their Tartaric conquerors.² The Bulgarian customs had little influence on the Slavonic character; and the Bulgarian language had less influence on the Slavonic language. On the contrary, the Bulgarians were Slavised, and ultimately absorbed among the Slaves, so that the Bulgarian people of the present day is purely Slavonic, with nothing non-Aryan about it except its name and a slight infusion of Tartar blood.

In these events we see two features of Slavonic history prominently marked. We observe on the one hand the inability of the wayward Slavonic tribes to form a political unity, without an alien power to give the initiative by subjecting them to a monarchy. On the other hand we see the assimilative absorbing power of the Slavonic race—herein somewhat resembling the Hellenic—which was able in a short time to obliterate the identity of the conquerors, while it profited by the principles of unity and monarchy which they had introduced. I call these two phenomena features of Slavonic history, because they recurred some centuries later in the more celebrated case of the Russians, and, if my conjecture touching the Croatian Slaves is right, they had occurred in a less pronounced form before.³ The unity, to which the Slaves of Russia would never have attained of themselves, was superinduced by the Northmen of Scandinavia, who founded a Russian kingdom; but the language, the manners, and the identity of the conquerors were soon absorbed in Slavism.

Thus for the Slaves the way to unity and empire has lain

¹ It is uncertain when Peristhlaba was founded. At first Varna was probably the capital.

² Noble Slaves were admitted by their conquerors to a share in the ad-

ministration. As to the Slavonic cultivators of the soil, Jiriček says they were probably reduced to a sort of partial *Leibeigenschaft*.

³ See above, cap. vii.

through acceptance of a foreign yoke; they have lost their life in order to save it.

The khan of the Bulgarians ruled with a council of six *bolyars* (*βοιλάδες*, whence the Russian *boyar*), and the constitution rested on an aristocratic basis. The customs of the Bulgarians had an oriental complexion, and differed totally from those of the Slaves. They were polygamists. The women veiled their faces, and the men wore turbans, and both sexes wore loose trousers. The king partook of his meals alone, without the company even of a wife. The Bulgarians cared only for war, and their barbarous manners present no trace of industrial development. In their old homes they did not use coins; cattle were the medium of exchange. They were a superstitious people, and considered magical rites a necessary preliminary to battle.¹

About ten years after the settlement of Isperich and his Bulgarians in Moesia, the young Emperor Justinian dissolved the peace which his father had made by refusing to pay the stipulated tribute (689 A.D.)² He ordered the cavalry regiments stationed in Asia Minor to cross over to Thrace, "desiring to lead captive the Bulgarians and the Sclavinias," that is the Sclavinia which was now included in the Bulgarian kingdom and the Sclavinia to the west of Mount Rhodope, which was nominally part of the Roman Empire, but was constantly rebelling. In the following year (690) Justinian first marched northwards against the Bulgarians, whom he repulsed, and then turned westwards against the Slavonic settlements in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica. He succeeded in collecting a vast number of Slaves, some of whom voluntarily joined him, while others he forcibly constrained; and, having transported them to Asia Minor, settled them in the district of Opsikion. We have already seen how he formed thirty thousand of these captives into a "supernumerary corps" under the command of Nebulus, and how twenty thousand of them deserted to the Saracens.

The Bulgarians enjoyed a slight revenge for their defeat. They waylaid Justinian, "as he was returning," in a mountain pass, and he escaped with difficulty. But it is not clear

¹ See Jiriček and Roesler, *Rom. Stud.* p. 239. The main source is the *Responsa ad cons. Bulgar.* of Pope Nicolas (Harduin, v. p. 353). ² Theoph. 6180 A.M.

whether this took place as he was returning from Thessalonica with his captives or after he had settled them in Opsikion. The Bulgarians, however, seem not to have harassed the Empire again during the reign of Isperich, who died in 700 and was succeeded by Terbel.

I may add a word as to the history of the old Bulgarians who dwelt on the Kuban and Kama. Their kingdom was called Great Bulgaria, and was on friendly terms with the Saracens, who converted it to Mohammedanism in the tenth century. It suffered from the enmity of the Khazars and the Russians, and was finally, in the thirteenth century, exterminated by the Tartars. And thus the only relic of the Bulgarians is their name, which in western Europe¹ has come to be a word of opprobrium, connoting a nameless vice.

I may conclude this chapter by noticing the series of attacks which were made upon Thessalonica by the Macedonian Slaves in the latter part of the seventh century. In 675 or 676 the fierce tribes who dwelled on the coasts of the Thermaic and Pagasaic gulfs blockaded the capital of Illyricum by land and sea. But the ships of the besiegers were scattered by a storm; and, as far as we can determine from the account transmitted by a biographer who writes for edification, a sally of the besiegers put the land army to flight, and Chatzon, the chief of the expedition, was captured, and stoned to death by women. The inhabitants attributed this deliverance to the special intervention of St. Demetrius, whose church still attests the honour in which he was held; just as, nearly a hundred years before, the repulse of the Avars was gratefully set down to his protection.

But the Slaves had not abandoned the idea of obtaining possession of the great capital of Illyricum. In 677 the aid of the holy Demetrius was again needed, when the barbarians returned to the assault, reinforced by Avars and Bulgarians and provided with poliorcetic machines. The blockade lasted for a month, and then the foe retired, the saint having again wrought deliverance for his city. At this time John II was archbishop of Thessalonica, and his activity in providing for the defence of the town is closely connected with the super-

¹ Similarly from the Ugrian (Hungarian) name comes our "ogre."

natural colouring given to the events by the ecclesiastical biographer, in whose pages the praetorian prefect plays a subordinate part. The city suffered from an earthquake soon after this siege, and had the distress of beholding the church of its patron in flames. A greater misfortune befell it in the death of the archbishop. Then we have a glimpse of Perbund (Pervund), "chief" of the Runchines, walking in the streets of the town; but the praetorian prefect suspects him, commits him to irons, and sends him to Constantinople. He attempts to escape from prison and is slain.

In consequence of this dealing with Perbund, his tribe, the Runchines, combine with the Sagudates and march against Thessalonica (678). For two whole years the city is closely blockaded, and endures all the miseries incident to a siege. The Emperor is unable to send more than ten small ships to its relief; and the raising of the siege is finally due to dissensions among the beleaguers. The Belegezêtes desert to the Romans, and the enemy's camp is broken up (680); but the credit of the deliverance falls to the share of the saint. Once more, in the following year, the city is besieged; and once more the besiegers are repulsed by its protector. In the meantime the waters of the northern Aegean are infested by the Slavonic pirates.¹

¹ For these events, see the "Vita Sancti Demetrii," in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. iv. (162-174). The name of the praetorian prefect is mentioned—Charias.

NOTE

THE question touching an early introduction of Islam among the Bulgarians is discussed by C. M. Fraehn in an essay on "Drei Münzen der Wolga-Bulgaren aus dem x. Jahrhundert n. Chr." (*Mém. de l'acad. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. i. 6th series, 1832, p. 171 *sqq.*) Some of the customs of the Moesian Bulgarians (above, p. 336) and the name of one of their kings (Omar, below, p. 473) point this way; but the authority of Ibn Fozslan and others establishes that Great Bulgaria was converted to Mohammedanism in the tenth century. Fraehn accordingly assumes an earlier and a later introduction of Islam, and connects the hostilities of the heathen Khazars with the early conversion (p. 189).

CHAPTER XII

ORIGIN OF THE SYSTEM OF THEMES

ONE of the most obscure and also most interesting problems of seventh-century history is the origin of the "Byzantine themes." In the tenth century the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos wrote a treatise on the themes or districts into which the Empire was at that time divided, and he distinctly assigns their origin to the seventh century. The assertion of the imperial writer would by itself weigh little, because he was lamentably ignorant of history and quite destitute of critical ability, but it is confirmed by the undesigned testimony of the historians Nicephorus and Theophanes, whose narrative of the latter years of the seventh century presupposes at least the beginning of a thematic division, if I may be permitted to use the expression. Nicephorus and Theophanes lived indeed a century later, but they made use of earlier sources. Constantine further fixes the latter part of the reign of Heraclius as the date of the introduction of the theme system. This statement is not contradicted by the scanty records of the history of that time; but it is not necessitated. The passages in Theophanes and Nicephorus which bear on the question prove only that the new division was partially made before the death of Constans (668 A.D.) There are, however, reasons for supposing that Constantine was in a certain sense right.

Many of the themes which existed in the middle of the tenth century had been created recently, within the preceding fifty or sixty years. Such were either smaller districts of subordinate importance, which had previously been subdivi-

sions of large themes, or else new acquisitions won from hostile territory, such as Longobardia and Lycandos. With the origin of these Constantine was of course familiar. But he did not think of applying the facts, which he had heard with his ears and his father had told him, to the course of past history, and concluding by analogy that many other themes were also of later institution; and that the whole Empire had originally been divided into a few large districts, from which the elaborate system of seventeen Asiatic and twelve European themes gradually developed.¹

For this is the conclusion to which we are led by a careful collection of all the passages bearing on the subject in our two chief sources for Roman history from Constans II to Nicephorus I.

The word *theme* meant properly a military division or regiment, and this fact indicates that the geographical themes had a military origin, and that the new division was due at least primarily and partly to needs of warfare. The language of the historians makes this fact plain, and we can trace in their pages the transition from theme in the sense of troops quartered in a particular district to theme in the sense of the district over which the *stratêgos* or military governor presided. But we can also see their origin clearly stamped on the names of the themes themselves; and here we find an important distinction which helps to elucidate the whole subject. A certain number of the thematic names are of military origin, while the rest are purely geographical. Of military origin, for example, was the Opsikian theme, so called because the Opsikion (*obsequium*) or imperial guard was quartered in that district; the Armeniac theme received its appellation from the Armeniakoi, or troops placed to guard the Armenian frontier; whereas Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lycandos are geographical names.

Now a study of our historical authorities shows us that the former class of themes are the most ancient, and that themes with names like Cappadocia and Sebasteia were formed long afterwards. Hence we may draw the general conclusion that the thematic system grew gradually and undesignedly out of military necessities, and was not created

¹ In the eleventh century the number of themes had increased to thirty-eight.

suddenly (like the French departments) by the fiat of one Emperor.

But the military necessities which existed in the reigns of Heraclius and his successors are by no means a complete explanation. It seems to me that we shall miss the import of the new provincial system which developed in the seventh and eighth centuries if we fail to recognise that it was really initiated in the sixth century, and that the administrative changes of Justinian were the link between the system of Diocletian and the medieval system. I showed in a former chapter how Justinian's reforms departed from the principles of Diocletian, and anticipated an arrangement which was elaborated in later times.¹ Thus it would be false to consider that the tendency to supersede the hierarchy of officials and abandon the principle of division of labour—in fact, to recur to the system of the imperial provinces under the early Emperors—appeared first in the seventh century; the new departure was really made by the great Justinian. What was the *stratêgia* (or *practura*) of Sicily but a theme founded in the sixth century? But the circumstances of the seventh century, the wars with the Persians and the Saracens, favoured the development of this Justinianean novelty and gave it a particular direction. The absence of definite statements in our meagre sources renders it impossible to trace out in detail the course of this development; nevertheless a careful examination of incidental notices may lead us to some important conclusions. We may first see what intimations our authorities, Theophanes and Nicephorus, give us of the existence of themes (or rather *stratêgiai*) in the seventh century; we may then pass on to consider their origin; and finally we may glance, in anticipation, at the development of the system in the eighth century.

I. The earliest definite notice that concerns us is that of the revolt of Saborius or Sapor, the *general* of the *Armeniakoi*, in

¹ I had written this chapter long before I read the excellent Russian work of N. Skabalonovitch, entitled "The Byzantine Empire and Church in the Eleventh Century" (*Vizantiyskoe Gosudarstvo i Tserkov v xi. Věkë*).

I see that he recognises the Justinianean reforms as an anticipation of the themes (p. 185) in his interesting chapter on the thirty-eight themes in the eleventh century.

the last year of Constans.¹ This entitles us to conclude that at that time the provinces of the Empire bordering on Armenia were under the separate government of a general, and the regiments under his command were called Armeniakoi. Two years later we learn that the soldiers "of the theme of the Anatolikoi" went to Chrysopolis and preferred a curiously expressed request to Constantine IV,² and twenty years later Leontius was general of the Anatolikoi (690 or 691). These passages prove the existence of an Armeniac and of an Anatolic district, under separate stratêgoi, in the reign of Constans II.

Two other districts, afterwards called themes, seem to have been under the authority of independent military governors in the latter half of the seventh century; they are first mentioned in the reign of Justinian II.³ That Emperor settled the Slaves "in the parts of Opsikion" in 687-688, an expression which shows that the troops quartered there had already associated their name with the territory. The commander of the Opsikians was not entitled general, but *count*, and the "county" of Opsikion stretched along the Propontis and reached to a considerable distance inland; it included Dorylaeum, near which city the district of the Anatolics began. Moreover, "Hellas" was under the command of a general, for we hear that Leontius was released from prison and appointed stratêgos of Hellas.

There is no direct evidence that the southern coast of Asia Minor, from near Miletus on the west to near Seleucia on the east, constituted in the seventh century a *Cibyraiote theme*. We hear of no stratêgos of the Cibyraiots until the year 731; but, although we hear of no stratêgos, we hear of a *drungarius*. In 697 Apsimar, who became the Emperor Tiberius III, was drungarius of the Cibyraiots.⁴ The words of the chroniclers imply that he was especially connected with the people or soldiers of Corycus (Attalia); but it is not clear whether he was subordinate to some one who bore the title stratêgos of the Cibyraiots, or whether he was himself the sole admiral of

¹ Theophanes, 6159 A.M. For an earlier mention of the Armeniakoi, see below, p. 347.

² *Ib.* 6161 A.M. Theophanes' expression, τοῦ θέματος τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, hardly proves that the district of the Anatolics was as yet definitely termed a theme.

³ *Ib.* 6180 A.M. Cf. 6203, 6205 A.M.

⁴ *Ib.* 6190 A.M. δρουγγάριον τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν εἰς Κουρικιώτας ὑπάρχοντα. Nicephorus, p. 40: στρατοῦ ἀρχοντα τῶν Κουρικιωτῶν τυγχάνοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Κιβυραιωτῶν χώρας.

the Cibyraiots. It is evident, however, that the little maritime town of Cibyra,¹ between Side and Ptolemais, had already given her name to the naval troops of those regions, a distinction such as her greater namesake, the inland Cibyra of Caria, never achieved; and perhaps this distinction was due to some energetic enterprise against a Saracen fleet. The term *drugarius*² was specially applied to admirals and to commanders of the watch.

In the seventh century then it appears that there were at least three administrative divisions in Asia Minor, the Opsikian, the Anatolic, and the Armeniac, subject respectively to a count and two *stratēgoi*; and probably a fourth, the Cibyraiote *drugariate*. The question now arises whether there were not also other independent districts, which do not happen to be mentioned because they played no prominent part in the seventh century. Now in 711 we are told that Justinian II collected the Opsikians and *Thracians*, and of these Thracians one Christopher was the *turmarch*.³ The Thracians were evidently regiments transferred from Thrace to Asia Minor for military service against Persians or Saracens. They were originally one *turma* or division of the troops commanded by the *stratēgos* of Thrace, but when they were permanently established in Asia Minor they could no longer obey that general and were under the supreme command of their *turmarch*. This *turmarchy* some years later was raised to the dignity of a *stratēgia*, or theme proper. As for the Bucellarian theme, which included the old provinces of Honorias and First Galatia, we hear nothing of the *Bukellarioi*⁴ until the year 765, and I think we shall be safe in attributing the

¹ Constantine Porphyrogenetos calls it a contemptible place (*εὐτελοὺς καὶ ἀκατανομήστου πόλιν*), and says the name was given to the theme for insult and not for honour, on account of the rebellious nature of the people of the district (*de Them.* vol. iii. pp. 35, 36). Finlay thinks that the imperial writer was mistaken, and that the theme derived its name from the greater Cibyra. But the greater Cibyra did not belong to this theme.

² *Drungus*, "a troop of soldiers," is used in Vopiscus' *Life of Probus*, cap. 19. In the *Strategikon* of Maurice (Bk. i. cap. 3, *περὶ ὀνομάτων*), a *δρούγγος* is said

to contain three *μοῖραι* and be equivalent to a *μέρος*: thus a *drugarius* would be much the same as a *μεράρχης*. Epiphanius (I learn from the notes on Maurice) derived *δρούγγος* from *ρύγχος*, a snout.

³ Theophanes, 6203 A.M. *Θρακῆσις* is simply formed from *Θράκης*, the genitive case by the termination *ios*.

⁴ We find Roman and foreign troops called *Bucellarii* at the beginning of the fifth century; see Olympiodorus, fr. 7, τὸ Βουκελλάριος ὄνομα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ὀνωρίου ἐφέρετο κατὰ στρατιωτῶν οὐ μόνων Ῥωμαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰόθλων τινῶν ὡς δ' αὖτως καὶ τὸ φοιδεράτων κατὰ δια-

origin of the theme to Leo III, who, as we shall see hereafter, probably organised a symmetrical system of thematic divisions. Optimaton,¹ "the poorest of the themes," did not perhaps become a theme until a still later period. Paphlagonia, in the eighth century, though perhaps not in the seventh, was a part of the Armeniac district,² and Cappadocia was included in the Anatolic. The parts of Cilicia close to the Saracen frontier were presumably governed by one or more cleisurarchs, perhaps responsible to the Anatolic general.

It is possible that there may have existed in the seventh century an anticipation, in some sort, of a theme which did not exist in the days of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, but existed a little later in the days of Basil II. We read that when Heraclius, sailing from Carthage against Phocas, anchored in the Dardanelles, he received some information from a certain functionary called the count of Abydos. It is tempting to think that he may have had control as a governor over the surrounding districts, and that thus the theme of Abydos, which was formed by splitting up the theme of the Aegean Sea, was anticipated.³ But perhaps it is safer to attribute only financial offices to this Abydene count, and connect him exclusively with the dues⁴ which were exacted from merchants entering the Propontis.

φόρου καὶ συμμυγοῦς ἐφέρετο πλήθους. Cf. fr. 11, in which the derivation of the word is given from *βουκέλλατον*, "stale bread." Optila, the Hunnic assassin of Valentinian III, was a *bucellarius* of Aetius (Idatius). In the *Strategikon* of Maurice (Bk. i. cap. i. p. 20) *bucellarii* and *foederati* are mentioned as *ἀρχοντες*, and again (in cap. 9) *bucellarii* and *spatharii* are coupled together. It has been suggested to derive the word from *bucula*, part of a shield.

¹ The origin of the Optimati is also mentioned by Olympiodorus, fr. 9: τῶν μετὰ Ροδογάσιον Γότθων οἱ κεφαλαιῶνται ὀπίματοι ἐκαλοῦντο, εἰς δὲ δεκά συντείνοντες χιλιάδας, οὓς καταπολεμήσας Στελῖχον Ροδογάσιον προσηταιρίσατο. The origin of the Optimati in the East was presumably of a similar nature; it is possible that the Goths led captive by Stilicho may have been settled in Bithynia and other parts of Asia Minor. So at least M. Sathas supposes; but he adopts the erroneous

reading of Zosimus, which places the defeat of Radagaisus on the banks of the Danube (*Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, ii. Preface, p. 36). Greeks from the mountainous regions of Taurus were associated with these Optimati as followers (*ὑπασισταί*), and called *ἀρμάτοι* (Maurice, *Strategikon*, i. 3); they bore the same relation to the Optimati as *παῖδες* to the *foederati*. Hence the name *Gotho-Gracci* was applied to the descendants of these strangers, who became gradually Hellenised, while the name *Optimati*, as Constantine Porph. remarks, became a name of dishonour. The *armati* assumed the name *κανάτοι*, and reduced their former masters to the position of servants (Sathas, *loc. cit.* p. 38).

² Maria of Paphlagonia, to whom Constantine VI was betrothed, was ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενιᾶκῶν (Theoph. 6274 A.M.).

³ Compare Skabalonovitch, *op. cit.* p. 205.

⁴ Called *κωμέρκια* Ἀβύδου.

To sum up, our chronicles prove that there existed in Asia Minor in the seventh century two themes or districts under *stratêgoi*, or governors in whose hands military and civil authority were combined. These were the Armeniac and the Anatolic themes, and both were much larger¹ than we afterwards find them in the tenth century. Besides these, there was the Opsikian theme governed by a count, who in dignity and power was on a level with the *stratêgoi*. There were also the drungariate of the Cibyraiots (at least this seems the most probable theory) and the turmarchy of the Thracians; and these administrations were probably independent, though not equal in dignity to the *stratêgiai*. Thus practically the Cibyraiote theme and the Thracian theme existed in the seventh century. In Europe we find two *stratêgiai*, Thrace and Sicily, dating from the reign of Justinian, and two *stratêgiai* of later date, Africa² and Hellas. The exarchate of Ravenna was similar in nature though different in title; and the praetorian prefect of Illyricum,³ who still kept state at Thessalonica, was in some sense a military governor, as the defence of the city devolved upon him. We may tabulate then the following list of military districts for the seventh century:—

ASIA.

1. County of Opsikion.
2. *Stratêgia* of the Anatolikoi.
3. *Stratêgia* of the Armeniakoi.
4. Turmarchy of the Thracians.
5. Drungariate of the Cibyraiots.
- 6 (?) *Stratêgia* of Coloneia.⁴

EUROPE.

1. *Stratêgia* of Thrace.
2. *Stratêgia* of Hellas.
3. *Stratêgia* of Sicily.
4. *Stratêgia* of Africa.
5. Exarchate of Ravenna.
- 6 (?) Prefecture of Illyricum.

But besides these there were possibly other independent governments in Asia Minor which chance has not recorded. Perhaps we may take it for granted that some of the *stratêgiai* instituted by Justinian had not yet been superseded. The

¹ The Anatolic theme included the later themes of Charsianon and Cappadocia, *see* Const. Porphy. *de Adm. Imperio*, cap. 50.

² In the reign of Justinian, Africa was governed by a praetorian prefect and a magister militum, but it was soon changed to a *stratêgia* or *practura*. Cf. Nicephorus, p. 3, *τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς*.

³ We find him in the reign of Con-

stantine IV operating against the Strymonian Slaves, in the *Life of St. Demetrius*. His existence at the end of the eighth century is attested by a letter of Theodore Studita.

⁴ I doubtfully include this on my list on account of Theodore, *ὁ τῆς Κολωνίας*, who played a part at the Byzantine court in the reign of Constantine II and his son, as mentioned above, p. 309.

stratêgos of Lycaonia had probably given way before the jurisdiction of the Anatolic general, and it is possible that the same fate may have befallen the Justinianean praetor of Pisidia.¹ But the moderator of Helenopontus was perhaps still in existence, and the region of Paphlagonia may not have yet been incorporated in the Armeniac theme, but may have enjoyed the rule of an independent stratêgos, as in the sixth century. The proconsulate of Cappadocia had certainly ceased, and perhaps the proconsulate of Asia; but Asia is still spoken of as a separate province, though a governor is not mentioned. It may also be noticed that there was a stratêgos of the Roman cities on the coast of Dalmatia,² but it is uncertain whether he was responsible to the exarch of Ravenna or directly to the Emperor.

II. Though the mist of ages has obscured the actual circumstances which attended the innovations noticed in the foregoing pages, we can make some attempt at explaining how they came about. First of all, I would once more insist that the beginning of the changes was prior to the seventh century—that the change really began with the administrative reforms of Justinian. In fact, as I said before, Justinian founded the theme of Sicily and the theme of Thrace, though they were not then called themes but *stratêgiai*. The stratêgos or praetor who governed in Sicily in the sixth century was the forerunner of the stratêgos who governed there in the eighth century; and the son of Artavasdos, who was stratêgos of Thrace in 740, was the official descendant of the first stratêgos who was appointed by Justinian, when the vicariate was abolished.

I shall begin with the Armeniac theme, because its origin admits of a simple explanation. It will be remembered that Justinian in the early years of his reign instituted a new military commander, entitled *magister militum per Armeniam*. The Greek word *stratêlatês* was almost entirely confined to express the Latin *magister militum*, while the word *stratêgos*, which in stricter use corresponded to *praetor*, was also employed as an equivalent for *magister*. And thus we find John Mystacon (in the reign of Maurice) at one time described as the

¹ We find an Anatolic general active in Pisidia (Theoph. p. 389, ed. de Boor).

² See above, p. 277.

stratêgos and at another time as the stratêlatês in Armenia.¹ Some years later, when Asia Minor was overrun by the Persians, and the civil authority of the praetorian prefect of the East or of the governors of the Armenian provinces could not be maintained in the constant presence of the foe, it was natural that the general of the Armeniac armies should extend his control to civil matters and act as a provincial governor. The ambiguity of the word "stratêgos" rendered this change easy and natural. Men were accustomed to the stratêgoi of Paphlagonia, Lycaonia, Sicily, Thrace; and it was not hard to think of the general of Armenia as a stratêgos in the same sense—a military and civil governor. It is impossible to determine when this change was officially recognised. In the last Persian campaign of Heraclius we meet one George, a turmarch of the *Armeniakoî*,² and I think we may assume that at that time the name Armeniakoi was the ordinary term for the troops under the stratêgos (or magister) of Armenia.

This theory is illustrated by the parallel case of Africa. A *magister militum* and a praetorian prefect at first coexist; the prefect soon disappears; and the *magister* becomes a stratêgos,³ in the sense which the word bears in the Novels of Justinian.

The origin of the Anatolic theme is susceptible of a similar explanation. When the Syrian provinces were lost to the Saracens, the troops of the East, who obeyed the *magister militum per orientem*, retired to Asia Minor, and henceforward the energies of that officer were limited to a narrower scope. For security against the new lords of Syria it was necessary to place the provinces north of the Taurus under military control; the old office of praetorian prefect of the East⁴ fell then, if it had not fallen before, into disuse; and the supreme military commanders became also the supreme civil governors. This seemed no great innovation, for the stratêgiai instituted by Justinian had accustomed the government to the idea of combining civil and military functions. And thus the stratêlatês of the East,⁵ or, as he was perhaps usually called, stratêgos,

¹ Compare Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 253, 14, with 266, 21.

² *Ib.* 325, 3.

³ In the West he was generally called the Patrician of Africa.

⁴ The last *praefectus pratorio per or.* (*ἐπαρχος*) of whom we hear is Theo-

dorus in the reign of Phocas (Theoph. p. 295, 5, ed. de Boor).

⁵ Cottanas held this post in the reign of Phocas (*ib.* 296, 22). Α *στρατηλάτης*, Ptolemaeus, is mentioned towards the end of Heraclius' reign (*ib.* 340), and Sergius, a *στρατηλάτης*, is sent

became *stratêgos* in a new sense, and the ambiguity of the term facilitated the transition. The adjective *anatolic* (eastern) was the word commonly applied to the army of the general of the Anatolê (East),¹ and so, when certain districts in Asia Minor were consigned to the care of that general, they were known as the districts of the Anatolics. This I believe was the origin of the Anatolic theme.

Thus the governors (*stratêgoi*) of the two most important provinces or themes of Asia in the seventh century, the Anatolic and the Armeniac, were the descendants of *magistri militum*, who had been instituted respectively by Diocletian and Justinian.

Neither the chroniclers nor George of Pisidia give us information as to the divisions of the armies which followed Heraclius to battle. But we hear of the Armeniakoi, and there were of course the Anatolikoi. Distinct from these were the troops from Thrace and the troops from Greece. May we not assume that Heraclius, reviving the classical name of Hellas, called the latter *Helladikoi*, on the analogy of Anatolikoi and Armeniakoi? The soldiers from Thrace, we may argue from the name of the later theme, were known as Thracesians. Besides these, there were the regiments especially attached to the person of the Emperor; they were named in Latin *obsequentes* or *obsequium*, in Greek the *opsikion* or *opsikians*.

We may assume with tolerable certainty that when Syria was lost, these regiments, with the exception of the Helladikoi, were disposed in various parts of Asia Minor. The Helladikoi returned to Greece to defend it against the inroads of the Slaves; the Opsikian regiments were disposed in the regions adjoining the Propontis; the Thracesians, or at least some of them, occupied parts of Lydia and Phrygia; while the central districts of Cappadocia, Galatia, and Phrygia were assigned to the Anatolics. This accords with the statement of Constantine Porphyrogennetos that the themes were formed in the days of Heraclius on account of the Saracen invasions.

The soldiers of Opsikion were often designated as the *peratic themes* ("the themes over the water"); and some of

by the *stratêgos* of Armenia to the Saracen caliph in the days of Constans; but I question whether *στρατηλάτης* has its technical sense in the first

case, and I am sure it has not in the second.

¹ *τῆς ἐπῆς* and *τῆς ἀνατολῆς* are used indifferently.

the Asiatic regiments were specially distinguished as the *cavallaric* or cavalry themes.¹

The question arises whether the new provincial governors were invested with financial as well as with civil and judicial powers in the seventh century. In later times they did not exercise financial functions, which were assigned to special imperial officers, called *prōtonotarioi* or *διοικῆται*; but it is possible that this arrangement was due to Leo III, who paid special attention to the financial administration, and that at first the *stratēgoi* superintended the collection of tribute. Justinian certainly had in some instances assigned such functions to his praetors, but it is hardly probable that the Emperors, especially the Emperor Constans, would have long left such extensive powers in the hands of their governors without control. I think we may assume that the tribute was levied by officials not formally dependent on the governors, though dependent on their help in case difficulties arose.²

III. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION UNDER LEO III.—As we are discussing the subject of the themes, it will be convenient to anticipate a little and speak of some further changes which were probably made by Leo, the first Isaurian Emperor. Finlay said that the division into themes, which he supposed to have been made by Heraclius, was reorganised by Leo III, but he has not given any proof of his statement.³ I have shown in what sense the assertion is true that they were established by Heraclius.

Now there are, I believe, sufficiently clear indications that Leo the Isaurian made certain changes in the administrative divisions of the Empire, which entitle him to be considered the first organiser of a regular system of themes. In the year 731 we find the Cibyraiots under the government, not of a

¹ Compare Theophanes, 6206, 6263, 6265 A.M. They were τὰ ἔξω καβαλλαρικά θέματα, apparently as opposed to "internal" themes or regiments stationed at Byzantium.

² Compare Skabalonovitch, *op. cit.* pp. 189, 190, for the relations of the finance officers with the governors of the themes in the eleventh century. I

may notice that Skabalonovitch designates the tendency to centralisation and the organisation of defences against the Saracens as the two principles (one internal and one external) which concurrently determined the institution of the theme system (p. 184).

³ *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 12.

drungarius, but of a stratêgos.¹ In 740 we find the Thracians ruled by a stratêgos, no longer by a turmarch.² A Bucellarian theme³ under a stratêgos is mentioned first in the reign of Constantine V, Leo's son and successor (765-766). But when we put these data together, we can hardly avoid drawing the conclusion that Leo III introduced a symmetrical system of stratêgiai or themes, (1) by raising the Thracian subdivision to be a chief division, independent of the Anatolic general; (2) perhaps by giving the name of stratêgos to the Cibyraiote governor,⁴ who was independent before, but was hereby raised to equality with the Anatolic and Armeniac stratêgoi; (3) by constituting the Bucellarian theme out of what was before, perhaps, a minor division of the Opsikian. The result was that the Anatolic theme was curtailed, and though it continued to be highly important, it no longer overshadowed Asia Minor. These new arrangements were doubtless accompanied by a strict definition of subdivisions,—turms and cleisurae.

In Leo's time then, and throughout the eighth century, the Asiatic themes seem to have been⁵:

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Opsikian. | 4. Armeniac. |
| 2. Anatolic. | 5. Cibyraiote. |
| 3. Thracian. | 6. Bucellarian. |
| 7. Coloneia (?). | |

In regard to the European provinces, Thrace, like Sicily, had been a stratêgia since the days of Justinian. We find Hellas governed by a stratêgos at the end of the seventh century,⁶ and although we meet a turmarch of Hellas in 727,⁷ there is no reason to suppose that a stratêgia had been changed into a turmarchy. The general of "Hellas," a name which came to be specially used of northern Greece, doubtless administered the affairs of the Peloponnesus⁸; and thus there would naturally be two

¹ Theophanes, 6224 A.M., Manes was the stratêgos. Cf. 6235, 6237, 6263 A.M.

² *Ib.* 6233 A.M., Sisinnakios was the stratêgos. Cf. 6234, 6235, 6251, 6258, 6262, 6265, 6270 A.M.

³ *Ib.* 6258 A.M. Cf. 6263, 6270, 6285 A.M.

⁴ It is possible, however, that this change may have been of earlier date and carried out by Tiberius III (Apsimar), who was a native of those regions (perhaps of Attalia) and con-

cerned himself with their organisation. See below, p. 356. The district of Cibyra included the island of Rhodes.

⁵ Besides these there was the independent catepanate of the Mardaites of Attalia, instituted by Tiberius III, and there were probably several independent cleisurarchies (e.g. of Seleucia).

⁶ Theophanes, 6187 A.M.

⁷ *Ib.* 6219 A.M.

⁸ The Peloponnesus is called in Theophanes (6247 A.M.) τὰ κατωρὰ μέρη.

turmarchies in his district, a turmarchy of Hellas and a turmarchy of the Peloponnesus; if his sway extended to the Adriatic, there was a third turmarchy—called perhaps Epirus or Nicopolis. It is impossible to say whether these turmarchies existed at the end of the seventh century, when Justinian II appointed Leontius *stratêgos*, or were established by Leo III. In any case there is no reason to suppose that those regions had ceased to constitute a *stratêgia* in 727. Agallianus, the turmarch of Hellas in that year, governed the *Helladikoi*—the soldiers and people of northern Greece.¹

It is not clear whether Macedonia constituted a theme at this time.² The land was inhabited by Slavonic tribes, and it seems probable that the sway of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum was practically limited to Thessalonica. We may perhaps assume doubtfully a theme of Macedonia.

On the whole then I would set down the European themes in the eighth century as—

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. Thrace. | 3. Hellas (including Peloponnesus). |
| 2. Macedonia (?). | 4. Sicily (including Calabria and Bruttii). |

To these divisions must be added (5) the government of the islands, which in later times was called a theme; (6) the exarchate of Italy; and (7) the free state of Cherson.³

¹ It is as groundless to say of the name *Ἑλλαδικοί* that it was contemptuous as it would be to say the same of the name *Ἀρμενικοί*; cf. my remarks, p. 437.

² There was a general of Macedonia in 801-802; cf. Theophanes, 6294 A.M.

³ The reader may like to have before him the list of themes in the tenth century enumerated by Constantine Porphyrogenetos in his little work on the themes. I. Seventeen Asiatic: 1. Anatolic; 2. Armeniac; 3. Thracesian; 4. Opsikian; 5. Optimaton; 6. Bucellarian; 7. Paphlagonia; 8. Chaldia (about Trapezus); 9. Mesopotamia;

10. Coloneia; 11. Sebasteia (Second Armenia); 12. Lycandos; 13. Cibyriot; 14. Cyprus; 15. Samos; 16. Aegean; 17. Cappadocia. II. Twelve European: 1. Thrace; 2. Macedonia; 3. Strymon; 4. Thessalonica; 5. Hellas; 6. Peloponnesus; 7. Cephalenia; 8. Nicopolis; 9. Dyrrhachium; 10. Sicily; 11. Longobardia; 12. Cherson.

There is no evidence to prove that the themes of Strymon, Macedonia, Cephalenia, Nicopolis, the Aegean were or were not established in the eighth century. Cephalenia, like Cherson, was used as a place of exile; ApSIMAR banished Bardanes thither.

CHAPTER XIII

TWENTY YEARS OF ANARCHY¹

THE twenty years which intervened between the banishment of Justinian in 695 and the accession of Leo the Isaurian in 717 witnessed a rapid succession of monarchs, all of whom were violently deposed. Isaurian Leontius was succeeded by Apsimar, who adopted the name Tiberius, and these two reigns occupied the first ten years. Then Justinian returned from exile, recovered the throne, and "furiously raged" for six years (705-711). He was overthrown by Bardanes, who called himself Philippicus; then came Artemius, whose imperial name was Anastasius; and finally the years 716 and 717 saw the fall of Anastasius, the reign and fall of Theodosius, and the accession of Isaurian Leo, whose strong arm guided the Empire from ways of anarchy into a new path. This period may be most conveniently treated by dividing it into three parts. The more orderly reigns of Leontius and Tiberius III we may associate together; the adventures of Justinian and his acts after his restoration stand by themselves; the

¹ Theophanes and Nicephorus, who are still our main, I may say only, sources, record with considerable fullness the revolutions which overthrew successively Justinian, Leontius, Tiberius, Justinian again, Philippicus, Anastasius, and Theodosius in a period of twenty years. Their accounts completely harmonise and are often verbally identical, so that they must have drawn from the same source. What was this source? May I venture to conjecture that the *demes* of Byzantium preserved official records of events in which they

were implicated or interested, and that the historians obtained access to these *acta*? This conjecture I would support by the fact that Theophanes derived the celebrated conversation between the Emperor and the Greens in 532 from certain *ἄκτα* (at least this seems the natural interpretation of the passage). It seems best to suppose that the *ἄκτα* were preserved in the archives of the *demes*, who had organised committees and officers; where else would the conversation in question have been preserved? (*See above*, p. 56 note 2.)

reigns of the three subsequent Emperors form the third group.

I. The Leontius whom Verina crowned at Tarsus and Isaurian rebels acknowledged in the fifth century has never been enrolled on the lists of Roman Emperors, and thus the Isaurian Leontius who overthrew the dynasty of Heraclius is the first and only sovereign of his name. He enjoyed power for three years. His reign began auspiciously with a year of peace, but in 697 troubles threatened him from three quarters. Lazica and "Varnucion" revolted under the Patrician Sergius, who magarised or went over to the Arabs; Asia Minor was overrun by a Saracen army; and the same enemy occupied Africa and placed garrisons in the chief towns. The affairs of Africa led in an unforeseen way to the deposition of the Emperor.

Almost due south of Carthage, the city of Kairowan was founded in the reign of Constantine IV by Okba (670)¹; six years later it was taken by the Christians, then retaken by the Saracens, and taken yet again by the Christians (683), in whose power it remained until it was recovered by Hassan, whom Abd Almalik sent against Africa at the head of a large army (697). Hassan also conquered Carthage and compelled it to receive a garrison. But before the year was over, Leontius sent an efficient general, John the Patrician, in command of the entire Roman fleet, to rescue Africa from the invader. When John reached Carthage he found that the Saracens had secured the entrance to the port by a strong chain. But, bursting through this obstacle, he expelled the garrison from the city; and then freed all the other fortified towns from their Saracen occupants. Thus in a short space of time the Roman dominion was re-established, and the successful general wintered at Carthage, waiting for imperial behests from Constantinople. In the meantime Abd Almalik prepared a larger fleet than he had sent to the western seas before, and early in 698 his armament arrived at Carthage and drove the Roman vessels from the harbour. Seeing that with his present forces he had no reasonable prospect of holding out against a

¹ Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, i. p. 113. Okba Ibn Nafi was the founder.

Saracen siege, John returned to the East in order to obtain reinforcements. His fleet put in at the island of Crete, which lay directly in his homeward course; and events took place there which proved important to the whole Empire.

The subordinate generals of the various regiments and themes conspired to throw off their allegiance to Leontius, and incited the army to join in the revolt. It is said that they did not wish to return to the Emperor "for fear and shame"; whence we may perhaps conclude that they had in some way thwarted the commander-in-chief and feared the consequences that might ensue if he should complain to the Emperor. The rebels fixed their hopes and favour on Apsimar,¹ the *drugarius* or admiral of the Cibyraiots, as the inhabitants of the coast countries Pisidia and Pamphylia were officially called, and they gave him a new and august name, Tiberius.

Apsimar and his party sailed directly to Constantinople, and anchored at Sycae. For a time Leontius held out, but his enemies succeeded in bribing certain officers who possessed keys of the gates² to admit them near the palace of Blachernae. When the soldiers obtained admission they stripped the inhabitants of their goods and plundered their houses. It was an unfortunate year for the citizens of Constantinople. They had hardly recovered from a deadly plague³ which had ravaged the city for four months, when they were forced to submit to violence and pillage at the hands of the troops who were paid to defend them. We shall see this occurrence repeated before many years have elapsed.

Tiberius III dealt with Leontius even as Leontius had dealt with Justinian. He mutilated his nose, but, instead of banishing him to Cherson, confined him as a monk in the cloister of Dalmatus. The chief supporters of the deposed monarch were flogged and banished. Having established himself securely on the throne, Tiberius took measures for the safety of the provinces of Asia Minor by entrusting his brother Heraclius with the sole command of all the cavalry regiments

¹ Apsimar was doubtless a native of those parts. I conjecture from his name that he was originally one of the Gotho-Graeci, for *mar* is the common ending ("prince") which we meet in Teutonic names—Hinkmar, Gelimer, Billimer, etc.

² On receiving the keys these warders

were obliged to take a peculiarly solemn oath of fidelity (*φρκετός ὅρκος*,—by the holy table).

³ A plague of the same nature as that which raged in the days of Justinian, the chief symptom being a swelling in the groin.

(*cavallarie* themes), and charging him to provide by careful personal inspection for the efficient defence of the important passes of Cappadocia. For a short time a revolt in Persia and the outbreak of a plague in Syria staved off an invasion; and in 700 the usual course of events was reversed, and, instead of finding the Saracens invading Romania, we find the Romans overrunning northern Syria. According to the exaggerated accounts of the Greek historians, they killed two hundred thousand Arabs, besides carrying away immense spoil and many captives. In the following year the caliph retaliated, and Mopsuestia was taken and received a garrison of Mohammedans.

This success was followed up by the acquisition of the Fourth Armenia, the province which had been formed by Justinian I. and included the city of Martyropolis and the fort of Kitharizon. The inhabitants revolted from the Romans under a Persian, Baanes, who was nicknamed "Seven Devils." At this time the Romans seem to have frequently employed Persians as governors of frontier provinces.

Armenia was now vacillating between allegiance to the Romans and allegiance to the Saracens, as it had formerly wavered between the Romans and the Persians. In 703 the Armenian rulers rebelled against the Commander of the Faithful and slew the Mohammedans who were residing or sojourning in Armenia. They then sent a request to Tiberius III that he would occupy the country afresh with Roman troops. But the wrath of the caliph was prompter than the succour of the Emperor, and a Saracen general speedily arrived and quelled the insurrection. The Armenian grandees who had been the leaders of the rebellion were assembled by the stratagem of the relentless captain into one place and burned alive.

The loss of the Fourth Armenia and the subjugation of the Romanising party within Armenia itself were perhaps partially compensated for by a great victory which the Emperor's brother Heraclius gained over Saracen invaders in Cilicia, 703 A.D., and by a second great victory which the same general achieved in the following year over another army in the same district.

Amid the details which historians record of the elevations and falls of the Emperors of this period, who appear and vanish

so rapidly in scenes of treason and violence, we are apt to lose sight of the steadfast and successful resistance which the Empire never failed to offer to the Saracens. Outlying provinces indeed, like Africa and Sicily, might be doomed to Mohammedan servitude; but ever since the days of Heraclius the main strength of the curtailed Empire was preserved. Had it not been for the able sovereigns and generals of New Rome, the Saracens might have almost, if I may use the word, Islamised Europe.

To Tiberius III we must doubtless attribute the repopulation of Cyprus,¹ whose inhabitants had been transferred to the shores of the Propontis by the policy of Justinian II. Tiberius sent three noble Cyprians, named Phangumes, to the court of Damascus, bearing to the caliph a request that he would allow the Cyprian captives, whom he retained in bondage, to return to their country. The caliph consented, and thus the island was repopulated. Moreover, at the request of the Cyprians,² who were much troubled by Saracen pirates, the same Emperor provided for the defence of the island by placing in it garrisons of the *Apelatai* or *Mardaites* of Mount Taurus,³ who were known as *Stratiotai* (Stradioti). The attention of Tiberius, who was perhaps born and reared in Pamphylia, seems to have been specially directed towards the southern coast lands of Asia Minor, and he placed the rest of the *Mardaites* in the city of Attaleia under a chief of their own, who was called a *catapan*.⁴ It is also possible that he organised the *Cibyrai*ot

¹ Constantine Porph., who is our authority, attributes this to Justinian II (*de Adm. Imp.* cap. 47), but M. Sathas (*Bib. G. Med. Aev.* introd. p. 33 *seq.*) shows that it must be attributed to Tiberius. According to Constantine himself, the repopulation took place seven years after the evacuation, and this at once brings us to 698.

² Sathas, *ib.* p. 55. He quotes from Amadi, *Storia di Cipro*, MS. fol. 7: "Questi [the Cyprians] essendo sta infestati da corsari, et ricordandosi che per avanti li corsari presero et ruinorono molte fortezze, li parse richeder al Imperatore, che si trovava in Constantinopoli et pregarlo humilmente volesse mandar uno signore con homini d'arme al governo et custodia del paese a spese de essi habitanti; la qual instantia parendo al Imperator justa

et ragionevole, vi mando un capo con molti homini de arme, molte nobil famiglie, et altri Stradioti."

³ M. Sathas deduces that the Stradioti came from those regions from three circumstances: (1) the preservation of *Apelatic* songs in Cyprus, where they are more abundant than elsewhere; (2) the notice of Cyprian chronographers that Mamas, the patron saint of the *Apelatai*, was transferred from Mount Taurus to Cyprus; (3) the co-operation of the garrisons in Cyprus and the *Mardaites* in Attalia against the Saracens (Const. Porph. *de Caer.* i. p. 660).

⁴ *καταράδης*; according to M. Sathas, an *Apelatic* Hellenising of *capitanus*. See Const. Porph. *de Adm. Imp.* cap. 50, where details are recorded of a dispute between a *catapan* and an imperial *a secretis*.

district and placed it under the command of an independent *stratêgos*.

The reign of Tiberius III was by no means discreditable as far as foreign politics were concerned, and the silence of historians leads us to conclude that his subjects were not oppressed by heavy burdens. The only act recorded of him which discloses the apprehensiveness of an illegitimate sovereign is the banishment of Philippicus, the son of a patrician, to the island of Cephallenia. Philippicus had dreamed that his head was overshadowed by an eagle,¹ a dream which, according to the convention of necromancy, betokened future empire, and was likely to awaken the fears even of a legitimate Emperor. The fall of Tiberius was brought about by the banished descendant of Heraclius, the Emperor Justinian, and to him we must now return.

II. Cherson, called in earlier times Chersonesus and built not far from the site of the modern Sebastopol, was a flourishing commercial city² which maintained down to this late period and still later its old Hellenic traditions and municipal organisation, little affected by the Roman administration, for though it belonged to the Empire it held a unique, almost independent position. This position was secured by the privileges which were granted to the community by Diocletian and Constantine in return for the assistance which the Chersonite soldiers had rendered to the former against the king of Bosporus, to the latter against the Sarmatians and Goths. A golden statue of the great Constantine, his own gift, was placed in the council hall of the city. The prosperous history of this municipality, a strange survival of old Greek life, was occasionally varied by hostilities with the town of Bosporus, situated on the straits which connect the Euxine Sea with Lake Maeotis, and corresponding to the ancient Panticapaeum, while over against it, embayed on the opposite shore, was the city Phanagoria, dependent on the Khazars. We see in the warfare of these cities the relations of old Greek history repeated; we see the rivalry between a city like Athens, wedded to freedom, and a city prone to submit to the thralldom imposed by despots.

¹ Compare the story of the eagles floating over the head of Marcian as he slept.

² Cherson imported corn, wine, and

oil, and exported hides, salt fish, and probably cattle. Compare Finlay, vol. i. p. 402.

Cherson would have fain made Bosporus a free state like unto herself; Bosporus¹ essayed to inoculate Cherson with the disease of tyranny. But the cause of republicanism prevailed, and while Bosporus was made free for a season, though she afterwards returned to her old ways, Cherson successfully escaped the plots that were laid against her constitution by Bosporite intriguers.

Justinian, who had been condemned to live in this remote corner of the Empire, was not overcome by his misfortunes, and did not despair of recovering his throne. Desire of vengeance was a powerful motive for weaving schemes and cherishing hopes. The magistrates of Cherson, aware of his uneasy spirit and his unconcealed designs, deemed it dangerous to have in their state a plotter against the existing government, and determined either themselves to slay him or to send him to Tiberius. Justinian, learning their intentions, fled to a place called Daras (or Doros), close to the territory of the Tetraxite Goths, a people which we met before in the days of the first Justinian. The banished Emperor then communicated with the chagan of the Khazars, and asked him to accord a refuge to a fallen monarch. The chagan was proud to show him every honour, and to give him his sister in marriage; and Justinian and his wife established their abode in Phanagoria. We are told that this princess was called Theodora, but we cannot suppose that this was her original name. It is clear that she adopted the Greek name at the time of her marriage; and I suspect that Justinian selected "Theodora" because the illustrious wife of his renowned namesake Justinian I. bore that name. In other matters also he seems to have copied the example of the same sovereign,² and it was perhaps in memory of the great Emperor that he had been baptized Justinian.

The Emperor Tiberius III was soon informed of these events in the Tauric peninsula, and was seized with alarm. He sent an embassy to Khazaria, and promised money to the chagan if he would send him Justinian alive or dead. These offers tempted the cupidity of the barbarian, and he did not

¹ Bosporus was conquered by the Khazars in the sixth century in the reign of Justin II (Menander, *F. H. G.* iv. p. 247), and, although left to manage

its own affairs, it continued to be tributary to the chagan.

² I have put forward this conjecture above, p. 330.

scruple to betray his august brother-in-law. He sent a guard to Justinian on the pretext of protecting him against violence on the part of the Khazars themselves, and gave secret orders to Papatzy's, one of his ministers in Phanagoria, and to Balgitzis, governor of Bosphorus, to kill Justinian. Bosphorus stood in a sort of dependent relation to the Khazars, resembling the relation of Cherson to the Romans. Justinian was apprised of the danger that menaced him by his wife Theodora, to whom it was revealed by a servant of her brother. Justinian sent for Papatzy's, with whom he had been on terms of personal friendship, and when he was alone with him strangled him with a cord. He then requested a private interview with Balgitzis, and dealt with the governor of Bosphorus as he had dealt with the governor of Phanagoria. These two feats show not only the personal strength, but the energy, resources, and boldness which seem never to have failed this clever and eccentric prince. Having sent Theodora back to her brother, he secretly embarked in a fishing boat which he found on the shore, and sailed to a place called Symbolum, near Cherson. He sent one of his few attendants into the city to fetch some friends or adherents who had remained there.

The vessel bearing back the exiled Augustus sailed along the northern coast of the Euxine, and somewhere between the mouths of the Dniestr and the Dniepr it was caught in a storm. The crew despaired. One of his attendants said to the Emperor, "Lo now, my lord, we perish. Make a compact with God for your safety, that, if he restore your sovereignty, you will 'take vengeance on none of your enemies.'" But Justinian answered angrily, "If I spare a single one of them, may God drown me here." And they came safely forth from the storm and reached the Danube. This incident illustrates the temper of Justinian's metal. If he was not great enough to grant a general political pardon, oblivious of personal wrongs, he was not weak enough to sink, in a moment of superstitious fear, to the tameness of repentance or forgiveness. His courage and indomitable spirit did not desert him in the imminent peril of a shipwreck.

The rescued mariners sailed up the Danube, and Justinian sent Stephanus, one of his companions, to Terbel, king of Bulgaria, who, as the city of Peristhlaba had hardly yet been

built, was probably residing in Varna. Stephanus invited Terbel to assist in the restoration of his master to the imperial throne, and promised in return that Justinian would give his daughter¹ in marriage to the Bulgarian monarch, as well as many gifts. Terbel gladly consented to the proposals, and welcomed Justinian with great honour.

These events took place in 704, and Justinian spent the winter with the Bulgarians. In the following year he marched to Constantinople, accompanied by his host Terbel and a large Bulgarian and Slavonic army. For three days they remained outside the walls, attempting to persuade the citizens to declare for the legitimate monarch, but the citizens only insulted them. At the end of three days, however, Justinian with a few soldiers succeeded in gaining an entrance by a conduit somewhere near the palace of Blachernae, in which he took up his abode for a time. The city was won without a struggle,² and Terbel returned to his kingdom laden with gifts, among which royal plate is especially mentioned, and honoured with the dignity of Caesar.

The vengeance of Justinian on his enemies was summary and unsparing. Apsimar, or Tiberius, who fled to Apollonias,³ was captured; and Leontius, who for seven years past had lived the religious or innocuous life of a recluse, was dragged from his monastery by the sovereign whom he had mutilated and banished. Both the illegitimate but well-meaning monarchs who had ruled the Roman world during the ten years of Justinian's exile were haled in chains through the streets, and exhibited in the hippodrome. Sitting aloft in the cathisma, the restored Emperor presided at the games with his feet resting on his prostrate fettered rivals; and the facetious populace shouted a verse from the psalms, "Thou hast trodden on the asp and the basilisk; the lion and the dragon thou hast trampled under foot."⁴ When the spectacle was over they

¹ Justinian's daughter must have been an infant. We know not the date of his marriage with Theodora or the length of his residence at Phanagoria; but the existence of this daughter shows that the marriage took place not later than 703.

² The actual capture of the city seems not to have taken place until after 1st September, as Theophanes

places his sojourn in Blachernae in 6197 (704-705), but the recovery of the throne (*βασίλειαν ἀπολαμβάνει*) in 6198. Here Theophanes rectifies the discrepancy between the A.M. and the indications by spreading the events of one year over two. See above, p. 197.

³ Thracian or Bithynian Apollonia?

⁴ The lion (*λέοντα*) refers to Leontius, while the asp (*ἀσπίδα*) is a play on

were taken to the Kynegion and decapitated. Heraclius, the able brother of Apsimar, was brought in chains from Thrace and hanged, with all his captains. The Emperor extended his vengeance even to Apsimar's soldiers, but whether we are to interpret literally the statement that they were all put to death is doubtful. The Patriarch Callinicus was deprived of his eyesight and sent to Old Rome, and Cyrus, a monk of Amastrê, was appointed to succeed him. The restoration of the Heraclian house was in fact succeeded by a reign of terror. Men of civil and military distinction were slain in multitudes, and the manners of their destruction were various. Some were invited by the Emperor to a repast,¹ and as they rose at its conclusion were taken to be gibbeted or decapitated; to others he made death bitter² by enclosing them in a sack and casting them into the sea.

The second Justinian did not forget the second Theodora. He sent a large fleet to Khazaria to fetch her, but the ships were wrecked on the way, and the loss of life was considerable. The chagan is said to have thereupon sent a message to Justinian: "Fool, should you not have fetched your wife in two or three vessels and not caused the death of so many? Do you expect that you will have to seize her by force? Learn that a son has been born to you. Send and take both her and him." Accordingly the Emperor sent Theophylactus the chamberlain; and Theodora and her son, having arrived safely at Constantinople, were crowned Augusta and Augustus.

The six years of Justinian's second supremacy were inglorious, yet were not marked by any overwhelming loss. He quarrelled with the royal "Caesar," and made an unsuccessful expedition by land and sea against Bulgaria. Anchialus was blockaded and taken, but the cavalry, who formed the most important part of the army at the time, were not sufficiently wary, and as they straggled about in disorder the enemy attacked and routed them. For three days Justinian remained shut up in Anchialus with a remnant of horse-soldiers who had escaped, and then, having ordered all the horses to be

Apsimar. Basilisk moreover suggests *βασιλεὺς* (emperor). This verse (Psalm xci. 13) is different in our version ("Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon

shalt thou trample under feet") and in the Septuagint.

¹ *ἀριστόδειπνον.*
² *πικροθανάτους ἐπολεῖ* (Theoph. 6198). Justinian was nicknamed *Rhinotmêtos*, "Nose-mutilated."

houghed and so rendered useless to the enemy, he returned by sea to Byzantium.

The town of Tyana, situated on the road that crossed Asia Minor and connected the Propontis with Syria, was lost to the Saracens after a long siege. Justinian sent two generals at the head of an army, consisting of both untrained husbandmen and regular soldiers, to relieve the place. Here again, as in the Bulgarian expedition, want of discipline proved disastrous, and the Romans were routed. Pressed by hunger, Tyana yielded, and the place was left deserted. The inhabitants had stipulated that they should be allowed to settle elsewhere, but the Saracens perfidiously enslaved some and banished the rest to the desert.¹

The caliphs were beginning to abandon the clement and enlightened policy of Muavia, in whose reign the Christians had been treated almost as well as if they had lived under a christian government. Abd Almalik imposed a tax called the Haratch, which fell exclusively on Christians and was a heavy burden. This innovation probably induced many Christians to flee to the refuge of the Empire. Valid took the great church of Damascus, which was famous for its splendour, from the Christians, and converted it into a mosque. He also ordained that the State accounts should no longer be kept in Greek.² It appears, however, that the Arabians were not good arithmeticians, and they continued to employ Greek notaries.

The fact that the army of relief which Justinian sent to Tyana was largely composed of peasants seems to confirm the statement that he more than decimated the Roman armies in a spirit of improvident revenge. It is plain at least that after the death of Apsimar there was a decline in the military power of the Empire. The years 710 and 711 were marked by Saracen invasions.

Against Cherson, which had cast him out in his adversity, the Emperor was filled with an animosity which assumed the nature of a monomania. He resolved upon the destruction of its inhabitants. In 710 he prepared for this purpose a large

¹ Theoph. 6201 A.M.

² Theophanes (6199 A.M.) says that Greek characters were still used for numbers, because the Arabs could not express 1 or 2 or 3 or $8\frac{1}{2}$, η *τρία*, i.e. either *τὰ τρία*, $\frac{3}{2}$, or fractions whose

denominator is three. This is a curious record of a nation who in later times were famous for mathematics and invented manipulations with zero (*cipher* = Arab. *sifr*, whence Low Latin *zephyrum*, Ital. *zero* for *zefiro*).

fleet, consisting of all kinds of ships,—fast sailers, triremes, immense convoy vessels, fishing smacks, and even small boats (*chelandia*). These were collected and fitted out at the expense of all the inhabitants of Constantinople, including the guilds of artisans¹ as well as the senators. Maurus and Stephanus Asmictus, who were entrusted with the command of this expedition, apparently received orders to slay or send to Constantinople the members of the chief Chersonite families, and to make Helias, a spatharius, governor of the city. The commands were nearly but not entirely obeyed, for the stripplings were reserved for slavery. Tudunus the governor and other men of note were sent to Justinian, who tormented some of them by tying them to spits (*σούβλαι*) and roasting them before a fire; while he killed others by binding them to small boats, which were filled with stones and sunk in the sea.

But Justinian was by no means satisfied that the youths had been spared, and he issued commands that they should be conveyed to Constantinople. For this purpose an armament set sail from Cherson in October 710, but one of the fatal storms which so often trouble the treacherous Euxine befell it, and seventy-three thousand persons are said to have been drowned. This misfortune delighted the Emperor, who seems to have become really insane. He despatched another fleet to lay the city of Cherson level with the soil and destroy every human being in the place. Helias, the new governor of Cherson, along with the Armenian Bardanes, also called Philippicus, who, having been exiled to Cephallenia by Apsimar and recalled by Justinian, had accompanied the expedition to Cherson, determined to resist the inhuman project, and they sent for aid to the Khazars. The affair assumed the complexion of a revolt, and the army that had been sent to wreak vengeance on the Chersonites declared against Justinian. When that monarch learned the course that things had taken, he attempted to repair his fatal blunder, and despatched to Cherson George Syrus² the general logothete, John the prefect of the city, and Christopher a captain³ of the Thracian troops, to retract the imperial orders and restore things to their former position, to send apologies to

¹ συγκλητικῶν τε καὶ ἐργαστήριακων καὶ δημοτῶν καὶ παντὸς ὀφφικίου (Theoph. 6203 A.M.)

² He was a patrician.

³ τουρμάρχης τῶν Θρακησίων (Theophanes).

the chagan of the Khazars, and to bring to Constantinople the leaders of the revolt, Helias and Bardanes. He sent with them Tudunus, the former governor, and Zoilus, the "first citizen"¹ of Cherson, who had survived the process of roasting at a slow fire; he expected that their fellow-citizens, on receiving them back, might be ready to surrender Bardanes and Helias.

The rebels received this company into the city. They put the prefect and the logothete immediately to death, and sent their followers to the land of the Khazars, a bourn from which they never returned. The name of Justinian was then publicly cursed² in Cherson and the other towns of the peninsula, and Bardanes, under the more classical name Philippicus, was proclaimed Emperor. When the news of this revolution reached Constantinople, Justinian slew the children of Helias in the arms of their mother, and compelled the unfortunate lady to submit to the embraces of a hideous "Indian" (Ethiopian) who enjoyed the privilege of being the imperial cook.

Then for the third time Justinian prepared an armament for the purpose of abolishing Cherson. He placed it under the command of Maurus³ the Patrician; he did not forget to provide a battering-ram, a *helepolis*, and other engines for the destruction of fortresses, and he strictly enjoined the captain to spare not a soul in the doomed city, and to keep him (Justinian) constantly informed by letters touching all that happened. Maurus laid siege to the town, and by means of his engines made some impression on the walls and battlements, but the arrival of the Khazars, to whom Philippicus had fled for refuge and succour, put an end to the siege. The army of Maurus, thus foiled and afraid to return unsuccessful, could hardly choose but embrace the cause of Philippicus, who, still uncertain of his prospects, had remained at the chagan's court. The chagan would not surrender the suppliant until he had exacted a promise from the Roman soldiers that they would not injure him, and received a security in money.

As Justinian gained no tidings of prosperity or adversity from Maurus, he suspected treachery, and took measures for the

¹ τὸν ἐκ σειρᾶς καὶ γένους οὗτα πρωτοπολίτην (Theoph.) ² ἀνέσκαψαν.

³ Maurus was the name of one of the generals of the first expedition. I presume that he returned in command of

the ships which conveyed Tudunus and the other prisoners to Constantinople, while Stephanus returned with the main armament which was lost at sea. Maurus was nicknamed Bessus.

defence of his throne. He had recourse once more to Terbel, the Bulgarian king, and obtained from him about three thousand soldiers. With these auxiliaries he crossed over to Asia, and along with the Opsikian and some of the Thracesian troops proceeded along the coast to the plain of Damatrys, where he left the main body of the army, and proceeded himself with a small company as far as Sinope, impatient to receive news from the Tauric peninsula. As he anxiously watched the sea, he saw at length the fleet of the rebels making full sail for Constantinople. "Roaring like a lion," as the chronicler says, Justinian hastened back to Damatrys. But meanwhile Philippicus was received in the capital without striking a blow, and took prompt measures to secure his authority. Helias was sent forth against Justinian, and by promising immunity from punishment to the men at Damatrys, he induced the whole army to desert the Emperor, whom he immediately decapitated with his sword.¹ Philippicus sent the spatharius Helias to Old Rome, to display in its streets the head of the fallen Emperor.

Tiberius, the little son of Justinian, who can have been little more than six years old, took refuge under the guidance of his grandmother in the church of the Virgin, near the palace of Blachernae. Maurus the Patrician and Johannes Struthus, a spatharius, were sent to put him to death, that the lineage of Heraclius might be exterminated. They found him clinging with one hand to the leg of the altar; a fragment of the wood of the cross was clasped in the other, and his neck was hung with holy relics. Hard by, outside the precincts of the altar, sat his grandmother Anastasia,—it seems that his mother Theodora was already dead,—and when the officers entered the old lady fell at their feet and begged them to spare the life of the little boy. She clung to her grandson, but Struthus approached and dragged him away, replacing the holy wood on the table and hanging the sacred charms around his own neck. They took the child to the postern gate of Callinice,² stripped

¹ Barasbakurius (protopatrician and count of Opsikion), who had accompanied Justinian back from Cherson and remained true to him, was also killed. Theophanes rightly records the second and third expeditions to Cherson and the overthrow of Justinian under the year 6203 (= September 710 to Sep-

tember 711); but he also records (by a natural regression) under the same year the first expedition, which must have been sent before September 710.

² ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνω τῶν Καλλινίκης παραπορίῳ, Theoph., and so Nicephorus, in whose text there is some corruption here.

him naked, and, laying him on the lintel of the gate, "cut his throat like a sheep's."¹ He was buried in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian,—the last representative of the house of Heraclius.

Before Justinian was banished in 695 he had made an unsuccessful attempt to compel Pope Sergius to accept the acts of the Trullan Synod. After his restoration he returned to this question again, and sent a copy of the acts to Pope John VII, requesting him to assemble a council for the purpose of considering them. As John knew that some of the clauses would be inevitably rejected, he refused to undertake the matter from prudence or timidity (706 A.D.) Justinian summoned John's successor, Constantine, to the East, and received him at Nicomedia with an honour and respect very different from the usual reception accorded to Popes at New Rome. It seems probable that Constantine may have partly yielded to Justinian's wishes about the synod of 692; certain it is that he returned to Old Rome, having received from the Emperor a confirmation of the privileges of the Roman see.²

The city of Ravenna was unfortunate enough to incur the displeasure of the tyrant who so furiously raged against Cherson. The men of Ravenna had not deemed it necessary to disguise their delight at the dethronement of a prince whose restoration they could not foresee; and they had also ventured to protect Pope Sergius against the violence with which Justinian threatened him. The Emperor, we are told, bethought himself how he might best take vengeance on the disobedient city of the exarchs.³ He despatched a fleet under a certain Theodore, who faithfully executed the imperial mandates. The nobles and chief men of Ravenna were invited to a banquet

¹ δίκην προβάτου (Theoph.), which Nicephorus expresses by ζῶον ἀλόγου δίκην, a phrase which illustrates the origin of ἀλογον ("horse") in mediæval and modern Greek.

² In the opinion of J. Langen (*Geschichte der römischen Kirche von Leo I. bis Nikolaus I.*, 1885, pp. 598, 599), we may assume that Justinian and the Pope came to an understanding concerning the Trullan Synod, and that Justinian probably yielded to Constantine in regard to (article 36) the primacy of the Roman see. It is worth noticing

that at this time the bishops of Rome were generally Greeks, and perhaps, as has been suggested, this indicates the influence of the exarchs of Ravenna.

³ Our authorities for this episode in the history of Ravenna are *Liber Pontificalis*, *Vita Constantini I.* (Migne, *Patrol.* 128, p. 947), and Agnellus, *Vita Felicis* (Muratori, *S. R. I.* ii. 1, p. 160), where full details are given. Compare Muratori, *Annali*, iv. pp. 184, 185. Gibbon does not mention this act of Justinian.

near Classe, where tents were pitched on a meadow of green grass within sight of the Greek ships. The unsuspecting guests were seized, gagged, and thrown into the holds of the vessels, and then the ministers of vengeance set fire to the city. Among those who were taken to New Rome was the archbishop Felix, and, while the other prisoners were cruelly put to death, Justinian in consequence of a dream allowed him to escape with the loss of his eyes.¹ One of the most notable victims was Johannicis, once a secretary at Byzantium, who was crushed to death between two stones.

The most serious single event in the six years' reign of Justinian Rhinotmetos was the destruction of Tyana, but, as we noticed before, this disaster was only a result of the degeneration in discipline and the decrease in numbers of the military forces. The problem which devolved upon a subsequent Emperor to solve was the reorganisation of the army. As to Justinian himself, our narrative has brought out the salient features of his character, in both prosperity and adversity. It is well worthy of notice that no writers allege any charge of sensuality against him, or even hint that his erratic nature transgressed the bounds of conventional morality in the direction of unchastity. The quality of continence seems to have been hereditary in the race of Heraclius.

III. PHILIPPICUS, ANASTASIUS II, AND THEODOSIUS III.—Armenian Philippicus was not the sort of man to heal the diseases of the Empire or to guide it out of the waves of anarchy into secure roads. He was essentially a man of pleasure, who had no sense of the responsibility of his position, and looked on the imperial throne as a personal prize which the occupant for the time was only called upon to enjoy. The unsettled condition of things and the swift succession of Emperors were well calculated to nourish such agreeable and unprincipled notions. It is said, however, that the sentiments which he judiciously expressed in conversation were sound and laudable, and diametrically opposed to his actual behaviour. He spent large sums of money on luxurious indulgences and frivolous amusements; he was unduly addicted to

¹ Felix was consecrated in 708. and his sarcophagus may be seen in Philippicus restored to him his confiscated property. He died in 724, the church of San Apollinare in Classe.

the pleasures of bed and board ; and besides all this he was a monothelete.

The first condition of regenerating the Empire was the reorganisation of the army, and this obvious duty was utterly neglected by Philippicus, whose reign of two years was marked by military disasters on the northern as well as on the south-eastern frontier.

Terbel, on the pretext perhaps of avenging his friend Justinian, as Chosroes II in the days of Phocas professed to avenge his friend Maurice, penetrated with his Bulgarians and Slaves through the pass of Phileas into Thrace and marched to the Bosphorus, plundering and slaying as he went. At the straits they found merry parties of rich people preparing to cross over to the Asiatic suburbs, where they were to celebrate a marriage feast and enjoy sumptuous entertainments. These holiday-makers were provided with the various materials required for the festive celebration, including valuable silver plate. The Bulgarians came upon them as they were on the point of crossing, and spoiled and massacred them. The suburbs of the capital up to the Golden Gate were plundered, and no opposition was offered to the enemy, who retreated at their leisure, laden with booty and driving droves of cattle.

At the same time Asia Minor was exposed to the usual Mohammedan invasions. Amasea in Pontus and other strong cities in that district were taken in 712, and in the following year Antioch of Pisidia fell into the hands of the foe. The only act attributed to the inactive Emperor is the removal of the Armenians from their own land to the Fourth Armenia and districts in the neighbourhood of Melitene. This shows that the Saracen occupation of that province was only temporary, and that it had been left by them in a depopulated condition, which Philippicus was induced to remedy by new Armenian settlers.

The fact that Philippicus was a heretic was perhaps more fatal to him than his want of energy and his spendthrift ways. He banished the orthodox Patriarch Cyrus to a monastery and appointed John, a monothelete, in his stead. A monotheletic party was organised at Constantinople, consisting of numerous ecclesiastics and senators, and led by the new Patriarch ; Germanus, bishop of Cyzicus, who afterwards became Patriarch ; Andrew, bishop

of Crete, who was under the jurisdiction of the Pope; Elpidius, a deacon of St. Sophia; Antiochus, keeper of the records; and the quaestor, Nicolaus, who had at one time been a cupbearer,¹ a man profoundly versed in medicine. The acts of the sixth Council were publicly burnt, and the names of the anathematised monotheletes were again inserted in the diptychs. Old Rome declared herself opposed to this heretical policy by hanging a picture of the sixth Council in one of her churches instead of the Emperor's portrait; and there was a popular insurrection, which Pope Constantine could with difficulty quell, against an officer sent thither by Philippicus. It was said that the cause of Philippicus' repudiation of the sixth Council was the fact that a monk had at one time predicted that Bardanes would possess the throne on the condition that he subverted the acts of that synod.²

At Whitsuntide in 713 the reign of this sovereign came to a violent end, owing to the hostility which was felt towards him by the military commanders. After the calamitous inroad of the Bulgarians, the Opsikian troops had been stationed in Thrace to defend the passes of Mount Haemus. Their commander, the Patrician George Buraphos, entitled "the Count of Opsikion," and another patrician, Theodore Myacius, conspired to overthrow the government of Philippicus, and they sent Rufus, the protostrator or colonel of Opsikion, along with some soldiers, to accomplish the deed of violence which was necessary for their purpose.

Philippicus had just celebrated the commemoration of the birthday of the city by the usual spectacles in the hippodrome. We are told that on this occasion the Greens were victorious in the contests. He had made his arrangements for Whitsunday; he was to enter the hippodrome to the sound of music, he was to bathe in the public baths of Zeuxippus, and then to breakfast in the palace with "the citizens of ancient family."³ As he was enjoying a mid-day siesta on the eve of Pentecost, after a morning banquet with his friends, Rufus and the soldiers who had been chosen for the act of treason traversed the rooms of the palace, entered the sacred bedchamber, and, rousing the Emperor from his sleep, hurried him off to the tiring-room

¹ ἀπὸ καυκοδιακόνων (Theoph.)

² A similar story is told of Leo III, as the reader will learn below.

³ Theoph. 6205, μετὰ πολιτῶν ἀρχαίων γένων ἀριστήσαι.

(*ornatōrion*) of the green faction in the hippodrome. No one recognised the Emperor, and the conspirators deprived him of eyesight.

The next day was Whitsunday, and when the people were assembled in the church of St. Sophia, Artemius, the chief secretary of the deposed sovereign, was brought in and crowned by the Patriarch under the name of Anastasius. It is unfortunate that we are not accurately informed of all that happened in the hours that intervened between the seizure of Philippicus and the coronation of Anastasius, but it is evident that the senate and the people united to determine the election¹ of the new Emperor independently of the Opsikian party, who certainly would not have chosen him; for immediately after his accession he blinded, and banished to Thessalonica, George the count of Opsikion and Theodore Mycius.

The second Anastasius proved himself, on the whole, equal to the emergencies of the time. He recognised that the pressing necessity was to regenerate the military power of the Empire, and he set himself with diligence to perform the task. He promoted the most efficient men to the chief command, paying especial attention to the cavalry regiments, which at this period were of greater importance than the infantry. His practical knowledge of the details of official work, and his general experience as an important minister, fitted the former chief secretary to direct the general administration of the Empire with ability and skill. If his reign had not been cut short he might have enabled the State to tide over its perilous season and founded a new dynasty, especially as he was an orthodox adherent of the doctrines of the sixth Council. But unfortunately there was a fatal circumstance connected with his elevation, which caused his fall; he had ascended the throne, not as the candidate, but as the opponent of the influential Opsikian theme, whose count he had sent into exile.

Anastasius II reversed the ecclesiastical policy of his predecessor. He deposed the Patriarch John, and translated Germanus, the bishop of Cyzicus, to the see of Constantinople.²

¹ So Zonaras, Bk. xiv. 25, "The members of the senate and the mass of the people create Artemius the *protosacerētis* Emperor."

² 11th August 715. The *citatorium* of translation has been preserved by Theophanes, and may be cited as a specimen of such formulae. "By the vote and

Germanus is the same man who had been emasculated by Constantine the Fourth and who had supported the monotheistic tendencies of Philippicus; but he suddenly and opportunely returned to the orthodox faith. It is related that John too professed that he had been really orthodox always, and that he had only consented to the heretical measures of Philippicus in order that a real heretic might not be appointed. This laudable "economy," however, did not enable him to retain the chair.

A report reached Byzantium in 714 A.D. that the Saracens were mustering their forces, and preparing for a grand expedition against the Roman Empire both by land and by sea. In consequence of these tidings, Anastasius sent a deputation of senators to Damascus for the nominal purpose of proposing a peace to Valid, but really in order to spy the extent of the Saracen power and to discover what truth was contained in the alarming rumour. The most prominent member of this embassy was Daniel of Sinope, the prefect of the city, who was entrusted with the secret behests of the Emperor. They went and saw and returned with the news that the report was entirely true. Then the Emperor, with a promptitude similar to that which Constantine IV had exhibited on a like occasion, made preparations to withstand a siege. He issued a proclamation that each inhabitant was to provide himself with means to procure sustenance, sufficient to last for three years, and that all who were too poor to compass this were to leave the city instantly. He filled the royal storehouses and granaries with copious supplies of corn, and carefully provided for their security. He renewed the sea walls, which were showing signs of decay, and built new ships to defend the city against attacks on the sea side; while for the protection of the inland fortifications he erected engines of all kinds for hurling darts and stones.

Anastasius, however, was not destined to win the glory of successfully withstanding a Saracen siege. The death of Valid,

approval of the most religious priests and deacons and all the pure (εὐαγούς) clergy, and the sacred Senate and the Christ-loving people of this divinely protected and imperial city, the divine grace, which doth at all times tend

that which is weak and fill up that which is deficient, translates Germanus, the most holy metropolitan and president of the metropolis of Cyzicus, to be bishop of this divinely protected and imperial city."

who was succeeded by Suleiman, interrupted the course of the preparations; but Suleiman by no means intended to abandon the project, and in 715 news arrived that a fleet of the Saracens of Alexandria had repaired to Phoenicia, in order to hew cypress wood for ships, and increase the power of their navy. The Emperor, who knew the value of promptitude, conceived the idea of attacking the enemy while they were engaged in this occupation. He appointed Rhodes¹ as the place of meeting for the troops whom he destined for the expedition; and he caused the forces of the Opsikian theme to embark in swift vessels and sail thither, whence, united with the other themes under the general command of John, the general logothete, who was an ordained clergyman,² they were to proceed to Phoenicia. At Rhodes, John found the commanders of the various regiments filled with zeal for the expedition, and ready to obey his commands; the Opsikians alone were recalcitrant. They renounced allegiance to the Emperor, whom they had never loved, and, disdaining to obey a general logothete, beat John to death with clubs. The collected forces were immediately dispersed, and returned to their various stations, while the rebellious theme proceeded to Constantinople in order to carry their revolt to its natural conclusion. They desired to subvert Anastasius, and gave no thought to the question of a successor; even as they had overthrown Philip-picus without a plan or a thought for the future. It is in the conduct of the Opsikian theme that we see the anarchical complexion of the times most clearly reflected. On the way to Constantinople, however, they actually deigned to reflect that it would be well to choose a head for their enterprise, and to put forward a candidate to replace the sovereign whom they had determined to dethrone. Characteristically they chose at haphazard one who could be nothing more than a figure-head. At Adramyttium, on the sea-coast of Mysia, they picked up a stray tax-gatherer named Theodosius, who, if he had no vestige of those qualities which are generally demanded in an Emperor, bore at least an imperial name. His obscure respectability rendered him inoffensive, and if unwillingness to become an

¹ The occupation of Rhodes by Muavia had been only temporary. and popularly called Papa Johanna. Theophanes (ed. de Boor), p. 385.

² He was deacon of St. Sophia,

Emperor is a token of fitness for occupying a throne, Theodosius was certainly worthy, for he fled from the threatened honour and concealed himself in the mountains. He was found, however, and constrained by force to assume the dignities and incur the dangers of a tyrant.

Thus it came about that the ships and engines and fortifications, which Anastasius had prepared to repel assaults of the unbelievers, were applied to the use of defending his government against a refractory division of the army. The Emperor left his most trusted ministers in charge of the city, and, crossing over to Asia, shut himself up in Nicaea. Meanwhile the Opsikian troops which had rebelled at Rhodes had been reinforced by other regiments which belonged to the Opsikian district, and also by the soldiers called Gotho-Graeci.¹ They marched to Chrysopolis (Scutari), and with an armament of merchantmen which they had collected they carried on an ineffectual warfare for six months with the fleet which defended the city. Then Theodosius crossed over and occupied the Thracian districts to the west and north of the city walls. Treachery, like that which delivered Constantinople into the hands of Apsimar and caused the fall of Leontius, now delivered it into the hands of Theodosius, and caused the dethronement of Anastasius. The officers in whose custody were the keys of the gate of Blachernae proved untrue to their trust, like their predecessors, and Theodosius was admitted. At night the Opsikian soldiers and the Gotho-Graeci entered the city and pillaged it, sparing none. Here again was a repetition of the things which had happened when Leontius was deposed by Apsimar.

Theodosius sent the ministers of Anastasius and the Patriarch Germanus to Nicaea to assure the Emperor that further resistance was vain. Anastasius submitted quietly to the will of fate or providence, and was allowed to live as a monk at Thessalonica without undergoing any ill treatment.

The reign of Anastasius was too brief, notwithstanding his honest endeavours, to restore order to the disordered State, or to wipe away the effects of so many years of "tyranny." "The

¹ The origin of the *Gotho-Graeci*, *Γοτθογραῖκοι*, and *Optimati* has been noticed above, p. 344.

affairs of the Empire and the city," says Nicephorus, "were neglected and decaying, civil education was disappearing, and military discipline dissolved." It was a time for the enemies of the Romans to reap a harvest of prisoners and captured cities. Theodosius had good intentions, but was utterly ignorant of politics, and completely incapable of administration; and during the short period to which he gave the name of Theodosius III he is a lay figure, almost forgotten, in the background. We may occupy the space which should have been devoted to the acts or policy of an Emperor with a digression on the adventures of the man who stood in the foreground and was destined to be Theodosius' successor, Leo the Isaurian, general of the Anatolic troops.

According to some, Leo was a native of Germanicia in Commagene, but the more approved account places his origin in the Isaurian mountains.¹ In the first reign of Justinian II his parents emigrated to Mesembria in Thrace by the orders of that monarch, who, it will be remembered, had a passion for transplanting his subjects. When Justinian returned with the Bulgarians to recover his throne, Leo met him on the way with a gift of five hundred sheep, and this mark of attention pleased the Emperor so much that he made Leo a *spatharius* (*aide-de-camp*). A malevolent or premature accusation that the *spatharius* was plotting to ascend the throne himself, while it was triumphantly repelled, and only brought shame upon the accusers, who could not prove their charge, left a rankling suspicion in the heart of the sovereign, who took an early opportunity to despatch Leo on a commission to Alania—a bourn from which he expected that his ambassador would never return. The purpose of his mission was to provoke the Alans to invade and reduce the Abasgi, a people who, once infamous for their trade in emasculated boys, had been reformed, christianised, and reduced to a sort of dependence by Justinian I. The Roman Emperors used to appoint the

¹ Theophanes, 6209 A.M., ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῆς καταγόμενος, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας, and he is generally known as "the Isaurian." His family was perhaps transferred to Thrace at the time of the dispersion of the Mardaites, and perhaps his father was one of the "Macedonians," as the *Drakoi Hellenes*

or *Armatoli* of Mount Taurus were called. Cf. Sathas, *Bib. Gr. Med. Acc.* ii. Introd. p. 43. The name *Macedonian* is a relic of the days of Alexander and his successor, and was used in the sense of *noble*: "it survived up to the last century among the mercenary soldiers in Naples and Venice" (*ib.*)

governors of Abasgia, but this relation can hardly have lasted long, as the Empire in the seventh century was beset by too great dangers and difficulties to retain its grasp on this remote country. We may assume that the Abasgi had been practically independent for more than a century when Justinian II conceived the idea of reducing them to subjection; and here, again, I am inclined to suppose that he was consciously imitating his more glorious namesake. The Alans occupied a wild and spacious territory north of the Caucasian range, but they had no access to the Euxine, from which they were shut off by the Abasgi, who lined its eastern shores.

We are fortunate to possess an account of Leo's adventures, risks, and escapes in these barbarous regions, and the record¹ is apparently genuine, and certainly credible, sounding almost like an excerpt from a diary kept by Leo himself.

From Constantinople the ambassador may have proceeded to Trapezus either by land or by sea, and thence he sailed to Phasis, the important seaport of Lazica. In Phasis he stored the sums of money which the Emperor had given him for the execution of his diplomatic mission, and then proceeded to Apsilia with a few natives who knew the topography of the country. He crossed the Caucasus and entered Alania, where he was received with high honour by Itaxes, lord of the Alans, and his proposals were favourably entertained. But in the meantime Justinian, who desired the final disappearance of Leo, had perfidiously caused the money stored in Phasis to be removed, and had permitted the fact to be so generally known that the news thereof reached the adjacent land of Abasgia. Then, as the Alans were preparing to invade and subject Abasgia, the potentate of the Abasgi addressed the potentates of the Alans thus: "Justinian had at his disposal no other such consummate liar, save only this man, to let loose upon us and to excite us against one another. For as to the money which he promised you, he deceived you,² for Justinian sent and took it away. But do ye hand him over to us and we will give you 3000 nomismata; and let our love not be dissolved." But to this remonstrance the Alans replied, "We

¹ Theophanes, 6209 A.M. He mentions that Saracen influence was already dominant in Abasgia as well as in

Iberia and Lazica.

² ἡμᾶς in Theophanes, — but it evidently refers to the Alans.

followed his advice, not for the sake of money, but for the love of the Emperor." The lord of the Abasgi sent once more, doubling his offer; and this time the Alans, conceiving a subtle purpose, consented. They had no intention of betraying their friend Leo, but they deemed it an excellent opportunity to spy out the enemy's country. So they said to Leo, "You see, the road to Romania is shut up, and you cannot pass. Wherefore let us deal subtly and pretend to agree to surrender you, and so discover their passes, and plunder and destroy their country, acting thereby to our own advantage."

Accordingly, ambassadors of the Alans went into Abasgia to arrange the compact, and, having received the usual gifts, returned along with a company of Abasgi, who were to pay the stipulated money and to receive Leo in return. The bargain was faithfully carried out, but the Abasgi captors had hardly departed with their prisoner when they were attacked by a band of Alan soldiers, who, as had been preconcerted, rescued Leo and bound his guards. Then the Alans invaded Abasgia with great effect, owing to the knowledge of its topography which they had acquired through the embassy.

When these events came to the ears of Justinian, and he saw that Leo was inviolable among the Alans, he wrote to the Abasgi monarch: "If you allow Leo to pass safely through your country, I shall condone all your errors." The Abasgi, who entertained a salutary fear of the Roman Empire, were delighted, and offered their children as hostages to the Alans that their guest would receive no harm. But the suspicious Leo refused to avail himself of the opportunity, saying, "The Lord can open me a door to go out."

Some time after this (probably in 712)¹ a joint army of Romans and Armenians invaded Lazica and laid siege to Archaeopolis. Hearing that an army of Saracens was approaching, they retired to Phasis, but a division of about two hundred men was left behind in the Caucasian region of Apsilia, whither they had diverged to plunder. Separated from

¹ The only expedition to Armenia that we hear of at this time is that sent by Philippicus, 6204 A.M., 712 A.D. This does not indeed accord with Theophanes' statement that Leo after his final escape returned to Justinian, but it does accord with the direct state-

ment of Zonaras that when he returned both Justinian and Philippicus were Emperors of the past and Anastasius was on the throne. If we assume that Leo was sent in 710 (the latest probable date) and returned in 713, he was three years in Alania.

their companions and cut off from the Empire by the Saracens, who had occupied Lazica, they were obliged to remain in the defiles of the Caucasus, living as desperate brigands. The rumour of their presence reached Alania at the other side of the mountains, and it was suggested to Leo that he should embrace the chance and join them. In the month of May, under the guidance of fifty Alans, he crossed the snows of Caucasus with the help of *cyclopodes* or snow-shoes, and was glad after his long expatriation to come among Romans again. But his return was as yet only half accomplished. It was still a difficult problem how he and the two hundred soldiers were to reach Phasis.

In the Caucasian highlands, not far from the place where Leo joined his countrymen, was a fort called Sidéron, which was then held for the Saracens by a governor named Pharasmanios. As Pharasmanios was at peace with the Armenians, Leo ventured to send a messenger to him with this message: "Make peace with me and become a subject of the Romans. Supply us with the means of reaching the sea and crossing to Trapezus." But Pharasmanios rejected the request.

Then Leo placed some of his men¹ in an ambush at night, directing them, when those in the fort issued forth in the morning to work in the fields, to seize as many as possible, or at least prevent their returning to the gates, until he and the rest of his comrades arrived. The plan was carried out successfully, and Pharasmanios was left with a small number in the fort. Leo approached the gates and repeated his proposals, but the governor again refused. The place, however, was too strong to take.

A circumstance now occurred which converted the obstinacy of the governor into a reluctant compliance. When Marinus, the potentate of the Apsilians, an adjacent and subordinate tribe, heard that Leo was besieging Sidéron, he concluded that the Romans must be numerous, and fearing their hostility, he came with a band of three hundred and offered to conduct Leo to the coast. Then Pharasmanios, perceiving the attitude

¹ Theophanes says "some of his men and Armenians." It is not clear whether this means that Armenians had subsequently joined the band, or only refers to Armenians who had ori-

ginally formed part of the Roman army. Is this fort (Σιδερόν) the same as the fort of the Misimiani, called Tzachar or Σιδηροῦν? See vol. i. p. 463.

of Marinus, relented and said, "Take my child as a hostage; I agree to serve the Empire." Leo received the child, but insisted that the father should surrender the fort, and gave him a safe-conduct, promising to enter the gates with not more than thirty men. The recent adventures of the spatharius had trained him in the arts of prudence or perfidy, and he issued secret commands to his troops to burst into the fortress as soon as the gates were opened. He burned the place to the ground, and then paid a visit to Apsilia, where he was honourably received. Thence he was escorted to the coast and returned to Constantinople, where great changes had taken place during his absence. Justinian had been deposed, Philippicus had reigned, and Anastasius was on the throne (713 A.D.)¹

This Emperor, who sought out men of merit and ability for military commands, made Leo general of the Anatolic theme. The Armeniac regiments, which protected the eastern provinces, were entrusted to Artavasdos. These two generals, although they stood aloof when the Opsikians deposed Anastasius, looked with unveiled hostility and cold derision on the government of Theodosius. The eyes of Asia were fixed on Leo as the man who, both by his position as the most powerful general in the Empire and by his natural talents, was the best qualified candidate for the imperial diadem.

In the meantime the Caliph Suleiman was preparing to carry out the projected expedition against the Empire. He sent two armies into Romania, one under his brother Moslemah and another under a general named Suleiman. The latter, advancing through the Anatolic districts, approached Amorium, —the city which in the days of Constans II had been seized for a short time by the Saracens and soon recaptured. Suleiman saw that it was insufficiently defended, and perceived at the same time that Leo, the Anatolic general, was in opposition to the government of Theodosius. He also discovered that Leo was regarded as destined to be the next Emperor, and he argued that it would be a great blow to the Empire to seize the person of such an able man. For this purpose he resorted to stratagems, of which details have been preserved.

¹ So Zonaras distinctly states, and it is otherwise probable (cf. note p. 383), Bk. xv. cap. 1. If he had returned in the days of Justinian, as Theophanes

says, surely that monarch would have dealt stringently with him as a possible rival whom he had already persecuted.

He wrote a letter to Leo to this effect: "We are aware that the Empire of the Romans devolves upon you. Come then to us that we may discuss the conditions of peace." Meanwhile he blockaded Amorium, awaiting the arrival of Moslemah, who was to join him; and as the Saracens approached the walls of the city, they cried out, according to the directions of their general, "Long live the Emperor Leo!" and exhorted the Amorians to take up the cry. Leo, in reply to the letter which he had received, demanded why Amorium was blockaded if the Saracens desired peace. To which Suleiman said, "Come, and I shall retreat."

Thus assured, but still distrustful, Leo approached Amorium with three hundred cavalry. A company of Saracens clad in complete armour advanced to meet him, and encamped about half a mile from their own army. For three days they met daily and discussed the possibility of arranging a peace. Leo was well aware that his enemies were secretly plotting to capture him, while he was himself scheming to save Amorium, which he knew would surrender when Moslemah arrived. In order either to test their intentions or by some means to communicate with the Amorians while the Saracen officers were engaged,¹ he invited the chief men of the Mohammedan army to a banquet, and while they were enjoying themselves a messenger succeeded in conveying to the besieged a secret message: "Fear God and do not betray yourselves, for lo, Moslemah approaches." Meanwhile Suleiman had also determined to take advantage of the banquet for his own purpose, and had commanded three thousand cavalry to encircle the place. As the company sat at table a sentinel entered and informed Leo that the camp was surrounded by horsemen; but a Saracen cavalier named Zuber immediately stepped forward and explained to the astonished general that a slave had run away from their camp with a large sum of money, and that they had mounted horse to catch him. "Do not put yourselves out, gentlemen," said Leo, who understood the art of dissimulation; "in whatever part of our camp he takes refuge, we shall find him."

¹ It is hard to follow the details of Theophanes' narrative, which is not marked by lucidity. It seems plain to me that the communications with the Amorians took place during the pro-

tracted banquet. It would be interesting to know whence Theophanes obtained these details. He does not mention whether Suleiman was at the banquet or not.

Before the banquet was ended, Leo contrived to have an interview with the bishop of Amorium, who stole out of the city to his camp and was introduced to a room in his tent. But the Saracen guests discovered that the bishop had paid the general a visit, and indignantly demanded that Leo should give him up to them. Leo gained time by parleying, while attendants disguised the bishop as a woodman or a water-carrier, and sent him from the dangers of the camp to flee to the security of the mountains. Then Leo asseverated that the bishop was not in the camp, and urged the Saracens to search it. This altercation probably led on to a general discussion of differences and grievances, which Leo at last terminated by offering to go to Moslemah and leave the decision to him. The Saracens agreed to the proposal, and he was allowed to leave the camp with a body of two hundred men, on the pretext of hunting. But he soon abandoned the beaten tracks and diverged to the north. When some Saracens, who had accompanied him for the sport, asked him whither he went, he replied that he intended to change the position of his camp "to the meadows."¹ "Your plea is not good," they said, "and we will not go with you."² When they had departed Leo remarked to his men, "They have pledged their faith to us, but nevertheless they wished to seize us and thereby to destroy the Christians of Amorium; yet of our men and beasts which we left behind us they have taken none." He then advanced ten miles farther and encamped. Next day he sent the domesticus of his *strators* or harness-corps to Suleiman, bearing a message of reproach for his treacherous intentions.

These details I have thought it worth while to reproduce fully, often almost in the words of the chronicle in which they are preserved, because, while they are to be found in few

¹ εἰς τὰ λιβάδια θέλω μεταπληκεῖσαι.

² It would be interesting to know whether all these conversations were conducted by interpreters. One circumstance suggests the possibility that Leo may have known Arabic. If interpreters (Saracens who knew Greek) were present, he could not so easily during the banquet have given secret orders; if he could converse with his guests in Arabic, he could speak to his attendants in Greek without fear of

being understood. Of course this assumption is not necessary, but the various machinations which Leo was obliged to carry on during the banquet would have been more easily practicable if interpreters were not present. The fact that afterwards a Saracen caliph made an attempt to convert Leo to Islam may also point in this direction: if Leo knew Arabic, the caliph would have thought him a specially favourable subject.

modern books on the subject, they seem to have been drawn originally from memoirs of some eye-witness, perhaps of Leo himself, or at least to have been related by an eye-witness to some contemporary writer. Though they are sometimes affected with the incoherence of a chronicle, they exhibit the circumstantiality of memoirs.

The Saracen army soon became weary of their leaguer before the walls of Amorium, and showed signs of mutiny. The soldiers wished to plunder the country, and the generals were obliged to yield and raise the siege. When they had retreated, Leo appeared at Amorium, and having removed the women and children and all valuable property, and placed in the city a garrison of eight hundred men under the command of a turmarch, he proceeded southward to Pisidia.

In the meantime Moslemah had crossed the passes and entered Cappadocia, which was then destitute of defenders. Cappadocia was included in the Anatolic district, and Leo apparently had not a sufficient number of troops at his disposal to defend all points. The chief towns were doubtless garrisoned, and some of his troops may have perhaps been in Cilicia or Pisidia acting against the Saracen general Omar, who had invaded those parts. The Cappadocians went forth from their abodes to meet Moslemah, offering him abject submission. But Moslemah, aware (perhaps from letters of Suleiman) of the relations subsisting between the Emperor Theodosius and Leo, and wishing to catch the latter by a bait and "through him subjugate Romania," asked the Cappadocians whether they were subjects of the general Leo, to which question they replied in the affirmative. "Do ye whatever he does?" "Yes." "Depart then to your fortresses and fear no one," said the generous or wily Saracen, and he commanded his army to abstain from plundering all the regions which were subject to the administration of Leo.

When Leo heard this, and knew that Suleiman had communicated to Moslemah the events of the camp at Amorium, he wrote to Moslemah that he wished to visit him, but that the treacherous attempts of Suleiman had filled him with apprehension and deterred him from going. The following conversation is recorded to have passed between the Saracen

general when he received the letter and the messenger who brought it.

Moslemah. "I see your general mocks me, because I wholly abstained from ravaging his provinces."

Messenger. "Not so, but he really means what he says."

Moslemah. "How is Amorium affected towards him?"

Messenger. "Well, and is loyally subject unto him."

Moslemah (angrily). "Why do you lie?"

Messenger. "It is as I say. And he has thrown a garrison into it with a turmarch, and driven out the superfluous families."¹

Moslemah, whose intentions had been to take Amorium in summer, to wait for the fleet and proceed to the coast of Asia Minor² for the winter, was much vexed at the news. He sent back a message to Leo, inviting him to come and make peace. Leo calculated that in the course of five days Moslemah would have passed beyond the limits of the Anatolic district, and he shaped his plans accordingly. He sent two consulars³ to Moslemah with this message: "I received your letter, and accept your offer and shall come to you. But, as you know, I am a general, and must travel with my appurtenances and silver plate and my retinue. Send me then an assurance for the safety of each of them, so that, if things turn out satisfactorily—well, but if not, I may return without injury or despite." The envoys overtook Moslemah at Theodosiana, and obtained from him the required safe-conduct. But his large army, which soon exhausted the supplies of a district, would not permit him to halt anywhere for long; he was obliged to be constantly moving to new pastures; and when the envoys had returned to Leo, Moslemah had already reached Acroinon and was beyond the boundaries of the Anatolic provinces (autumn 716).

While Leo was thus baffling the Saracens in Asia, Theodosius was sitting in the palace on the Byzantine acropolis,

¹ *φамиλιας*, that is women, children, and non-fighting population, for whom the compound plural substantive *γυναῖκό-παιδα* was in use.

² *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατελθεῖν* (Theoph. p. 389, ed. de Boor). *Ἀσία*, as opposed to Cappadocia and Phrygia, means

the western districts of Asia Minor, *κατελθεῖν* means to go towards the coast.

³ I thus translate *ὑπάτους*, which Ducange (*Gloss. Med. Græc.*) renders *virī primarii*. It was an honorary title.

shrinking under the undesired grandeur that had come upon him but could not make him great. He posted his son, whom he had presumably invested with the imperial title, on the Asiatic side of the Propontis, perhaps in command of the Opsikian troops. Having assured himself that Moslemah had evacuated Romania, Leo advanced to Nicomedia and routed the young prince¹; but this victory did not immediately secure him the crown. He probably spent the winter at Nicaea or at Nicomedia (716-717),² and early in the ensuing year was proclaimed Emperor. The immediate cause of the general consent both of the military commanders and of the civil ministers to the elevation of Leo is represented to have been a well-grounded fear, occasioned by the certainty that a vast Saracen armament would in a few months besiege Constantinople, and the consciousness that Theodosius was devoid of the skill required for its defence, and utterly unfit for the duties of a commander. Otherwise they might perhaps have preferred the inoffensive Theodosius, who could never have attempted to strain the imperial authority against the aristocracy. There was a formal meeting of the Patriarch, the senators, and chief officials to choose an Emperor, and they chose Leo, with the knowledge and consent of Theodosius himself, who, we are told expressly, consulted the senate and the Patriarch touching his own resignation.³ He received an assurance of personal safety, and was permitted to withdraw to a monastic retreat at Ephesus, where he died and was buried. The word *ὑγίεια*, "health," was the inscription which the third Theodosius wrote for his tomb.

The twenty-one years of anarchy, which happily came to an end by the accession of Leo the Third, were the direct result

¹ He was accompanied by "the officials of the palace" and provided with *βασιλική ἵππουργία*. It is curious that his name is not preserved.

² Philippicus was deposed at Whitsuntide 713; Anastasius reigned more than two and less than three years; Theodosius about one year, until the proclamation of Leo, March 717. Theophanes says Philippicus reigned two years and nine months, and Anastasius one year and three months. But here he is not consistent with himself. Anas-

tasius succeeded at Pentecost 713 and reigned till after August 715 (see Theoph. 6207 A.M.); Theophanes relates his fall under 6207, though it is evident that it really took place in 6208, possibly at the end of 715. It is clear that Nicephorus is not accurate in assigning two years to Anastasius (both in his History and in his Chronography).

³ Combine the statement of Nicephorus, *Brev.* p. 52 (ed. de Boor), with that of Theophanes.

of the long struggle between the Imperium and the aristocracy,¹ which had been going on ever since the death of the great autocrat Justinian, and was itself an offspring of the original dyarchical nature of the Roman Empire. The senatorial classes, who were now chiefly natives of Asia Minor, did not wish to make any fundamental change in the constitution; they only wished to limit the absolutism of the Emperor and to fetter his hands. Their opposition hampered Constans II and Constantine IV (as it had hampered Justin II and Tiberius II), but did not oppress them; they guided the helm with tact and firmness. But Justinian II, like the Emperor Maurice, had little or no tact, and firmness in him was misapplied and impolitic; he strained the bow too tight and it gave way. The executions and long imprisonments of numerous nobles were an apparently drastic but really inept way of crushing the opposition.

Closely combined with this opposition was a spirit of nationality which had been growing up in Asia Minor, and which could not escape the attention of the Emperors. It was perhaps with a view to keeping this spirit in subjection, as well as with a view to defending the Empire against the Saracens, that the country was organised anew into large districts with separate and independent generals. Justinian's system of transplanting human beings was a line of policy partly directed to the same purpose. The importation of Mardaites, Cypriotes, and Slaves might be expected to assist in denationalising Asia Minor, while a stray notice makes us suspect that he also exported inhabitants of those provinces to Europe. The parents of Leo III were transferred from the regions of Mount Taurus to Thrace, and it is highly improbable that this was an individual case. The Isaurians were peculiarly obstinate in clinging to their nationality.

The year 695 was thus a year of triumph for the anti-imperial aristocratic party. The legitimate and autocratic Justinian was deposed, and one of themselves, an Isaurian and former general of the Anatolic theme, was elevated in his stead.

But it is not long before the inherent elements of the situation display themselves. The illusions of the aristocracy

¹ Finlay notices this, vol. i. p. 397.

are exposed, its pretensions are shown to imply anarchy by the logic of facts; and the necessity of a real imperial power is demonstrated. At the same time the far-sightedness of the policy of the Heraclian dynasty in their administrative organisation of Asia Minor is clearly shown.

In the first place, the candidate of the party of opposition finds on his elevation that he must desert his old aristocratical principles and become an autocrat, if his administration is to be really efficient and if he is not to be a mere puppet. This was the first proof of the necessity of imperial autocracy under the given conditions. In the second place, the political differences in the Empire, which had not even in Asia Minor the unity produced by a common nationality, exposed an illegitimate Emperor like Leontius to the jealousy and rivalry of sections other than that to which he belonged. Leontius was the representative of the Anatolic districts; the soldiers of other Asiatic districts combined to overthrow him. This want of national unity made the strong hand of a single individual indispensable to maintain the integrity of the Empire. In the third place, unity, integrity, and common action were of vital importance at this time, when the Moslem were threatening Christendom, and it was a lively consciousness of this fact that caused the senators and military commanders to reject the weak and mæek Theodosius, whose character ought to have rendered him the ideal Emperor of the refractory aristocracy, and elect the able Isaurian who made the Empire feel the power of a firm will and obey the constraint of a strong hand.

I may notice here the curious resemblance between the state of affairs that lasted for a considerable time in the Frank kingdom and a political phase which appeared for a moment in the Roman Empire. It is well known how the Merovingian monarchs became finally unburdened of all the duties and attributes of royalty except the name, while the real power centred in the mayors of the palace (*maiores domus*).¹ And so, just for a moment, at New Rome it appeared possible that Theodosius might have continued to reign in name, and might have been succeeded by a series of inoperative Emperors, while the actual power might have been invested in some

¹ The *taikōs* of Japan are an instance of a similar historical phenomenon.

minister, perhaps the *europalates*, who was the Byzantine analogue of the mayor of the palace. Yet, though this might have appeared possible, it was really impossible. The feeling for the dignity of the imperial throne was too strong to permit of its ever becoming permanently a political non-entity.

While we followed the events which led to the fall of Leontius we had hardly time to realise the fact that Africa had finally passed away from the hands of her Roman rulers and was once more, after a period of nearly eight hundred and fifty years, subject to a Semitic people. It was decreed that Heraclius and his race should see Roman provinces subdued one after another by the enemies of Christendom; but it might seem a slight concession on the part of inexorable fate that the country which had sent a saviour to New Rome in her great need should not be lost by one of his dynasty, but should remain, at least formally, Roman until the last "Scipiad" had fallen. The retreat of the Romans from Africa was the knell of the greatness of Carthage; her history was now over. The consistent policy of the caliphs dethroned the venerable Phœnician city from her position as the capital of Africa, and the circumstance that she had been originally a Semitic, not a Greek or Roman, foundation did not save her from the lot of Alexandria. It was mortifying enough for Antioch and Toledo to behold the exaltation of Damascus and Cordova; but Cordova and Damascus were ancient and famous cities. The mighty capitals of Persia, Egypt, and Africa had to bear the greater indignity of yielding precedence to upstart rivals with strange names—Kufa, Bagdad, Cairo, and Kairowan.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DECAY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

THE prevalence of superstition and the decay of culture render the seventh century perhaps the darkest age of Europe within historical times; and the contemporary glory of the Arabs makes Christendom seem all the darker. We may first glance at the superstition which prevailed in the Roman Empire, and then consider the decline of culture and the decay of education; after this we may pass to the moral condition of the clergy, and finally notice the rise of the Paulicians.

When I speak of the deplorable extent of superstition, I do not refer primarily to the lower classes of society, among whom it prevails at all ages. The degrading feature of the end of the seventh century, which the Emperors of the eighth century tried so manfully to reform, was the ignorant credulity of the richer classes; and this credulity was generally accompanied by moral obliquity. Men who professed to be educated believed in the most ridiculous miracles; and the law of natural cause and effect, which however inadequately recognised has generally maintained some sort of ascendancy in human reason, became at this period practically obsolete. A Patriarch and a Pope believed in the power of painted virgins to heal the sick and maimed, or to exude unearthly balsams; and no hesitation was felt in accepting the legends, that certain pictures regarded with peculiar veneration were, like manna, manufactured in the workshops of heaven. To this subject I shall have occasion to recur when I come to the war that was waged by the Isaurian sovereigns against the adoration of pictures; and there is no clearer and surer proof of the

malignancy of this moral pestilence than the fact that Leo III made an attack upon superstition the basis of his policy of reform. The clergy could not guide mankind to a spiritual apprehension of the great doctrines of Christianity, because they had lost that spiritual apprehension themselves; they taught the worship of dead symbols and the efficacy of the letter; they encouraged the growth of superstition and themselves led lives which Christianity would regard as immoral.

At the appearance of an "iris" in heaven (March 673), we are told that all flesh shuddered and declared that the end of the world was come.¹ Every one believed in the prediction of future events, and the Empire was overrun with impostors, unconscious or deliberate, who gratified the desire of men to believe in supernatural revelations. A monk who dabbled in astrology and a Cappadocian abbot foretold to Leontius the Isaurian his future elevation. Another Cappadocian prophesied to Justinian II his restoration. Philippicus dreamed that he would be Emperor,—his dream, that his head was overshadowed by an eagle, reminds us of the legend of the Emperor Marcian,—and on that account Apsimar banished him. The story of the ass-driver Conon (said to be the original name of Leo III), who resting in the noonday heat under the shade of oaks, hard by a fountain and a chapel of St. Theodore, was accosted by two Jews endowed with magic powers and acquainted with the secrets of futurity, and was apprised by them that he was one day to be the lord of the Roman world, illustrates not only the general credulity, but the superstitious horror with which Jews were regarded at this time by Christians. They were thought to be direct emissaries of the devil.² One of the minor aims of the Quinisext Council was to uproot the remains of Jewish perversity, and one of its acts ordains that no Christian is to have any dealings with the Jews, to take unleavened bread, to receive medicine from them, or to bathe with them. One of the measures of Leo III, scarcely in harmony with the

¹ Theoph. 6164 A.M. *ἐφρίξε πᾶσα σάρξ, ἐν μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ Δύστηρ, ὥστε λέγειν πάντας ὅτι συντέλειά ἐστιν.* Theophanes obtained this notice from a chronicle which used the Macedonian names of the months. From the same source he received the date of Muaviah's death (6171 A.M. *μηνὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ 5*). The

Macedonian months are used in the *Chronicon Paschale* of Alexandria, and it seems probable that Theophanes' source was a continuation of it, now lost.

² The same two Jews were said to have wheedled Caliph Yezid I. into adopting iconoclastic measures by promising him a long reign.

legend, was the compulsory conversion of all Hebrews in the Empire.

An incident that took place during the siege of Pergamus by the Arabs in 717 A.D. shows the depths of depravity to which superstition was impelling humanity. The inhabitants of that city, in order to fight with more effect against the besiegers, took a pregnant girl who was approaching the time of her first delivery, and having cut in pieces both her and her unborn infant, boiled the fragments in a pot of water. The soldiers then dipped the gauntlets of their right hands in this concoction, believing that the blows of their weapons would be surer and stronger after the horrible anointment. In spite of these enlightened precautions, Pergamus was taken, but it is characteristic of the age that those who condemned the act ascribed the success of the Saracens to it, and affirmed that the hands of the soldiers were unable to hold a sword on account of the defilement. This incident is worthy to be placed beside the sacrifice of the maid-servant at the tomb of the Empress Eudocia, just one hundred years before.¹

The tragedy of Pergamus was of course suggested and instigated by one of the numerous soothsayers or hekatontarchs, who infested the Empire and were denounced by the Quinisept Council. *Hekatontarch* was the name in use for old people who had obtained a reputation for occult lore; perhaps it was so applied in jocular reference to the extreme age of these wizards, just as the word *centurion* might be used as an intentional "mistake" for centenarian.

The increase of ecclesiastical influence in the Empire is one of the most striking features of the seventh century; and as the dignitaries of the Church readily acquiesced in the growth of superstition, to which they were themselves inclined, the prospect of reform seemed almost hopeless, as it would be necessary to carry it out in spite of the institution with which the spiritual life of the age was interwoven. The Isaurian Emperors in the eighth century undertook the task, but the obloquy which has ever been attached to their names among the orthodox shows how much the undertaking cost them.

We have already met indications of the way in which ecclesiastical influences had penetrated secular and political life,²

¹ See above, p. 212.

² *Ib.* p. 309.

and as an illustration of the same circumstance it may be appropriate to quote the coronation oath, which, we may certainly conclude, was used in the seventh century, if not before.¹ The new Emperor used to recite the oath in the great church of St. Sophia.

The declaration began with the creed, "I believe in one God the Father Almighty, etc.," and then proceeded thus: "Moreover I accept and confess and confirm the apostolic and divine traditions, and the ordinances and formulæ of the six ecumenical synods² and the occasional local synods; also the privileges and usages of the most Holy Great Church of God. Moreover I confirm and accept all the dogmas that were laid down and sanctified by our most Holy Fathers in various places, rightly and canonically and blamelessly. In the same manner I promise to abide and continually to prove myself a faithful and true servant and son of the Holy Church; moreover to be her defender and champion, and to be kind and humane to my subjects, as is meet and right, and to abstain from bloodshed and mutilations³ and such like, as far as may be, and to countenance all truth and justice. And whatsoever things the Holy Fathers rejected and anathematised, I do myself also reject and anathematise, and I believe with all my mind and soul and heart in the aforesaid holy symbolum of faith. And all these things I promise to keep before the face of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God. Dated . . . month, . . . o'clock, . . . indiction, . . . year."

The Emperor handed this document to the Patriarch with the following formula:—

"I, . . . the Roman Emperor and Sovereign faithful in Christ, the God, having signed this with my own hand, do hand it over to my supremely holy lord and ecumenical Patriarch, Sir⁴ . . ., and, along with him, to the divine and sacred Synod."

We shall have occasion in another place to notice that the

¹ Codinus, *de Offic.* cap. 17, gives it in the form used after 787 A.D., as seven ecumenical synods are mentioned. But there is no reason to suppose that any change was made at the coronation of Nicephorus I. (or of any subsequent Emperor) save the substitution of seven for six. It is possible that the form may be as old as the fifth century, though it seems hardly likely that

it was composed for the coronation of Leo I.

² I have substituted six for seven, so as to give the form in which the oath was taken by Justinian II.

³ This clause smacks of the seventh century, and was probably introduced after the dethronement of some cruel Emperor (Justinian II? or perhaps Phocas).

⁴ κύρπ.

Emperor and the Patriarch were regarded as the two pillars of the Roman constitution, and that harmony between them was the essential condition of the prosperity of the Empire.

Sunk though Constantinople was at this period as regards learning and education, it was still the centre of European culture; thither young men still, though not so frequently as in preceding centuries, repaired from western lands to learn Greek and theology. The Empire was generally regarded as the greatest power and the centre of light in Europe; and Pope Agatho, in a letter to Constantine IV (680 A.D.), writes that it was the expressed wish of a synod assembled at Rome that the Empire, wherein is the chair of St. Peter which the other barbarians revere, should for Peter's sake have the primacy over the other peoples. But the diffusion of culture and the interchange of ideas were hindered and rendered difficult by the slowness of communication between East and West.¹ This infrequency of intercourse not only withheld advantages from the West, but reacted unfavourably on the Empire itself. Similar effects were produced by the decrease of communication between the various parts of the Roman dominions in the East. Provinces became isolated, and the better classes of their inhabitants became more and more provincial. At the sixth Council Theodore of Melitene called himself apologetically a provincial, *χωρικός*; and in fact there was no part of Europe, except perhaps Constantinople, to which the name might not be applied from a wider point of view. Pope Agatho complained that theological study had completely decayed, and indeed become quite impossible in Italy owing to the vicinity of the Lombards. A certain knowledge of Greek, however, was still prevalent; there were Greek monasteries at Rome; and it is probable that while the monotheletic controversy agitated the East many orthodox inhabitants of Thrace and Asia may have betaken themselves to Rome. But there is one point on which it may be well to insist; there must

¹ For example, the death of a Pope was not known at Constantinople four months after the event. Pope Donus died on 11th April 678, and the Emperor wrote a letter to him dated 12th August 678. His successor, Agatho, had been elected on 27th June. (*See*

Mansi, xi. 195; Hefele, *Concilien-geschichte*, iii. 226, 227). At the same time it must be remembered that Mediterranean commerce was almost entirely in the hands of the Greek subjects of the Empire.

have been constant if not considerable intercourse between Italy and Greece, including Macedonia and Thessalonica, during the seventh century and up to the year 733 A.D., inasmuch as the Balkan peninsula, except Thrace, was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishops of Rome.

It is a strain on our credulity to accept the remark that in western Europe during the seventh century Greek was studied more in the remote island of Ireland than elsewhere.¹ At Trim, indeed, there was a church called "the church of the Greeks," but we can only smile when we are told by a recent writer that "the Celtic monastery of Bangor became a potent focus of Hellenism." In other countries certainly we meet Greek scholars, such as they were, of more distinction than any Irish monk. Into England a knowledge of Greek was introduced by the great Theodorus of Tarsus,² archbishop of Canterbury, and Hadrian, an African abbot. They landed on Saxon shores in the year 669, four years before the birth of Bede. Theodore had studied at Athens; he was profoundly learned in Greek and Latin literature, secular as well as sacred, and with his companion he formed a school in which the chief subjects were mathematics, astronomy, metrical laws, and church doctrines. Writing sixty years later, Bede, himself a Greek scholar, says, "There live even to-day pupils of these men who know Latin and Greek as their own native tongue. Never were times more happy since the arrival of the Angles in Britain." Letters flourished under the prosperous reign of Ina, king of Wessex, who invited two learned men to come from Athens in order to instruct St. Aldhelm in the Greek tongue. In Spain, Isidorus of Seville is the only

¹ I have consulted on this subject a valuable and convenient little book of seventy pages, in which M. l'abbé Tougaard, of Rouen, has collected from the *Patrologia Latina* of Migne the evidences as to the knowledge of Greek in western Europe in the Middle Ages.

² Born 602, arrived at Rome 667. The best account of Theodore (for whose activity the *Hist. Ecc.* of Bede is our chief authority) has been written by the (present) bishop of Oxford in the *Dict. of Christ. Biography*. He writes: "It is difficult if not impossible to overstate the debt which England, Europe, and christian civilisation

owes [*sic*] to the work of Theodore. He was the real organiser of the administrative system of the English Church, and in that work laid the foundation of English national unity. He brought the learning and culture of the eastern Empire into the West, and, with the aid of Hadrian and Benedict Biscop, established schools from which the scholars and missionaries of the following century went out to rekindle the light of christian culture in France and the recently converted parts of Germany, and thus, as has been said already, proved a most important link between ancient and modern life."

prominent scholar acquainted with Greek. As for Gaul, a bishop of Rouen mentions certain Greek authors, including Plato, Homer, Menander, and Herodotus,¹ who, he considers, are studied with too much diligence.

To return to the Empire after our digression to western Europe, it is observable that just as the influence of the Church was waxing in the State, so the influence of the monks was waxing in the Church. The monks painted pictures and maintained art, but they also maintained bigotry and superstition, and were the archenemies of spiritual reform. Along with intellectual weakness, dissolute manners also prevailed, and the misdemeanour of ecclesiastics as well as of laymen had become such a public scandal that the express object of the Quinisext Council was to regenerate morality and restore the strictness of the old regulations, which had fallen into abeyance. The acts of this council possess considerable interest, as almost the only extant document bearing on the manners and customs of the age.

It was generally agreed that the church discipline at Constantinople was far milder than the discipline enforced in the Churches which looked up to the bishop of Rome, especially in regard to the restrictions imposed on marriage. The aim of the Quinisext Council was to blend the strictness of Old Rome with the mildness of New Rome. It was enacted that no man could be admitted to an ordination who, after his baptism, had committed the enormity of marrying twice, or of keeping a concubine, or of marrying a woman who suffered from the disadvantage of being a widow, a divorced wife, an adulteress, a slave, or an actress. Of clerical persons, only readers and cantors (members of the choir) are by the new rules allowed to marry; no clergyman is allowed to harbour a woman in his house, and clergymen as well as laymen are forbidden, on pain of deposition from office and excommunication, to have intercourse with consecrated women. The special enactments in regard to all these matters naturally lead us to conclude that the forbidden acts were frequent occurrences in the see of Constantinople.²

¹ Also Pythagoras, Aristotle, Lysias, Demosthenes, Democritus. At the end of the seventh century St. Arculphus, a French bishop, visited Damascus,

Alexandria, and Constantinople; he had a knowledge of Hebrew as well as of Greek.

² It is worth noticing that there are

On the same principle we might suppose that the Byzantine Church often blushed for such scandals as clergymen bathing along with women, or even keeping brothels; and doubtless the smuggling of females into male monasteries was no uncommon event. A married man who became a clergyman was not compelled to put away his wife unless he became a bishop; but it appears that at this time bishops were suspected of maintaining conjugal relations with their former wives, for it is ordained that the wife of a newly consecrated bishop must be removed to a *tolerably distant* cloister. Many improprieties of other kinds had also crept in. Some clergymen seem to have been small capitalists and to have lent out money on usury. It was a common event for clerks to sanctify by their presence theatrical spectacles and horse-races; nor did they disdain to witness the licentious amusements and coarse festivities—survivals of paganism—with which marriages were still celebrated, for a significant clause directs clergymen and monks to leave a wedding party when the games begin. Some were indecent enough to lay aside their clerical garb in the privacy of their houses or on a journey. Anchorets or hermits, whom it became to wear their hair short, used with long hair and unsuitable dress to seek the distractions of cities and converse with the “people of the world.” It is found necessary by the Trullan Council to lay down strict injunctions that nuns shall not leave their cloisters save with the special permission and benediction of the abbess, and in the company of old sisters; moreover, that they shall in no case spend a night beyond the walls; a similar rule is to apply to monks. It was usual for ladies who were taking the veil to appear at the altar decked out in gold and jewels, and in the presence of a congregation which might divide its admiration between their splendour and their piety, exchange the glittering apparel for a black garment. The prudence of the council directed that this practice, as suggesting that the novices had left the world unwillingly, should be discontinued.

Many ancient customs, relics from the pagan world,¹ still no clauses against so-called “unnatural crime” in the acts of the Quinisext, whence we might conclude it had become less common than it was in the

days of Justinian. A contemporary council at Toledo in Spain found it necessary to legislate against such vices.

¹ The people of Maina in the south

lingered on and offended the stricter members of the Church. Some old feasts were not yet extinct, such as the feast of the kalends, the feasts of Bota in honour of Pan, and Brumalia in honour of Bacchus. Women danced in public; and when men arrayed themselves as women, and women appeared in masculine apparel, it might be thought that sex was indecently confused. The old comic, satyric, and tragic masks were still worn at dramatic representations; mimic performances, accompanied by ballet-dances, were enacted in the old style. At the gathering in of the vintage the god Dionysius was still invoked. Another heathen custom, which had withstood the assaults of time and religion, was that of illuminating fires in front of houses and shops at the time of the new moon and leaping over the flames; the more pious Christians compared such acts to that of the godless Manasses. All these survivals of pagan times were strictly prohibited by the council of 692; in fact, one of the express objects of that assembly was to wipe away any vestiges of paganism that still remained. The use of a pagan oath was forbidden on pain of excommunication. Some superficial forms of superstition are also branded as worthy of punishment. Soothsayers, men who lead round bears and other beasts for show, "to the hurt of simpletons," and sell tufts of their hair as amulets, men who profess to set nativities or work enchantments, are threatened with penalties of considerable severity. Yet notwithstanding this authoritative disapprobation of such occult arts, Emperors and probably Patriarchs believed in the prognostics of soothsayers and astrologers. Another ordinance of the council was that false tales of martyrs should be burned.

From general prohibitions, which do not especially concern the clergy, we cannot draw many conclusions in regard to the morality of the age. In all ages men gamble with dice; in all ages women use medicaments to procure abortion; in all ages women plait and adorn their hair to seduce; in all ages obscene pictures delight the vulgar or the prurient. It is noteworthy that the Quinisext Synod found it necessary to enjoin that copies of the Old or the New Testament, or of the writings of the Fathers, should not be destroyed or cut up, or

of the Peloponnesus were still pagans (Hellenes), and were not converted till the end of the ninth century.

sold to others—for example, to perfumers—for such purposes, except the book were so eaten by moths as to be utterly useless. Other clauses ordained that no tavern, confectioner's shop, or booth should be erected in the immediate vicinity of a place of worship; and that the garrulity of women should cease during the celebration of divine service. Law students were expressly forbidden to adopt any pagan custom, to appear at the theatre, or to wear foreign clothes; it would seem that they affected some outlandish garb—oriental or Slavonic?—just as turbulent youths in the fifth and sixth centuries used to dress themselves like Goths or Huns. I have already mentioned the hostile attitude of the Quinisext Council to Jews.

Whatever may have been the prevailing morality, it must be acknowledged that the Emperors themselves set a good example. The sovereigns of the Heraclian dynasty seem to have led exceptionally irreproachable, almost severe lives, for even against the unpopular and heterodox Constans and the tyrannical Justinian no charges of sensual extravagance have ever been brought. A heterodox Christian in exalted position, like Constans, must be indeed of stainless character if his orthodox countrymen cast no stones of calumny.

The rise of the Paulician sect in the seventh century is worthy of observation. Its founder was a certain Constantine of Mananalis in Commagene (near Samosata), and his doctrine may be described as a *christian dualism*. Trained up in a dualistic faith, which was probably Manichæan, he became acquainted with the New Testament, and conceived the idea of blending the theory of two independent principles with the doctrines of Christianity. His admiration for the apostle Paul led him to adopt the spiritual name of Silvanus, and in 660 A.D. he founded his new community at Cibossa in Armenia. His tenets were not distinguished by the public or the government from those of the Manichæans, and the laws against Manichæism were put in force against Paulicianism. Silvanus was executed in 687 by imperial order, but Simeon, who had been sent to carry out the execution, was converted himself, and succeeded Silvanus as the leader of the sect under the name of Titus. The doctrine spread in Asia Minor, and its chief centre was Phanaroea in Helenopontus. Although the doc-

trine of the Paulicians was a dualism like the doctrine of Manes, there were many differences between the two systems. For example, the creation of the world was attributed by Manes to God, whereas the Paulicians ascribed it to the evil principle, or Demiurge, and drew the corollary that the body was the work of the devil. Their doctrines were expressed in mystical language which would have been appreciated by William Blake.¹

Like the monophysites, the Paulicians were strongly opposed to the worship of the Mother of Christ, and entertained but small veneration for the cross. For them Mary was merely a human agent and the wood merely a material instrument, and their wisdom or audacity refused to see in either the one or the other any religious value or import. In this spirit they approach the Hussites of Bohemia, the Vaudois of the Alps, and other free religious sects who in later days rebelled against the yoke of the Church. And in fact it may be considered almost certain that the Paulicians of Asia Minor were the forefathers of these heretics who prepared the way for the Reformation. For colonies of Paulicians were settled in Thrace in the eighth century by Constantine V, and in the tenth century by John Tzimiskes. The heresy penetrated into Bulgaria and thence into central Europe. Of the Paulician sects may be mentioned the Bogomiles, the Sclavoni, the Athingani.²

The derivation of the doctrines of the Albigenes and the Vaudois from the tenets of the Paulicians is a subject on which much has been written, and the reader will find some interesting pages on the subject in Hallam's *Middle Ages* as well as in Gibbon. But what interests us here is not the later propagation of the doctrines, but the circumstance that the new faith made its appearance not long before the birth of the great iconoclast Leo the Isaurian, whose religious movement was animated in some respects by the same spirit. Notably the opposition to Mariolatry and to undue respect for relics

¹ On the Paulicians I have consulted Schmidt's article in Herzog and Plitt. As an example of their mystical style, the following sentence (from a letter of Sergius) may be quoted: ἡ πρώτη πορνεία ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ περικείμεθα εὐεργεσία ἐστίν· ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μελῶν πορνεία ἐστὶ περὶ ἧς λέγει· ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ

ἴδιον σῶμα ἀμαρτάνει. The *own body* seems to refer to the Paulician sect. For literature on the Paulicians, see the excellent article in the *Dict. of Christ. Biography* by Rev. M. B. Cowell.

² The connection of Athingani (ἀ-θιγγάνειν) with *Tsiganes*, *Zigeuner* ("gypsies") seems improbable.

and symbols was common to the Paulicians and the iconoclasts. The significance of this resemblance appears when we remember that the founder of the Paulician sect was born in Commagene, and that the inaugurator of iconoclasm was, if not born at Germanicia, closely connected with it. Aversion to symbolism and concomitant superstitions seems to have been in the spirit of the sturdy highlanders of the Taurus mountains.

BOOK VI

THE HOUSE OF LEO THE ISAURIAN

CHAPTER I

THE REPULSE OF THE SARACENS¹

ON the 25th of March 717 Leo the Isaurian entered Constantinople by the Golden Gate, and rode along the great street which led thence to the acropolis in triumphal procession.

Five months were granted to Leo for organising the Empire and preparing Byzantium to undergo a siege before the arrival of the Saracens on the shores of the Propontis. How far the arrangements which the prudence of Anastasius II had made for meeting an apprehended attack of the unbelievers were still available we are not informed.

With an army of 80,000 men, Moslemah marched across Asia Minor and took the city of Pergamus on his way; he crossed the Hellespont at Abydos, reduced some Thracian forts on the Propontis, and on the 15th of August encamped before the city, which he surrounded with a ditch and a breastwork of huge uncemented stones. Sixteen days later, on the 1st of September,² Suleiman arrived with a fleet, consisting of eighteen hundred great warships and fast sailers.

The first object of the admiral was to cut off the city from communication either with the Euxine or with the Propontis

¹ Our Greek authorities for the siege are Theophanes, 6209, 6210 A.M., and Nicephorus (ed. de Boor), pp. 52-55. For the Saracen account I have, as usual, depended on Weil (*Geschichte der Chatifen*, i. 565 sqq.) For the period comprised in this Book, Finlay (*History of Greece*, vol. ii.) is extremely valuable; he sympathises throughout with the Isaurian Emperors. Schlosser's work, *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser des oströmischen Reichs*, is

still worth consulting. Maimbourg's *L'histoire des iconoclastes* has a psychological interest as an essay in bigotry.

² The Arabic writers place the siege a year earlier, 716-717. Theophanes describes the siege under 6209 A.M. = 716-717; because the siege began in August, he is led to anticipate the events of the following (first) indiction. Theoph. calls Suleiman the *πρωτοσύμβουλος*.

and Aegean. Accordingly, having remained quiet for a space of two days between Magnaura and Kyklobios,¹ he took advantage of an opportune south wind, and while one division of his squadron sailed to places on the Asiatic shore, named after Eutropius and Anthemius, which commanded the southern entry to the Bosphorus, other ships steered northward to occupy the entrance to the Euxine from the castle of Galata to the extremity of the straits. The weighty ships of burden, defended each by 100 soldiers, sailed in the rear of the line; unwieldy by the freight which they carried, and obliged to steer against the current, they progressed slowly. The watchful eyes of Leo, who perhaps stood on the Pharos in the palace observing the operations of the enemy, perceived the situation. He caused ships which were in readiness to be launched, and, going on board himself, burned twenty of the transport vessels with the redoubtable marine or "Roman" fire. This success encouraged the citizens, and filled the enemy with terror of "the very drastic operation of the moist fire."² On that same night the Emperor caused the chain which closed the Golden Horn to be removed with pretended secrecy, and the Saracens, supposing that some cunning snare was being prepared, avoided the place and moored in the haven of Sosthenion, or at the islands called "Sharp" and "Flat."³

A long and unusually severe winter was passed by the army and navy of the Arabs in a dreary blockade. The fall of snow was so great and the frost lasted so long that the solid earth was not seen for a hundred days, and many men and other animals perished. It was the besiegers and not the besieged who suffered from these inclemencies; the Byzantines were more accustomed than natives of Syria, Egypt, or Arabia to cold and frost, and were better provided with means to defy them. The death of the admiral Suleiman⁴ was another misfortune for the Saracens. But with spring new hope and new reinforcements came. Sophiam, with a great armament and

¹ According to Theophanes, Magnaura was west of the city, on the Propontis (353, 27, ed. de Boor), while Kyklobios was a promontory (*ib.*) close to the Golden Gate, with a round castle, Strongylon Kastellion (448, 18).

² τὴν τοῦ ὕγρου πυρὸς ἐγνωκότες δραστηρώτατην ἐνέργειαν (Theoph.). Nice-

phorus (not Theophanes) mentions the number of ships burnt (p. 53).

³ ἐτέραι δὲ μέχρι τῆς Ὀξείας καὶ Πλατείας νήσου λαυρίζουσαι ἀπηρέχθησαν (Theoph.) τῷ λιμένι τῷ καλουμένῳ Σωσθενίῳ (Nic.) λαυρίζω doubtless means to rush violently, as though it were λαβρίζω from λάβρος.

⁴ On 8th October (Theoph.)

supplies of food and arms, was sent from Egypt ; and his arrival was soon followed by that of Yezid with a large number of transports from Africa. These transports, afraid to approach the Bosphorus on account of the deadly "Roman fire," moored at Satyrus, Bryas, and Kartalimen, harbours on the Bithynian coast.

Both the fleet of Sophiam, which drew up at Kalos Agros, "Fair Farm," in the Bosphorus, and the fleet of Yezid contained many Egyptian Christians. By a previously concerted agreement these men, who liked not their Mohammedan lords, detached on a certain night little boats¹ from the ships and rowed to the city, shouting "Long live the Emperor!" The information which these deserters supplied to Leo was doubtless useful. He straightway sent vessels, fitted with the various appliances² for hurling Roman fire, to consume the transport ships, and the fire-vessels triumphantly returned laden with booty. It must be assumed that they only burned a few ships, and that the crews of the rest fled or surrendered. This important success, so discouraging to the Saracens, could not have been obtained so easily and so soon but for the desertion of the Egyptian Greeks, whose natural instinct led them to take the right side on one of the most critical occasions for the decision of the greatest question of history.

The besiegers were not only assisted by the reinforcements of men and provisions sent over seas ; they were also supported by an army under Merdasan, who, entering Asia Minor by the Cilician gates, traversed Cappadocia and Phrygia by the well-known routes and arrived in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia and Nicaea. Hovering on the coast of the Bosphorus and the Propontis,—the peratic coast, as it was called by the Byzantines,—he was able to prevent Roman boats, sent across the straits, from obtaining supplies. But the army of Merdasan was as luckless as the armament of Sophiam. It was surprised by foot-soldiers under the command of some Roman officers, who concealed themselves "like Mardaïtes" in an ambush, and, falling suddenly upon the Saracens, cut many to pieces and utterly routed the rest. Thus the peratic coast was made free for the Byzantine boats (*chelandia*) ; and the fishes which

¹ τοὺς τῶν κατηγῶν σανδάλους (Theophanes). σανδάλους is explained by Nicophorus' less colloquial λέμβους (p. 54).
² σίφωνας πυρσοφόρους (Theoph.)

they caught, along with those taken by nets or rods suspended from the walls or on the adjacent islets, kept the city adequately provisioned. In the meantime famine prevailed among the Arab hosts, and became so terrible that, according to the probably exaggerated account of a Greek historian, they were obliged to feed on a pulp, which they cooked in ovens, consisting of the flesh of dead men mingled with their own excrement. This deadly substitute for nutrition produced a plague, which increased the misery and the death rate.

The final blow to this unfortunate expedition was struck by the Bulgarians,¹ who came from the north and slew, it is said, twenty-two thousand Saracens. It is interesting to see the not yet slavised and not yet christianised Bulgarians, who led however many Slaves to war, fighting for Christendom at this great crisis against the Mohammedan Arabs. They knew not then that the nation which they were organising would in future days have to struggle long for freedom against the yet more barbarous Mohammedan Turks.

On the 15th of August 718 A.D., after a siege of just twelve months,² the remnant of the Saracen expedition, despairing of a cause which the skill and fortune of their enemies had baffled, and which nature herself seemed to have condemned, departed on their homeward journey. But even then they had not been sufficiently discomfited. The land forces reached Syria in safety, but the fleet met with calamities similar to those which befell the squadron that had besieged New Rome in the reign of Constantine IV. Before the ships had passed through the Dardanelles a tempest scattered them; but this was little compared with the storm of thunder and lightning ("burning hail") which caught them in the Aegean and destroyed all save ten vessels. Of these ten, five were captured by the Romans and five returned to tell the story in Syria.³

Regarding this terrible discomfiture of the archenemies of

¹ This is mentioned by the Mohammedan historians, who call the Bulgarians *Burđyan*. They called the Slavonic lands north-west and west of Byzantium *Sakalibe*. See Weil, i. 569.

² The exact date, 15th August 717 to 15th August 718, looks suspicious, and the statement of Nicephorus that the siege lasted thirteen months increases our doubts (p. 53). As Nicephorus

fixes 15th August as the end of the siege, he must have thought it began on 15th July.

³ Of an army of 180,000, only 30,000 (land army) returned, according to Arab sources. Paul the Deacon, the Lombard historian, makes the number of those who died 300,000! By the time numbers reached Italy, they were beyond recognition.

Christendom, and essentially, if not superficially, of civilisation, we cannot doubt that Theophanes the chronicler, in his pious reflections on the supernatural protection of the christian Empire, merely repeated the feelings, not only of Roman, but of European Christians. At this time New Rome, not Old Rome, was the great bulwark of christian Europe, and if New Rome had fallen it might have gone hard with the civilised world. The year 718 A.D. is really an ecumenical date, of far greater importance than such a date as 338 B.C. when Greece succumbed to Macedon on the field of Chaeronea, and of equal importance with such dates as 332 B.C. when an oriental empire fell, or 451 A.D. which marked the repulse of the Huns. The expedition which Muaviah had sent against Constantinople nearly fifty years before was not so tremendous or so formidable, for neither was it conceived on such a great scale, nor was the Saracen empire in the days of the fourth Constantine so extensive and powerful as in the days of the third Leo. The expedition led by Moslemah was, we may say, the great culmination of Omeyyad ambition; from this time forward the Omeyyad dynasty declined in the East, and the caliphs little thought that a recent conquest in the extreme West was destined to be the sole possession of their posterity at a period not far distant.

Asia Minor, however, during the eighth century was as much exposed as ever to the inroads of the Moslem, who entered by the Cilician gates and plundered in one year Cappadocia, in another year "Asia" or Opsikion. For six or seven years indeed after the calamity of the great expedition of 718, Romania had rest. The Caliph Hisham, who succeeded to the throne in 724, devoted his attention to erecting palaces, constructing roads, aqueducts, and gardens, and improving the internal condition of his empire. But in 726 the invasions began again, and were repeated almost every year during Leo's reign under the generals Suleiman and Muaviah.¹ Caesarea in Cappadocia was taken, Nicaea was hard pressed. A general decline in agriculture was the inevitable result of such conditions.

¹ In 726 and 730 Cappadocia was invaded, and in 732 the enemy advanced as far as Paphlagonia; in 727 Nicaea was besieged; in 734 and 737

"Asia" was invaded; in 736 and 738 "Romania" was attacked, without specification of parts.

In the last year of Leo (739)¹ the Saracens undertook an expedition on a larger scale than usual. An army was collected numbering 90,000 men, and placed under the command of four generals. One of these proceeded with 10,000 to the western part of the Taurus peninsula and plundered in "Asia"; Suleiman, with 60,000, confined himself to the districts of Cappadocia; while the other two generals, Malik and Sid Albattal, at the head of 20,000 cavalry, advanced in a north-westerly direction through the Anatolic theme. At Acroinon, a place south of Dorylaeum and near the frontiers of the Opsikian and Anatolic districts, the Emperor Leo and his son Constantine joined battle and completely defeated the Saracens. The battle of Acroinon is especially famous, because Abd Allah Albattal, said to be the prototype of the hero of the Spanish legends of the Cid, perished on the field, and his grave is still shown. The other division of the Mohammedan army, which plundered the Aegean coast and Cappadocia, returned to Syria in safety with numerous captives.

We need not pursue all the details of the hostilities between the Empire and the caliphate in the reign of Constantine V, Leo's son and successor. On the whole, the Empire was successful. The Cibyraiote fleet baffled an attempt of the Saracens in 746 to take possession of the island of Cyprus, which had been reconquered, we know not at what time, by the Romans since the days of Justinian II. The Saracen fleet was utterly destroyed. Constantine had invaded Commagene and northern Syria in the preceding year, taking advantage of the civil wars which convulsed the caliphate, and had captured the reputed birthplace of his father, Germanicia, whose inhabitants,² chiefly Syrian monophysites, he transferred to Byzantium and other places in Thrace, where they could be recognised sixty years later by their heretical religious opinions. In 751 he took Melitene and Theodosiopolis, and carried away prisoners from Armenia. The domestic struggles of the Saracens and their wars with the Turks prevented them from

¹ The Mohammedan authorities place the expedition in 739, thus supporting the revision of the chronology of the period which I have adopted. Cf. Weil, i. 638.

² Theophanes states that Constantine

found kinsfolk of his mother in Germanicia and settled them in Byzantium (6237 A.M.) If Leo's wife was a native of Germanicia, the statement that Leo "the Isaurian" was born there may be explained.

attacking Romania with serious effect, but Germanicia and Melitene were recovered some years afterwards, and on two occasions defeats were inflicted on Byzantine armies.¹ It may be noticed that the practice of interchanging captives began to become usual at this time, and thus, as Finlay remarks, the commercial view of prisoners as saleable articles introduced humanity into the usages of war.

In the year 750 Damascus was taken by the Abbasids²; the last Omeyyad caliph, Mervan II, fled to Egypt and was there slain in a church; and Abd Allah, called Al Saffah ("the Bloodshedder"), became the Commander of the Faithful. This change of dynasty led to the formation of two rival Saracen powers; for after a struggle in Spain the power there remained with the Omeyyad faction, and the Omeyyad emirs of Cordova, though they did not at first assume the title of caliph, asserted and maintained complete independence of the caliphs of the East.³

¹ In 759 Paul, the general of the Armeniakoi, was defeated near the Melas. In 771 the cavalry themes were routed at Isaurian Syke, which was besieged by a Saracen army and by a fleet. The Anatolic, Armeniac, Bucellarian, and Cibyraiote forces had been united against the foe. In 772 the Saracens carried off 5000 captives, but were

defeated by the Mopsuestians, who surprised them as they were returning.

² Abbas was the uncle of Mohammed.

³ At the beginning of the eighth century some expeditions were undertaken by the Saracens against Sicily, but they were of no importance; see Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, i. cap. vii.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LEO III¹

THE mere elevation of Leo did not immediately quench the embers of anarchy, although it allayed the flames, and, as soon as the danger from the Mohammedans had passed by, uneasy spirits formed a conspiracy against the man who had delivered them from jeopardy. Anastasius, or, to give him once more his private name, Artemius, who was living at Thessalonica, still nourished hopes of regaining, as Justinian had regained, the throne from which he had fallen, and for this purpose he entered into communications with several important ministers who were not loyally disposed to the new aristocratic government. Sisinnius Rendaces, a patrician who had been sent to Bulgaria by Leo to negotiate an alliance against the Saracens, promised the ex-Emperor to induce the Bulgarian monarch Terbel to undertake his cause. Isoes the count of Opsikion, Theoctistus the chief secretary of state, Nicetas Xylinites the *magister officiorum*, and Nicetas Anthrax, the commissioner of the fortifications, secretly favoured the pretensions of Artemius, who had also the support of the archbishop of Thessalonica. The treason was disclosed to Leo in good time, and he promptly seized those conspirators who were at Byzantium. Theoctistus and Xylinites were decapitated; others were mutilated and banished.

Meanwhile the persuasions of Sisinnius had been effective with the Bulgarians, and Artemius, accompanied by the arch-

¹ Our main authorities are still Nicephorus and Theophanes, except for the legal reforms, which have come down to us in the original *Ecloga*. For the

Ecloga, Zachariä's *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (ed. 2, 1877) is invaluable.

bishop and Sisinnius with a Bulgarian army, was advancing to Heraclea, while rough Slavonic sea crafts coasted along beside them. But the inhabitants of Byzantium had not forgotten who had saved them from the jaws of the infidel, and when the Bulgarians discovered that the popular feeling for Leo was pronounced and unmistakable, they hearkened to that monarch's proposals and surrendered the pretender whom they had come to support. Leo executed Artemius and the archbishop of Thessalonica in the Kynegion; as for Sisinnius, the Bulgarians had sent his head to the Emperor, presumably because he was too brave to allow himself to be taken alive. Horse-races were celebrated in the hippodrome in honour of the suppression of the conspiracy, and the heads of the rebels were exposed on poles.

While Leo punished his adversaries he rewarded his supporters. To Artavasdos,¹ the general of the Armeniac district, who had supported him against Theodosius, he gave his daughter Anna in marriage and made him general of the Opsikian theme. The fruit of this marriage was two sons, who also obtained distinguished posts while they were still young. Nicephorus, the elder, received a high command on the Thracian frontier, and Nicetas was made general of the Armeniacs.

The joy of Leo at the discomfiture of the Saracens was increased by the birth of a son. The boy was baptized by the Patriarch Germanus under the name of Constantine; his mother Maria was crowned Augusta at the same time in the chamber of Augusteus, and the new Empress did not forget to distribute the "consular donation" (25th December 718).² Almost a year and a half later (25th March 720), just after the suppression of Artemius' conspiracy, the young Constantine was crowned Emperor by the Patriarch Germanus in the tribunal of the Nineteen Accubiti.³ At the age of fourteen or fifteen (732) Constantine was betrothed to Irene, the daughter of the khan of the Khazars, who were generally on friendly

¹ 'Αρτάβασδος (Theoph. ed. de Boor), 'Αρτάβας (Niceph.)

² The MSS. of Theoph. have 'Οκτωβριου, but M. de Boor is doubtless right in emending Δεκεμβριου, after Anastasius. Maria scattered the donation, *ὑπάρειλα*, from the church to the gate Chalke. Theophanes, perhaps in his youth, heard a description of the cere-

monies from the mouths of old men.

³ Theoph. 6212 A.M. (=719-720), Niceph. p. 57. M. Paspatis (*op. cit.* p. 227 *sqq.*) has essayed to determine the position in the palace of the chamber known as τὸ τριβουνάλιον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀκουβιτρῶν (said by Codinus to have been built by Constantine I.) He places it in the palace of Daphne, north of the Octagon.

terms with the Roman Empire and on hostile terms with the Saracen caliphate.¹ This was the second time that a Khazar princess became a Roman Empress.

Besides the conspiracy of Artemius, a revolt in Sicily troubled the peace of Leo. Sergius, the general of that province, threw off his allegiance and caused one of his staff, Basil, son of Gregory Onomagulus, to be saluted Emperor under the title of Tiberius. This happened while the Saracens were besieging Constantinople; the western provinces deemed it a good opportunity to rebel against the government. Leo appointed Paul the Patrician, on whose loyalty and military skill he could rely, stratêgos of Sicily, and sent him to quell the revolt, supplying him with letters to the governors of the western parts and a *sacra* or imperial manifesto to the army. The soldiers returned to their allegiance immediately, Sergius fled to the duchy of Beneventum,² and the heads of Basil and the other chief conspirators were sent, swathed in cloth or linen,³ to Leo.

Thus, about four years after his accession, having won immortal fame by repelling the great expedition of the enemies of Europe, having quelled conspiracies in the East and in the West, having begotten a son to succeed him, Leo might feel himself secure on his throne, and begin to address himself to the great work of his life.

This work was no less than the regeneration of the Roman Empire. While the twenty years of anarchy, from a political point of view, represent the culmination of the struggle between the autocratic and aristocratic elements in the State; from spiritual, social, and moral points of view they represent a low stage in a long decline. These years were the darkest point of the dark ages in southern Europe. As we already observed, society was sunk in ignorance, and the surest sign of this ignorance was the gross superstition that prevailed. There was a dearth of writers; no books were written, except perhaps tracts on the monotheletic controversy.⁴ Education,

¹ For example, in 728 the Khazars invaded Media and Armenia, annihilated a Saracen army, and thoroughly frightened Islam.

² Afterwards, despairing of his safety, he gave himself up to Paul, on condition

that his life should be spared.

³ *φουσκιδας* (Theoph.)

⁴ I must, however, limit this statement by mentioning that the Chronicle of John Malalas of Antioch, preserved in an imperfect state, was perhaps

affected with the deadly disease of superstition, must have been in a sorry condition. The law schools had degenerated, and with them the knowledge of jurisprudence. This circumstance directly affected the administration of justice and undermined the very foundations of society.

What gave the reforming spirit of Leo its peculiar complexion was the fact that he did not content himself with renovating each branch of the administration separately, but attempted to cut away the root of the evil. He improved the discipline and efficiency of the army, he restored the majesty of law and justice, he reformed the police control, and he attended assiduously to the financial and commercial interests of the Empire; but he did much more than this. He essayed to eradicate the prevailing superstition by the iconoclastic policy, which has made him so famous or notorious; and, even if he failed and the Empire could not endure to have such a vital sore removed, the results show that a new spirit of order and improvement was breathed into Roman society. An account of his iconoclastic measures will be given in another chapter, and we shall now proceed to consider his secular reforms, of which we have but scanty records. Such departments of history as this are neglected by monastic chroniclers; and unfortunately the Isaurian Emperors were regarded with such hatred by their successors on account of their religious policy that none of their laws were incorporated in the great ninth-century Code of Basil I. and Leo VI.

Roman law, like the Latin language, was no longer understood in the Empire, which was tending more and more to become entirely Greek, now that it had lost Syria in the south, Africa in the west, and the northern provinces of the Haemus peninsula. Thus the nominal law of the Empire was practically in abeyance in the provinces, and while

composed about this time. It is a work, however, that will not redeem the age from the charge of ignorance and superstition. The date of John Malalas is a well-known *crux historica*. The circumstance that Malalas is referred to in the third oration against Iconoclasm of John of Damascus fixes a posterior limit; while a passage in the Chronicle about the Bulgarians has been adduced as internal evidence that

it was composed after 680, the date of the foundation of the Bulgarian kingdom (ed. Bonn, p. 97); see *Sotiriadis, Johannes von Antiochia*, p. 105. Malalas (like George Hamartolus) had the honour of being translated into Old Bulgarian, probably by the Presbyter Gregory in the reign of the great Tsar Simeon. For this translation, see Haupt, *Ueber die altslavische Uebersetzung des Joh. Mal.* Hermes xv.

on the one hand old local customs superseded the forgotten law, on the other hand a wide room was left for the good pleasure or arbitrary opinion of judges, uncontrolled by a written, accessible, and intelligible code. If the judges had been a class of lawyers independent of the civil administration, their ignorance might not have been so fatal to justice and equity, although there was still the certain danger that fear or bribery would often corrupt them. But, as the provincial governors were often the judges, and cases were constantly occurring in which the interests of the governor or his friends were at stake, there was no guarantee for the distribution of justice when the written laws were inaccessible and therefore practically obsolete.

Leo met the imperative need of his subjects by preparing a handbook in Greek for popular use, containing a short compendium of the most important laws on the chief relations of life. It was entitled an *Ecloga*,¹ and was not published until the last year of Leo's reign (740), but doubtless several years were spent on its preparation, which involved long preliminary studies. The preface shows the spirit in which it was undertaken; and I may quote parts of this proem as an original document illustrating the intellectual atmosphere of the eighth century.

"The Lord and Maker of the universe, our God, who created man and granted him the privilege of free will (*αὐτεξουσίῳ*), and gave unto him a law (in the words of prophecy) to help him, made known thereby all things which ought to be done by him and all things which ought not to be done: to the intent that he should aim at the former as things that provide salvation,² and avoid the latter as things that

¹ The full title is—"A compendious selection (*ecloga*) of the laws, made by the wise Emperors Leo and Constantine, from the Institutes and the Digesta and the Codex and the Novels of the great Justinian; and an improvement thereof in the direction of humanity (*εἰς τὸ φιλανθρωπότερον*); edited in the month of March, ninth indiction, year of the world 6248." It is fortunate that this encheiridion, as it is sometimes called, has survived in spite of the bigoted endeavours of later Emperors to destroy every monument of the activity of the great iconoclasts. It was published by Leunclavius in

the 2d vol. of his *Juris Graeco-Romani*, etc., but has been more recently published and thoroughly commented on by Zachariä. Bishop Stubbs remarks (*Constitutional History of England*, i. p. 214), "The very fact of the issue of a code illustrates the progress of legislative power in assimilating old customs or enacting provisions of general authority." The *Ecloga* is not a code so much as a handbook; but it marks a crisis in the Empire, as a legislator's recognition of altered conditions.

² *πρόξενα σωτηρίας* — as it were, official entertainers of salvation.

cause punishment. And not one of those who keep His commandments or who—save the mark!—disregard His statutes, shall fail to receive the appropriate recompense for his deeds. For it was God who declared both these things aforetime; and the power of His words, charged with immutability and meting to the work of each man its deserts, shall not (in the words of the Gospel) pass away. . . .

“Whence, busied with such cares, and watching with sleepless mind the discovery of those things which please God and are conducive to the public interests, preferring Justice to all things terrestrial, as the provider of things celestial and as being, by the power of Him who is worshipped in her, sharper than any sword against foes; knowing, moreover, that the laws enacted by previous Emperors have been written in many books, and being aware that the sense thereof is to some difficult to understand, to others absolutely unintelligible, and especially to those who do not reside in this our imperial city, protected of God; we have called Nicetas, the most illustrious Patrician, our quaestor, and the most illustrious Patricians Nicetas and Marinus, and our most illustrious consulars and comptrollers (*ἀντιγραφεῖς*), and others who have the fear of God, and we have ordered that all their books should be collected in our palace.¹ And having examined all with careful attention, going through both the contents of those books and our own new enactments, we considered it right that the decisions in many cases and the laws of contract and the respective penalties of crimes should be repeated more lucidly and minutely, in order to a eusynoptic knowledge of the force of such pious laws and to facility in deciding matters clearly, and to a just prosecution of the guilty, and to the restraint and correction of those who have a natural propensity to evil-doing.

“But those who have been appointed to administer the law, we do exhort and command to abstain from all human passions; and from a sound understanding to bring forth the sentences of true justice, and neither to despise the poor nor to permit a powerful transgressor to go unconvicted. . . .

¹ Many of these books were doubtless records of precedents and customs. The *Ecloga* probably contains little new legislation, and the appendices to it

(military, agricultural, and maritime), to be spoken of hereafter, are merely registers of customs.

"Let those, and those only, who participate in sense and reason and know clearly what true justice is, exercise straight vision in their judgments and without passion assign to each his deserts. For so also our Lord Jesus Christ, the power and wisdom of God, giveth unto them far more abundantly the knowledge of justice and revealeth those things that are hard to discover, who also made Solomon truly wise, when he sought out justice, and granted him the privilege of successfully hitting the mark in the sentence pronounced to the two women in the matter of the child. . . .

"It is just to abstain from all taking of presents. For it has been written, 'Woe unto them who justify the unrighteous for the sake of gifts and declining the paths of the humble take away from him the right of the just man. Their root will be as ash and their flower will come up as dust, because they did not wish to fulfil the law of the Lord.' Presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise. Therefore, being solicitous to put an end to such wicked gain, we have determined to provide from our Patrimony (*σακέλλιον*) salaries for the most illustrious quaestor, for the comptrollers, and for all the officials employed in administering justice, to the intent that they may receive nothing whatever from any person whatever who is tried before them; in order that what is said by the prophet may not be fulfilled in us, 'he sold justice for money,' and that we may not incur the indignation of God, as transgressors of his commandments."

This preface shows clearly the decline that had taken place both in legal knowledge and in the administration of justice, and also the earnest purpose of reform that animated Leo. But what especially strikes one who is accustomed to the language of Gaius or Tribonian is the ecclesiastical note which characterises both the preface and other parts of the Ecloga. The point of view of the old Roman jurists had been almost completely lost, and the spirit of Roman law had been transformed in the religious atmosphere of Christendom.¹ Men tried now to base jurisprudence on revelation, and to justify laws by verses of scripture. The judgment of Solomon became a sort of commonplace which pious lawyers quoted for

¹ The christian point of view is of course often manifested in the constitutions of Justinian, but not as affecting legal principles.

edification ; while in the proceedings of law courts the venerable and mystic Romans, Titus and Seius, were deposed in favour of the scriptural worthies Peter and Paul. As a further illustration of this change we may note that, in the first title of the treatise which is before us, law is defined to be " the discovery of God " as well as a political or social compact. In the second title, where the duties and functions of the Emperor are set forth, it is explained that it devolves upon him to maintain (1) all things laid down in scripture, (2) all the enactments of the seven holy synods, (3) the Roman laws. It is stated moreover to be highly important that he should hold correct theological opinions, and the orthodox doctrine is defined.

All this harmonises with the general theory of the constitution of the Empire, which is enunciated in terms that expressly affirm the preponderance of the ecclesiastical element. The constitution of the State is compared to the organism of a man (in the third title), and the Emperor and the Patriarch are declared to be the two chief parts. Consequently, as the well-being of a body depends on the unison of the chief organs, the peace and happiness, both bodily and ghostly, of the subjects depend on the union and harmony of the Patriarch and the Emperor.¹ In point of fact, though not in name, the Roman Empire of Leo III, or the Eastern Roman Empire of Basil I., was as much a *Holy* Roman Empire as the Western Empire of the Othos.

The *Ecloga* gives a short account of the duties of the Emperor himself, of the Patriarch, of the prefect of the city, of the quaestor, and of the provincial governors, and supplies us here with some interesting information.² The true aim of the Emperor is stated to be the conferring of benefits, while his special objects are (1) to preserve the strength which his Empire has, (2) to recover lost dominions by sleepless care, (3) to make fresh acquisitions by wisdom and just triumphs. In interpreting the laws he must regard the custom of the State as a clue, and if he errs, should err on the side of clemency.

¹ Nevertheless the Emperor, not the Patriarch, is the representative of St. Peter in the East, as the Pope is in the West ; and this apostolic mission is alluded to in the Preface to the *Ecloga* thus : God " has ordered us to feed his

flock, like Peter the chief of the apostles." It will be seen below, cap. iv., that Pope Gregory II recognised this position of the Emperor.

² In cap. xiii. below, this information will be utilised.

From the functions of the various members of the imperial government the treatise passes first to personal law, then to obligations and actions, and finally to public law (criminal and military). Thus *real* law is almost entirely omitted, and even the important subject of *servitudes* is not mentioned; whence it is evident that in this department it was considered expedient to allow local customs to continue.

The great interest of the *Ecloga* is the clear view which it gives us of the tendencies of Roman law as they developed under the christian influences of the Middle Ages without reference to past legislation. This medieval development was cut short in the ninth century by the return to Justinian law, which was inaugurated by the first Basil and carried out by the sixth Leo.¹ It is especially instructive to compare the *Ecloga* with the Code of Justinian on the subject of marriage and divorce. The influence of Christianity on the legal conception of the conjugal relation was, as Zachariä remarks, small up to the time of Justinian; and it was the Isaurian Emperors who really introduced a christian legislation on the subject.² The following points are worthy of note: (1) Justinian permitted concubinage, while Leo and Constantine ordained that every concubine was to be considered a wife. (2) The *Ecloga* sternly institutes punishments for fornication, which the laxer law of earlier days had regarded as a venial immorality, to be dealt with by the Church. (3) The *Ecloga* required the consent of both parents to the marriage of their child, while the older law recognised only the father. In this point Basil returned to the rule of Justinian. (4) The marriage of Christians with Jews had been forbidden by Justinian, but not the marriage of Christians with heretics. The *Ecloga* assumes the latter

¹ Zachariä von Lingenthal (*Gesch. des gr.-röm. Rechts*, Preface, p. v.) observes the analogy in the development of private law between the East and the West. "Auch bei den Byzantinern lässt sich eine mittelalterliche Rechtsbildung (im vii. bis ix. Jahrhundert) unterscheiden, welche durch die Restauration des Justinianischen Rechts wie später im Abendlande durch die Reception desselben unterbrochen und durchkreuzt wird." On the other hand, in regard to constitutional law there is not an analogy but a contrast;

western kings and princes have very limited sovereign rights at first, but gradually win full rights, whereas the eastern Emperor starts with full power, which becomes gradually reduced. There is also an obvious difference in the relations of State and Church. The contrast between the practical legislation of the iconoclasts and the anachronistic resuscitation of traditions by the Macedonian Emperors is neatly put by Skabalonovitch, *Vizantyskoe Gosudarstvo*, p. 241.

² Zachariä, *ib.* p. 37.

relation, which had been condemned by the Quinisext Council, to be illegal. (5) The Ecloga forbade the marriage of cousins to the sixth or even seventh degree.¹ In regard to divorce, the contrast of the earlier and the later legislation is striking.² The general principle of Justinian and his lawyers was that all contracts and agreements made by men are dissoluble by the consent of both parties; and an arrangement *ne liceat divertere* was invalid. Hence divorces could take place by private agreement without the intervention of a court. But instead of the secular and rational principle underlying the legislation of Justinian, the Ecloga adopts the religious principle that man and wife are one flesh, and refuses to permit divorce except in four cases, namely: (1) if the wife commit adultery, (2) if the husband be proved to be impotent, (3) if either spouse circulate calumnies which endanger the life of the other, (4) if either spouse be afflicted with leprosy. It appears that adultery on the part of the husband was not a valid cause for divorce. Many avoided this stringent law by acting as sponsors to their own children and thus incapacitating themselves from further intercourse with their spouses, but in the year 780 Leo IV strictly forbade this artifice for annulling the marriage bond. In the Basilica, however, the older and laxer law is restored. In regard to a third marriage, the Ecloga affects to regard such an act as inconceivable, and it was definitely forbidden by Irene in 800.³

The *patria potestas* is another matter in which the Justinianean and Isaurian attitudes notably differ. Long before Justinian, the power of the father over the person and property of his children had been growing weaker; it had become easy to obtain emancipation; and practically, though not theoretically, the maternal had become equal to the paternal influence in guiding the life of the son. But here Justinian preserved the letter of the old law and did not bring the theory into accord with practice; the father still retains his old rights over his

¹ It may be noted that the Ecloga enacted that the marriage contract should be regularly written δι' ἐγγράφου προικῶν συμβολαίου; only in case of poverty it might be made δι' εὐλογίας (benediction) or ἐπὶ φίλων (Zachariä, *Gesch. des gr.-röm. Rechts*, p. 51). The word εὐλογία came to mean the marriage ceremony.

² Zachariä, *ib.* p. 55 sqq.

³ In regard to the common property of married people (the *dos* and the *propter nuptias donatio*), the Ecloga gives more rights in case of one survivor than the Codex. Here again we see the principle of the unity of the spouses (*ib.* p. 67).

son's person and property; and the son is only permitted to have the independent disposal of his *castrense peculium*. The Ecloga here adapts the law to the fact and sets aside the old Roman conception of the *patria potestas*. Equal duties or rights are assigned to both the mother and the father, and thus as long as either parent is alive no guardian¹ is requisite. The personal consequences of the *patria potestas* disappear, and though the management of the son's property is still in the hands of the parents, this is considered not so much a legal right as a parental care for the interests of the children.

The publication of the Ecloga was accompanied by three special codes embodying and sanctioning the customs which regulated military, agricultural, and maritime affairs. The Maritime Code (*Νόμος Ναυτικός*), known as the Rhodian laws, Rhodes having been in old days a centre of ocean traffic, shows us that in the eighth century mercantile trade by sea was carried on by companies.² The Mediterranean was infested by Slavonic and Saracen pirates, and sea commerce was so dangerous that merchants and skippers could not undertake it except on condition that the risk should be common. Thus the Isaurian Emperors lay down the law that in case of ship or cargo being injured by an accident for which no one can be blamed, the loss is to be borne jointly by the skipper, the owner of the freight, and the travellers.³

The Agricultural Code (*Νόμος Γεωργικός*)⁴ leads us to consider the important question as to the changes which had taken place in the agricultural population and in the institution of serfdom since the fifth century. A great but silent revolution had been accomplished in the intervening ages, so gradual that it has been left unnoticed by the writers whose works have come down to us, but deducible with absolute certainty from a comparison of the legislation of the eighth with the legislation of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. The institution of the

¹ The Isaurian Emperors adapted the principle of guardianship to ecclesiastical institutions, for in case the parents made no arrangement before death the care of the children was to be entrusted to some religious house such as an *ὀρφανοτροφείον*. Here the Basilica returned to the law of Justinian (Zachariä, *Gesch. des gr.-röm. Rechts*, p. 100). It may be further noted that in the

Ecloga the old distinction of *hereditas* and *bonorum possessio* disappears (*ib.* p. 165).

² *Ib.* p. 294.

³ *Ib.* p. 295. These subsidiary codes, if they were not issued contemporaneously with the Ecloga, certainly appeared soon after it.

⁴ It was a system of police regulations for the country (*ib.* p. 234 sqq.)

colonnate has been slowly undermined, and by the age of the iconoclasts has completely disappeared; in the Agricultural Code there is no mention of the *adscripticii*¹; and we find no cultivators fastened to the soil by the chains of law. Peasants of two kinds are mentioned, and both classes are in every sense free. There are (1) peasants who are allowed by a proprietor² to settle on his land and cultivate it, but they can leave it when they like, though they are obliged to compensate the proprietor for any loss accruing to him from their untimely departure. As rent for the land these tenants paid the landlord a tithe of the produce (*μορτή*),³ and hence they were called *μορτίται*. There are (2) free communes of peasants, who possess land in common, which they divide among the members. Each member (*κοινωνός*) farms the land either himself or with the help of slaves; or even rents it or part of it to some other person on condition of receiving a percentage of the profits.

When we proceed to inquire how this change⁴ in the economical condition of the provinces came about, and how serfdom disappeared, we are reduced to speculation. It is clear that the explanation of these facts must lie partly in changes in the national character and partly in the external history of the Empire. Now a great change had taken place in the population, both in the European and in the Asiatic provinces, since the middle of the sixth century. The north-western regions of Asia Minor as well as the Balkan peninsula had been filled with Slavonic settlers; while the other provinces of Asia—Syria had been lost—were colonised by the free Mardaites and in the east by Armenians. The new settlers were not accustomed to the colonate and the system which enchained the son to the

¹ Zachariä, *Gesch. des gr.-röm. Rechts*, p. 241. Cf. above, vol. i. p. 29, where I pointed out that M. Fustel de Coulanges is mistaken on this point.

² Called *χωροδότης* (Leunclavius, *Jur. Gr.-Rom.* ii. p. 258).

³ A tithe was the usual, but not invariable rent. Sometimes no less than half the produce went to the landlord (*ἐφημερία*), Leunclavius, *ib.* The tithe system is thus recognised, *μορτίτου μέρος δεμάτια* (*fasciculi*) *ἐντέα χωροδότην δὲ μέρος δεμάτων ἐν.*

⁴ For this discussion I must acknowledge my debt to the work of N.

Skabalonovitch (already referred to), *Vizantyskoe Gosudarstvo i Tserkov v xi. Vékē*. In the fifth chapter the author sets forth most lucidly the nature of the change and its causes; and the importance of the Slavonic element in bringing about the change is naturally not neglected by a Russian scholar. It is strange that Finlay did not grasp the fact of this change or the importance of the *Νόμος Γεωργικός*. The decline of "predial slavery" did not escape him, but he did not see that the colonate was a thing of the past. (Cf. Finlay, ii. p. 220.)

profession of the father; and the Roman Emperors, who were straining every nerve to beat back Persians or Avars or Saracens, were not injudicious enough to force the colonate upon them. Moreover, during the Persian and Saracen invasions the colons were doubtless called upon, if not for offensive, at least for defensive military service, and the continuance of this abnormal state of things must have led to practical changes in their position. When new cultivators were settled in a district, the condition of the old cultivators who had lived under the colon system must have been gradually assimilated to that of the new settlers. But, in addition to this, the invasions of the Avars, Slaves, and Bulgarians in Europe, and of the Persians and Saracens in Asia, had depopulated wholly or partially many districts. The peasants were either slain, or led captive, or compelled to flee to other provinces. In the last case, the general confusion occasioned by constant invasions secured the fugitives from being recalled to their old state of serfdom; and we may conjecture that when captives were redeemed from an enemy those who had been serfs were allowed to settle, on new conditions, in the provinces.

Thus the continuous invasions from the middle of the sixth century to the end of the seventh operated both directly and indirectly in the abolition of the colonate—directly by removing the serfs, indirectly by changing the character of the population. Now the latter change has a peculiarity which throws further light on the problem before us.

The most important new element in the population was the Slavonic. One point of difference between the Slaves and the Germans was that the Slaves had no institution corresponding to the German *laeti*. The Slaves had slaves, but they had no free cultivators attached to the soil. Now the development of the Roman colonate in its later stages was closely connected with the settlement of Germans in the Empire; and the success of the system was certainly due partly to the fact that the Germans, familiar with the notion of *laeti*, readily adapted themselves to the institution of the *coloni*.¹ "But the institution which was signified in the Byzantine Empire by the word *ἐναπόγραφοι* was strange to the spirit of the Slavonic race; the Slaves did not understand it and could not reconcile themselves

¹ This is justly insisted on by Skabalonovitch, *op. cit.* pp. 239, 240.

to it. A direct result of the intrusion and settlement of the Slaves was the abolition of this institution; the tie connecting the peasants and the soil was broken, the peasants ceased to be serfs and received the right of free movement from place to place."¹ The new Slavonic settlements reacted on the condition of the colons and *adscripticii*.

The hypothesis that the Slaves were mainly influential in bringing about this change is confirmed by the existence of peasant communities, attested by the Agricultural Code of the Isaurian sovereigns. Besides the new class of free tenants "there appeared peasant communities which were organised by Slaves in the provinces occupied by them, according to Slavonic custom, and which, it may be, were borrowed from the Slaves by peasants of other nationalities subject to the Byzantine Empire."²

It thus appears that while the Roman institution of the colonate worked out a natural development among the Teutonic nations of the West, it ceased to exist in the Roman Empire itself, where new conditions were to lead to a great struggle, in the ninth and following centuries, between the rich and the poor proprietors. The colonate did not arise again in the East, and references to this system in the Basilica are anachronisms, having no application to contemporary society, but merely repeated from the Code of Justinian.

As the iconodulic chroniclers did not know, or did not care to tell of Leo's beneficial reforms, we are left in the dark as to the details. The successes gained during his own reign against the Saracens, the successes gained by his son Constantine against the Bulgarians, indicate that he restored the relaxed discipline and improved the efficiency of the military forces.³ If he did not extend the frontiers of the diminished Empire, he made it firm and compact from Haemus to Taurus. He also improved the police control both in the city and in the

¹ I translate from Skabalonovitch, p. 240.

² *Ib.*

³ The strictness of military discipline enforced by the Isaurians may be learned from the νόμος στρατιωτικός. The law (Leunclavius, p. 249) that men condemned for adultery were not allowed to serve is worthy of notice;

and also the law that a soldier conniving at the adultery of his wife should be cashiered. Soldiers were not allowed to busy themselves with agriculture or merchandise, nor to be agents or sureties for others. Traitorous desertion was punished with horrible deaths by burning or crucifixion (*ib.* p. 255).

provinces; but on this subject we may speak more conveniently in another place. During the years of anarchy brigandage had flourished in the highlands of Thrace and doubtless also in the highlands of Asia Minor. To Constantine V is due the credit of suppressing the bands of scammers which infested Thrace and were recruited by peasants whose lands had been wasted by Bulgarians or drained by heavy taxation.¹ A notorious chief of one of these robber bands was made an example by an inhuman punishment; his extremities were amputated and he was dissected alive by surgeons.

It is certain that the financial condition of the Empire was not satisfactory when Leo ascended the throne. At the time of Philippicus' succession,² after the death of Justinian Rhinotmetos, the treasury was full, but the voluptuous upstart spent in a short season the greater part of the treasures. The expenses incurred by Anastasius in preparing for, and by Leo in undergoing, a long siege were probably considerable, and the revenue proceeding from direct taxation must have been appreciably affected by the circumstance that Asia Minor had been so long exposed to annual invasions, which injured the agricultural prosperity of the country. It may be concluded that Leo was anxious to improve the revenues, and that his fiscal measures were not likely to be lenient. For six or seven years Asia Minor suffered little from the Saracens and had time to recover its productiveness (719-726); then the Emperor saw good to increase the burden suddenly.

The manner in which he carried out this measure was peculiar, if I am right in interpreting a curious aberration in the chronology of the time. I believe that Leo caused the taxes which would regularly have been paid in two years to be paid in one year, and that for this purpose he adopted the original idea of altering the calendar.³ The official mode of reckoning was by indictions; thus the year current from 1st September 726 to 1st September 727 was the tenth indiction. Leo threw two indictions into one, or, in other words,

¹ Cf. Finlay, ii. p. 54.

² See Zonaras, Bk. xiv. cap. 26: *σώρους χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν παλαιότερων θησαυρισθέντας αὐτοκρατόρων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εὐρών, κ.τ.λ.*

³ My reasons for departing from the received chronology will be found

in the Note at the end of this chapter.

I would observe that my rectification of the chronology and my conjecture as to the cause of the error are quite independent of each other. The conjecture may be wrong, but that will not affect the question of the actual dates.

omitted one indiction, either the eleventh or the twelfth (probably the eleventh), and then exacted the double tribute. Thus the year current from the end of 728 to the end of 729 was called in the official records the thirteenth indiction, whereas according to the natural reckoning it should have been the twelfth. The consequence of this has been that the chroniclers, who took their dates from the public records and were not aware that an indiction had been suppressed, have misled modern historians, who, when they perceived that the indictions and the years of the world did not correspond, assumed that the indictions were right and the years of the world wrong. Nearly fifty years later, shortly before the death of Constantine V, the alteration was cancelled and the right reckoning restored by counting two years as one indiction. But for fifty years of the eighth century all the received dates are wrong by a year. Leo III, for example, reigned a year less than is generally supposed, and his son Constantine V a year longer.

In 732 Leo ordained that a register should be kept of the male children born in the Empire, a measure which his religious enemies held up to odium.¹ In the same year he increased the capitation tax in Sicily and Calabria, and ordained that a sum of three and a half talents of gold, which was annually paid to the patrimony of the Apostles at Old Rome, should be paid to the treasury.

A great earthquake which occurred in October 739 may be recorded here, because it gave rise to a new tax. Some of the oldest monuments in the city were thrown down by the shock, the statue of Constantine the Great, at the gate of Attalus; the statue and sculptured column of Arcadius; the statue of Theodosius I., over the Golden Gate, and the church of Irene, close to St. Sophia. The land walls of the city were also subverted; and in order to repair the fortifications Leo increased the taxes by one-twelfth, or a *miliarision* in a *nomisma*.²

From Leo's time forward it was the habit of the Emperor to pay more direct personal attention to the finances than before,³ so that the officer called *logothetes* was rather the

¹ Theoph. 6224 A.M., who compares Leo to Pharaoh.

² Miliarision (1s. $\frac{1}{3}$ d.) = one-twelfth of a nomisma (12s. 6d.) = two keratia; hence the tax was called dikeraton. Finlay is severe upon Leo for this mea-

sure, but it is difficult to judge of the circumstances of the case.

³ Finlay notices this, and attributes the innovation to Leo—wrongly, as I try to show.

imperial secretary in fiscal matters than a responsible minister, while the Emperor was himself chancellor of the exchequer. This, however, was a matter of practice and not of statute, and the relation between the logothete and the sovereign varied according to the judgment or character of the latter. Active princes like Leo and his son might take the direction of the fisc altogether into their own hands, and leave to their logothetes little more than routine work; while indolent monarchs like Michael III, or delicate monarchs like Leo IV, might surrender a large proportion of the financial administration into the grand accountant's hand. I am not confident, however, that this change was first introduced by Leo; I am rather inclined to believe that it dated from the reign of Constans, one of whose characteristics was the habit of doing things himself. His grandfather Heraclius was called upon to solve serious financial difficulties at the beginning of his reign, and must have exercised a careful personal supervision over the fisc and the "count of sacred largesses." Now before the end of the seventh century we find that this name has become obsolete, and that our historians, whose language generally echoes that of their sources, use the term logothete (*τοῦ γενικοῦ*).¹ It seems not improbable that the change of name was concurrent with the change in the functions of the office, and that the autocratic and independent Constans managed the affairs of the exchequer himself, and transformed the count of sacred largesses into a secretary, who received the name *λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ*. As the new office was almost equivalent to a private secretariate, it becomes intelligible that Theodotus, a monk, held it under Justinian II, just as freedmen held such posts in the early Empire.

¹ On the financial officers, *see above*, p. 324 note 2.

NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY

FROM the year 727 A.D. to 774 A.D. the indictions and the *anni mundi* in the Chronicle of Theophanes do not correspond. The question is, are his indictions or his *anni mundi* right? Chronologists and historians (Baronius, Pagi, Muralt, Finlay, Schlosser, Hopf, Hefele, etc.) have invariably accepted his indictions and rejected his *anni mundi*. For example, the death of Leo III took place in the ninth indiction, which should have been current from 1st September 740 to 1st September 741; and thus historians place it in June 741. On the other hand, the same authority states that the same event happened in 6232 A.M., current 1st September 739 to 1st September 740; and this date, in opposition to the received doctrine, I hold to be correct.

(1) The first question to be determined is, whether the discrepancy is merely due to an oversight on the part of Theophanes himself. Now on this point we fortunately possess a piece of incontestable documentary evidence in the title of the *Ecloga* (quoted above, p. 412), where that handbook is stated to have been issued *ἐν μηνὶ μαρτίῳ ἰνδ. θ' ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου σσμῆ'*, "in the month of March, ninth indiction, 6248 A.M." In the date of the month and indiction all the MSS. are at one; in the year of the world the later MSS. have several variants, but the three oldest MSS. agree in the date which I have printed. Now 6248 of the era of Constantinople corresponds to 6232 of the era of Antioch (or rather of Panodorus the Egyptian), which was used by Theophanes, that is 739-740 A.D.; whereas the ninth indiction, as we have seen, corresponds to the year 740-741. Thus it appears that in the official date of a contemporary record we find the same discrepancy that we find in Theophanes. The conclusion is that the discrepancy has some deeper cause than the error of an individual chronographer.¹

¹ On this discrepancy in the date of the *Ecloga*, see Heimbach, "Griechisch-römisches Recht," in *Ersch und Gruber*, p. 215. He assumes that Leo

changed the *anni mundi*: "man darf . . . behaupten dass diese Abweichung von der gewöhnlichen Weltära auf officiellern Wege veranlasst worden sei."

(2) The next problem is, was it the indictions or the *anni mundi* that were tampered with in the eighth century? was an indiction left out, or was a year of the world counted twice over? Now one of the most valuable tests of chronological data are the certain calculations of astronomy, and in this case we can fortunately appeal to this impartial arbitrator, as a solar eclipse which took place in a year of the period with which we are concerned is recorded by Theophanes. Under 6252 A.M., corresponding to the fourteenth indiction, he states that an eclipse took place on Friday, 15th August, at four o'clock in the afternoon. According to the received chronology, which accepts the indictions and rejects the *anni mundi*, the eclipse took place in 761. Now in 761 a total eclipse of the sun did take place, but it was only visible in Asia, and the date was Wednesday, 5th August (*L'art de vérifier les dates, depuis la naiss. de N. S.* vol. i. ed. 1783, p. 66). Theophanes cannot have referred to this. On the other hand, there was an annular eclipse on 15th August 760 (= 6252 A.M.), visible at three in the afternoon in Europe and Africa (*ib.*); and the 15th August in 760 fell on Friday. Thus astronomy proves that the *annus mundi* is right and the indiction wrong. And this is what we might have expected *a priori*. It is more likely that the official system of reckoning was modified than that a temporary practice prevailed of placing the creation of the world 5510 instead of 5509 years B.C.

Another point connected with the same year 760 confirms this conclusion. Theophanes notices that Easter 6252 fell on 6th April, but that some celebrated it on 13th April. Now, Easter actually fell on 6th April in 760, and not in 761.

(3) I must now notice some points that apparently make against this conclusion. In five cases besides those mentioned, Theophanes, in stating the day of the month, adds the day of the week. (a) 6232 = ninth indiction, he makes 26th October fall on Wednesday. According to the received date this year was 740, according to my theory 739. Adding together 3, the *concurrent* of 739, and 2, the *régulier solaire* of October, we find that in that year 1st October fell on $(2 + 3 = 5)$ Thursday, and therefore 26th October on Monday; whereas in 740 (a leap year) 1st October was Saturday and 26th October Wednesday. (b) 6235 A.M., twelfth indiction. Valid was slain on the fifth day of the week, 16th April. This suits 744, the received date (*concur.* = 3, *rég.* = 1 \therefore 1st April = Wednesday, 16th April = Thursday). (c) 6254 A.M. = first indiction, 30th June = Thursday, which suits 763, not 762. (d) 6260 A.M. = seventh indiction, 1st April = Saturday, which suits 769, not 768.

These four cases seem inconsistent with my theory and favourable to the received doctrine. Another case still remains. (e) 6221 A.M. = thirteenth indiction, 7th January = Tuesday. This suits

neither 729, my date, nor 730, the received date. In 729 (*concur.* 5 + *rég.* 2 = 7; hence 1st January = Saturday) 7th January = Friday, in 730 7th January = Saturday (Hefele proposes to read $\iota\zeta' = 17$, which would suit 730). In this case, on either theory Theophanes is wrong, and I think we may infer that the mistake is due to his own calculation. I suspect that in many instances his authorities supplied only the day of the month, and that he reckoned the day of the week himself. This at least seems a case of mis-reckoning.

If this be so, we can explain *a, b, c, d*. Suppose that Theophanes was writing his Chronicle in the year 800 (= eighth indiction), and wished to find out on what day of the week the 1st of April fell in 768 = 6260 A.M. = seventh indiction. Knowing that in the present year, 800, 1st April was Thursday, he might reckon back to the year 768, taking leap years into account; and in doing this it would be very natural for him to count by indictions. He might thus conclude that from April 768 to April 800 there were thirty-one years ($8 + 15 + 8 = 31$), whereas there were really thirty-two ($800 - 768 = 32$). This mistake would be due to not understanding that the twelfth indiction was spread out over two years, 6265 and 6266 (September 772 to September 774); and it is clear from his Chronicle that he had not grasped this curious fact. Hence Theophanes, wishing to calculate for 768, would have really calculated for 769.

In any case, I submit that the little phalanx *a, b, c, d* is not strong enough to contend against the solar eclipse, combined with the date of Easter 760, and supported by the antecedent probability that the indictions were more likely to be modified than the years of the world, which had no reference to practical questions. If any ecclesiastical theorist had induced the Roman world for half the eighth century to adopt a new era, we should certainly have heard of it; whereas a change in the indictions made for fiscal purposes (if the conjecture I put forward in the foregoing chapter be well founded) belongs to that class of things which chroniclers either do not know or do not deign to tell.

In investigating this question I naturally turned to Muralt, but derived little assistance. His book makes us regret that Clinton did not go further than 641. It is on the edit. of George Hamartolus rather than on the *Essai de Chronographie byzantine* that Muralt's fame will rest.

CHAPTER III

THE ICONOCLASTIC MOVEMENT

THE historical import of the iconoclastic controversy, as I conceive it, did not consist in the mere definite point at issue concerning the worship or reverence paid to sacred pictures, but rather in the fact that the movement represented a great reaction against the gross superstition which hung as a cloud over Christendom. The adoration of pictures tends to become a most degraded form of superstition, as uneducated minds fail to distinguish between the sign and the thing signified; and it naturally leads to other forms of credulity. There were many pictures which, in the belief of men, had descended from heaven, and were not made with hands; and not only the populace but even a Pope believed in the power of *icons* to work miracles. Thus picture-worship was selected by Leo the Isaurian as the main point of attack. But what especially interests us and concerns history is, not the details of the controversy itself, but the fact that Leo III, Constantine V, and their party were animated by a spirit of rationalism, in the same sense that Luther was animated by a spirit of rationalism. They were opponents, not only of iconolatry, but also of Mariolatry¹; they did not believe in the intercession of saints, they abhorred reliques which were supposed to possess

¹ Cf., for instance, Theoph. p. 406 (ed. de Boor). For this and the following chapter, beside Theophanes, we have the acts of the seventh Ecumenical Council in Greek (Mansi, xii. 951 *sqq.* and xiii. 1-821), and also the essays against iconoclasm by John of Damascus; in Latin the most important

source is the *Liber Pontificalis*. On the iconoclastic controversy ecclesiastical students may be interested to read the *Antirrhetica* of the Patriarch Nicephorus, published by Cardinal Pitra in the 1st vol. of his *Spicilegium Solesmense*. Nicephorus was perhaps the ablest supporter of image-worship.

magic potency. They were, moreover, especially Constantine V, the sworn foes of monks, whom they justly regarded as the mainstays of superstition and mental degradation; for although the monks of south-eastern Europe were on the whole more pious and chaste than their brethren in the West, and although some of them were learned men, the large majority were ignorant, narrow-minded, and obstinate.

At first sight it might be thought that these purists, who preferred that the walls of their churches should be unadorned by rich pictures and mosaics, and who, in their zeal, destroyed valuable works of art and persecuted their opponents, were fanatical zealots and somewhat rude pietists, like the Puritans of the seventeenth century in England.¹ This comparison, however, would be a wholly misleading one. The Isaurian Emperors and their Amorion successors were not opposed by any means to the pomps and vanities of the world. On the contrary, one of their rational principles was that many things which the monks called pomps and vanities were really only innocent and not unbecoming amusements. The Emperor Theophilus, who persecuted image-worship in the ninth century, was one of the gayest and most brilliant monarchs that ever reigned at Byzantium; in fact, we may say that he introduced a new period of oriental splendour. In the reign of Constantine V the palace was constantly a scene of frivolity and festivity. The iconoclasts were not the apostles of puritanism; they were the apostles of rationalism, and the opponents of extreme austerity.

While, from a historical point of view, iconoclasm was a great reaction, from a dogmatic point of view it was not new; it was connected with old controversies. The objection of the iconoclasts to represent Christ in art was simply a corollary to the doctrine of the monophysites; and the opposition of the Isaurians to Mariolatry was a thoroughly monophysitic feature. The monotheletism of the seventh century was a connecting

¹ M. Lenormant (*La Grande-Grèce*, t. ii. p. 386) speaks of the movement as "la tentative d'une sorte de calvinisme anticipé." It would have been more just to say Lutheranism. M. Lenormant is not fair to the iconoclasts—we might say that he regards them from a South-Italian bias. He justly

ridicules "a scholar known by his ardent radicalism" for upholding the thesis that the work of Leo and Constantine was an anticipation of the French Revolution. Yet the thesis has this much truth, that Leo and Constantine waged war against superstition and in the interests of reason and education.

link between monophysitism and iconoclasm; but there were two new influences which affected the eighth-century movement and gave it a peculiar character, namely the Paulician doctrines and the Mohammedan religion.

It is a great misfortune that no historical or other works composed by iconoclasts (with the exception of the *Ecloga*, which does not deal with iconoclasm) are extant, and that we derive all our knowledge of the movement from the accounts of their antagonists, the iconodules, who, with malevolent bigotry, misrepresented their motives, exaggerated their faults, and calumniated their moral character. The hatred against the iconoclasts was so great in subsequent ages that all their works have perished except the *Ecloga*, which was preserved by accident, probably because it was wrongly attributed to Leo VI and Constantine VII.

It was in the year 725 that Leo first began to put forward his objections to the worship of images.¹ Several stories were current as to the influences which caused Leo to assume this position. At the seventh general Council, which condemned iconoclasm in 787, a monk named Johannes stated that Leo had communicated with the Saracen caliph Yezid, through the mediation of Constantine, bishop of Nacolia, and had at his suggestion waged war against pictures. Yezid had in his dominions issued a decree against pictures some years before, by the persuasions of a Jew of Laodicea.²

Whatever truth or falsehood may lie in these stories, there

¹ In 306 A.D. the council of Elvira (canon 36) expressed itself unfavourable to images, but that was before the use of art in christian buildings had begun to prevail. The early history of the attitude of the Church to images belongs to the department of ecclesiastical history; a good account of it will be found in Prof. Stokes' article on "Iconoclastae" in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*, which is especially valuable as pointing out the connection between iconoclasm and the earlier heresies of monotheletism and monophysitism (after Combefis' *Hist. Monothel.*), but he does not give sufficient weight to the influence of Islamism and Paulicianism.

² Pope Gregory II said that Theodosius of Ephesus was Leo's secret

adviser; he was one of his chief supporters. A certain Beser, a christian captive in Syria, infected with the doctrines of the Arabs (πρωθέρα τοῖς Ἀράβων δόγμασιν), is mentioned by Theophanes as a friend of Leo. The later legend is that two Jews had met Leo or Conon, while young and obscure, travelling to seek his fortune. They predicted that he would become Emperor, and begged him to banish idolatry. There is another legend that Yezid was influenced by two Jews, who held out to him false promises of worldly prosperity (cf. Theoph. 6215 A.M.) These legends illustrate well the detestation and horror in which Jews were held by Roman Christians. See Mansi, xiii. 197.

is no doubt that the Mohammedan religion, which was freer from superstition and materialism than a degraded Christianity, exercised considerable influence on the religious doctrine of the iconoclasts; and that it could do this all the more readily on account of the kinship of the worship of Allah to the worship of Jehovah, and the connection of Judaism with Christianity. Neither of the great Semitic religions permitted the use of images and pictures in its service, and this austerity maintained a less sensual conception of God. Hence it was a common reproach, levelled against Leo and Constantine, that they were imbued with Arabic ideas.¹ Here too lies the meaning of the nickname *Kopronymos*, which was fastened to Constantine. We need not necessarily reject the tale, which our historian² professes to have had on unimpeachable testimony, that perfidious nature played the child an indecent trick at the moment of his immersion in the font; but the point of the name is illustrated by the word "magarise," which soon acquired an unsavoury sense. And it was not only in the condemnation of picture-worship that the religion of these Emperors had a flavour of Islamism and Judaism; they were fain to degrade the Virgin and the saints from an almost divine eminence, and their doctrine tended towards an Arianism which verged on monotheism. Yet they were by no means favourers of the Jews. Four years after his accession, Leo attempted to compel all the Jews in the Empire to be baptized; possibly he thought that they might leaven the Church with a new spirit. At the same time he tried to force the Montanists³ to embrace the orthodox creed; but they were so devoted to their faith that, sooner than yield, they assembled in a building, and, having set it on fire, perished in the flames.⁴

But the resemblances of iconoclasm to Paulicianism appear to me more important than its points of contact with Mohammedanism. When we remember that the home of the Paulician doctrine was in Commagene, and that Leo III, if not born

¹ For example, Leo is called by Theophanes *σαρακηνόφων*, and said to be *Ἀραβικῷ φρονήματι κρατυνόμενος*. It should not be forgotten that Omar is said to have written a dogmatic epistle to Leo to convert him to Islam. On the other hand, it has been said that Leo's policy was designed to convert the Saracens to Christianity.

² Theophanes.

³ Montanism has been described as "Irvingism and the Salvation Army combined, confusing mere carnal and physical excitement with the pure motions of divine charity," by Prof. G. T. Stokes in a paper on the "Ancient Churches of Africa," 1887.

⁴ Theoph. 6214 A.M.

at Germanicia, was closely connected with those regions, it seems natural to suppose that he or his parents inhaled among the Paulicians a spirit of antagonism to Mariolatry and superstition. Moreover, Leo afterwards stamped with his approval the heresy which his predecessors had persecuted. He summoned a certain Paulician named Gegnaesius to New Rome,¹ and caused him to be tried before the Patriarch Germanus. Gegnaesius was honourably acquitted of the charges which "slanderers" had brought against him, and Leo sent him back to his home with a written safe-conduct to protect him against future persecution.²

Leo issued his first decree against the worship of images in 726.³ The purport of this decree was not, as is often stated, that pictures should be hung higher in the churches, in order that people should not adore them and kiss them; it commanded that they should be totally abolished.⁴ One of the first acts in the execution of this edict, the destruction of a specially revered image of the Saviour above the palace gate of Chalke, caused a riot. An old legend was connected with this image, and it was called Antiphonetes.⁵ The officers who were breaking or taking down the image were attacked and killed by enraged women; and Leo was obliged to proceed to strong measures in order to enforce his decree. It must not be supposed, however, that he had recourse to harsh extremes with the lower classes of the people; his enemies tell us expressly that his anger fell on those who were conspicuous

¹ Gegnaesius was the son of Paul, an Armenian, and bore the spiritual name of Timothy. He lived at Episparris, but spent the last years of his life (after his acquittal) at Mananalis in Commagene, the cradle of the doctrine. See Photius, *contra Manichaeos*, Bk. i. (ed. Migne), vol. ii. pp. 54, 56; and Petrus Siculus, *Historia Manichaeorum*. It is strange that Finlay does not mention the affair of Gegnaesius.

² Photius, *ib.* p. 56: *τύπον ἑγγραφον πᾶσαν αὐτῷ δίδοντα τὴν ἀδειαν οἴκοι τε διατρίβειν καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀνεπηρεαστῶς πράττειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν συκοφαντῶν δεδιέναι τὰς γλώσσας.*

³ Historians attribute a superstitious motive to Leo. In the summer of 726 the sea between the islands of Thera and Therasia was agitated, vapours

were exhaled from the waters, became dense by degrees, and, finally petrified by ignition, formed an addition to the island of Hiera, which had itself been thrown up in 198 B.C. Pumice-stones were showered as far as Asia Minor, Lesbos, Abydos. (On small islands which have been since formed by similar eruptions, see Mr. Tozer's note, Finlay, ii. p. 43.) Leo was said to have attributed this phenomenon to the prevalence of idolatry.

⁴ Hefele has made this clear. The mistake was due to misdating the first letter of Pope Gregory (Mansi, xii. 959).

⁵ That is, surety (cf. the expression *ἀντιφώρησον ἡμᾶς* in prayers). A panegyric on the image has been published by Combes in his *Historia Monothel.*

by their birth and education. When those whom he expected, on account of their position, to join him in his enlightened campaign against superstition, refused to do so, he attempted to coerce them. But Leo, although he was determined to carry through his reforms, was not as intolerant or violent as his son Constantine, and did not go beyond petty persecutions. At that age of the world it was impossible for any religious movement, rationalistic or other, to avoid the tendency to intolerance; and no one seemed to imagine that intolerance was inconsistent with enlightenment.

We must touch here on the subject of education, for the policy of Leo in this respect has been made a ground of serious accusations against him. Theophanes, the monk, states that he exterminated the educational establishments and put an end to the pious system of instruction which had prevailed since the time of Constantine the Great.¹ In other later sources, George the Sinner and Zonaras,² we find a curious statement. There was an imperial institution between St. Sophia and the palace walls, near the place called the Bronze Bazaar (*Chalkoprateia*). This academy contained a large library of both sacred and profane rolls, and was the residence of a personage entitled the Ecumenical Doctor (*Didaskalos*), who was assisted by twelve learned men. It was, in fact, a college with a provost or master and twelve fellows. They were fed at the public expense, and gave instruction in arts and theology. The Emperor used to consult them on political matters, and they enjoyed a high reputation at Constantinople. Leo thought that if he could gain over to his side the representatives of learning and education, the victory would be easily won; but he failed. The conservative spirit that generally exists in universities and bodies of learned men is sufficient to explain their opposition to the Emperor's radical reforms; but the dark atmosphere of superstition that had prevailed so long and the mists of theological prejudice had probably obscured their reason. I do not suggest this because they upheld the cause of pictures; really learned and relatively

¹ τὰ παιδευτήρια σβεσθῆναι, κ.τ.λ. 6218 A.M.

² Zonaras, vol. iii. p. 340; Georgios Hamartolus (ed. Muralt), p. 634. M. Sathas identifies this imperial institution with the university of Constantin-

ople, but this is doubtful; and it has been supposed that the "Ecumenical Doctor" was a foundation of Maurice, who patronised learning and was fond of things ecumenical.

enlightened men, like John of Damascus, were earnest antagonists of iconoclasm. But if it be true (and there seems no reason to doubt) that Leo disendowed the college, ejected the Ecumenical Doctor and the twelve fellows, and perhaps removed the library to the precincts of the palace, it is clear that he considered the institution a nursery of superstition. So much truth, I believe, underlies the outrageous and absurd slander which was circulated in later times to shed obloquy on the reformer's name. It is narrated by Zonaras and George Hamartolus that, having failed in many discussions to win over the learned men, he surrounded the imperial house, as their college was called, at night with heaps of inflammable wood, and burned the building down with professors, library, and all. If there were no direct evidence against this story, it would be incredible in Leo, who never proceeded to extreme persecution with any individual; it would be incredible even in Constantine, though he did not hesitate at executions. But the silence of the orthodox historians Theophanes and Nicephorus, who bitterly hated the memory of the iconoclast, is absolutely conclusive. Yet the existence of such a gross calumny is instructive, and shows us with what circumspection and distrust we must accept all statements of the friends of pictures regarding their opponents.

When we combine the brief statement of Theophanes, quoted above, that Leo put an end to "pious education" and shut up educational institutions, with this later notice touching the Ecumenical Doctor and the imperial house, it is plain that the Emperor's reforms extended to education. But nothing could be less critical and less equitable than to repeat, as some modern historians have done,¹ the adverse statements of his enemies, that in a spirit of bigotry he quenched education and threw the Greek world into a slough of ignorance and darkness, from which it did not begin to rise until the reign of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and did not finally recover until the days of Michael Psellus in the eleventh century. Such an assertion is absurd. The fact is that education in the Roman Empire had been enveloped in darkness since the middle of the seventh century, and that, but for the new spirit which the iconoclastic reaction introduced, south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor would have walked in the same path of ignorance

¹ See M. Sathas, *Bib. Gr. Med. Aev.* vol. iv. Pref. p. xliii.

and corruption as western Europe during the succeeding centuries. That Leo, the knight-errant against superstition, should have taken measures to exterminate liberal education, is a charge too ludicrous to entertain. But it is sufficiently refuted by facts recorded in Ignatius' *Life of Nicephorus*, or in the *Life of Theodore of Studion*,¹ where we are told that these learned divines received an excellent secular education in grammar, language, science, and philosophy. There was, in fact, a large number of educated and learned men at the end of the eighth century, and there was not a single educated man of eminence at the beginning of the eighth century.² The iconoclast movement intervened, and by the inductive method of difference we are justified in attributing the improvement to its salutary influence. And yet we are told that iconoclastic bigotry quenched liberal education. //

What Leo really did in the matter of education is indicated by the words of Theophanes. He suppressed the schools of theology, which were doubtless hotbeds of superstition and bigotry, and that is what Theophanes means by the extinction of "pious education." The imperial house, from being originally an institution for the maintenance of both secular and sacred knowledge, had probably degenerated into a theological seminary, where all subjects were touched with the deadly breath of superstition and every branch of learning was obscured by religious irrelevancies. By disestablishing such an institution Leo was cutting at the very root of the evils against which he was contesting; and we may feel sure that the abolition of the Ecumenical Doctor and his twelve coadjutors was no loss to the cause of education, but rather a gain.

It was easy to deal with the Ecumenical Doctor, but it was not quite so easy to deal with the Ecumenical Patriarch. Germanus refused to support Leo's policy, and Leo determined to depose him, as the importance of the Patriarch in the Empire made his co-operation highly desirable and his opposition extremely formidable. A suspicious story is told,³ that one //

¹ On the course of education as illustrated by these sources, see p. 519.

² I do not count Johannes Chrysorroas of Damascus, the opponent of iconoclasm, because he was not an imperial subject.

³ Theophanes, 6221 A.M. Germanus was a very old man (about ninety) at this time. His contributions to the controversy are two letters, one to John of Synnada and one to Thomas of Claudiopolis.

day, as the Emperor and Germanus were discussing the controverted subject, the latter remarked that pictures would be destroyed, but not in Leo's reign. "In whose reign, then?" demanded Leo. "In the reign of Conon," was the reply. "My name is really Conon," said the Emperor. "God forbid," ejaculated Germanus, "that the evil should be accomplished now in your reign! For he who fulfils it is the precursor of Antichrist and the subverter of the mystery of the incarnation." At this Leo was angry, and Germanus reminded him of the covenant which he had made before his coronation, not to shake or change the apostolic and divinely transmitted canons of the Church.

On the 7th of January 729¹ Leo summoned a conclave or *silentium* in the tribunal of the Nineteen Accubiti for the purpose of condemning iconolatry, and invited Germanus to attend it. Germanus replied by resigning his office, and as he laid down his episcopal surplice or *ômphorion*, he said, "If I am Jonah, cast me into the sea." The principle on which he based his opposition to Leo was that he could not introduce innovations without the authority of an Ecumenical Council. Germanus was deposed, and Anastasius, the Patriarch's *syncellus*, who had taken Leo's side in the controversy, was elected in his stead (22d January), and immediately issued a manifesto, which was important in that it gave ecclesiastical authority to Leo's policy. Pope Gregory II refused to recognise the elevation of the new Patriarch; but we must postpone to another

¹ Theoph. 6221 A.M. In the Life of Nicetas Hegumenos (*Acta Sanctorum*, April iii.), the deposition of Germanus and elevation of Anastasius are thus mentioned (p. 260): *fugitque nido veneranda hirundo quæ vernam ecclesiæ tranquillitatem dulcisono sonabat garrulu Dominica festa condecorans; et in locum ejus inductus est deformis corvus hians et absonum crocilians*, etc. The deposition of Germanus is mentioned in the second oration of John of Damascus in behalf of image-worship, but the accession of Anastasius is not mentioned. This seems to fix the date of that work to the first (or second, as news travelled slowly) month of 729. Prof. Stokes (article on "Leo III" in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*) bases an argument on this circumstance in support of Hefele's

interpretation of the edict of 726, but of course on the assumption of the received chronology. My correction of the chronology strengthens his argument, which is this: "The second [oration of John] was published because of the difficulty experienced by the faithful in getting copies of the first. That first *Apology* . . . must have taken a considerable time to get into circulation. . . . This will throw its composition back at least to the year 728." But the first oration presupposes an edict ordaining the destruction of images, and therefore Hefele's view is necessary. According to my chronology, the first oration will be thrown back into the year 727 on the same grounds.

chapter an account of the important results which the iconoclastic edict produced in Italy.

I may mention in this place the revolt that broke out in Greece in the year 727, although we cannot believe that it was entirely caused by the religious policy of Leo. We may rather suppose that oppressive taxation was the deepest cause,¹ and that orthodox ardour against the iconoclast only hurried the catastrophe. At the same time it must be admitted that we can assign rough geographical limits to the distribution of iconolatry and iconoclasm, and that Greece was devotedly attached to pictures, central and southern Asia Minor being the home of the heretics.

Theophanes says that the Helladikoi and the inhabitants of the Cyclades rebelled against Leo and proclaimed one Cosmas Emperor. This passage is the *locus classicus* for the word Helladikoi, which is usually explained as a contemptuous expression for the inhabitants of Greece proper—that is, for the Greeks who dwelled between Mount Olympus and Cape Taenarum. There is, however, not the least ground for the supposition that the word is charged with a contemptuous or scornful implication²; nor, on the other hand, is it probable that it includes the Peloponnesus; perhaps it does not even include the inhabitants of north-western Greece. When Leontius was appointed stratēgos of Hellas by Justinian, Hellas was a definite geographical district not coincident with Hellas in the modern sense any more than it was coincident with Hellas in the ancient sense. The medieval district or theme of Hellas³ did not include the Peloponnesus; it included Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, and Thessaly; it may possibly at first have also included the western regions of Epirus, Acarnania, and Aetolia, which in the tenth century formed the theme of Nicopolis, but it is just as likely that the theme of Nicopolis was independent from the beginning. The word Helladikoi was the natural name to use, primarily of the soldiers, and then generally

¹ If the severe taxation which I deduce from the change in the numbering of the indictations was imposed 1st September 726, it will help to explain the revolt of spring 727. The revolt is narrated by both Nicephorus and Theophanes (6218 A.M.)

² Finlay, ii. 37, "the scornful expression."

³ At this time (eighth century) Hellas and the Peloponnesus seem to have been turms, governed by turmarshs, who were subordinate to a stratēgos generally known as the stratēgos of Hellas. It is impossible to decide whether the stratēgos of Hellas was simply the old proconsul of Achaia with a new title, or an entirely new institution.

of the inhabitants of the military district of Hellas, on the analogy of the names Armeniakoi and Anatolikoi.¹

Thus the district of Hellas combined with the Cyclades, which belonged to a separate jurisdiction, and the armament of the rebels arrived at Constantinople under the command of Agallianus, the turmarch of Hellas, on the 18th of April 727. With the help of marine fire, the imperial fleet found no difficulty in routing the insurgents; Agallianus leaped into the sea in full armour when he saw that the cause was desperate; Cosmas and one other leader were beheaded. It is probable that Leo did not push his iconoclastic policy to extremes in Greece, especially after this rebellion; in the same way we shall see that he did not press matters too far in southern Italy. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that many of the monks who sought refuge in Italy in consequence of the iconoclastic movement were natives of Hellas and the Peloponnesus.

¹ *See* above, pp. 348 and 351.

CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL ITALY IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY¹

THE iconoclastic movement was destined to lead to important political results in Italy. It was destined to assist in the accomplishment of two tendencies that had been always operative, the tendency of the Roman possessions of central and northern Italy, in which there was a strong Latin element, to separate themselves from the Empire, which was becoming gradually Greek, and the tendency of southern Italy, which still retained some traces and memories of the days when it was Magna Graecia, to go a different way from the rest of the peninsula and throw in its lot with Sicily and the eastern Mediterranean. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, while the main bulk of Italy was Latin, southern Italy was Greek. Apulia and the land of Hydrus or Otranto, which owing to a temporary Lombard occupation had lost its old appellation Calabria, and the false Calabria, which once was called Bruttii and by an accident of Roman administration obtained a fairer name,—all these were part of the Greek or “Roman” world under the name of Longobardia²; just as before the Roman conquest Apulia and the true Calabria and Bruttii were nationally grouped with the peoples of the

¹ For this chapter our authorities are the same as for the preceding, the Latin being now more important. Besides Hefele, I have consulted J. Langen's *Geschichte der römischen Kirche von Leo I. bis Nikolaus I.* (1885); and Dr. Döllinger's essay on “Gregory II” in his *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*. There are good articles on “Iconoclastae” and

“Leo III” in the *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* by Prof. G. T. Stokes.

² The theme of Longobardia was instituted in the reign of Basil I. after the conquests of Nicephorus Phocas. It included Gaeta, Naples, Amalfi, and Sorrento. It consisted of two divisions, Longobardia and Calabria.

Aegean and not with those of the Tyrrhenian Sea. The repetition of history becomes still more striking when we observe that the inhabitants of Rhegium, Croton, and Taras in the days of Hiero and Gelon, or in the days of Agathocles, saw a struggle of the same import in Sicily as took place in the days of Basil the Great or in the days of George Maniakes. In ancient times it was the struggle between the Aryan Greek and the Semitic Phoenician, in which the Romans finally intervened; in medieval times it was the struggle between the Aryan Greek or Byzantine and the Semitic Arab, in which the Normans finally intervened; but in both cases a people who spoke Greek and a people who spoke a Semitic tongue were contesting the lordship of Sicily, and in both cases "Great Greece" was vitally interested.

But of the history of medieval *Magna Graecia*, as we might call it, or *Longobardia*, as it was actually called from the end of the ninth century, only the first act falls within the limits of this work. The present chapter will narrate how the iconoclastic movement contributed in two ways to a new departure in Italy, consciously in one way, unconsciously in another; and how this prepared for that series of events—the fall of the exarchate, the appeal to Pipin, the overthrow of the Lombard kingdom, the new policy of the Popes—which led up to the constitution of the Western Roman Empire. The intentional innovation was the transference of the Churches of Calabria and Sicily along with that of Illyricum from the see of Old Rome to the see of New Rome; the unintentional innovation was the colonisation of southern Italy by Greek refugees from the iconoclastic persecution. These two events had a common cause, and were followed by a common effect, but they may be treated separately; and we naturally begin by considering the somewhat entangled history of the affairs that took place in Italy between the year 726, when the edict against images was issued, and the year 732 (according to received chronology 733), when the ecclesiastical innovation mentioned above was carried out.

It must not be supposed that the revolt of the exarchate was first or solely caused by the iconoclastic edict of Leo. Before the news of that measure had reached Ravenna or Rome, Pope Gregory II had lent his countenance to a general

opposition of the imperial Italian subjects to an extraordinary taxation.¹ He supported the inhabitants of Rome in their refusal to obey the imperial governor; and duke Basil was driven from the city and compelled to become a monk. About the same time Liutprand, king of the Lombards, invaded the exarchate and took Classe, but failed to take Ravenna,² while Narnia was lost to the Lombards of Spoleto.

Then the news of the destruction of the mystic image of Christ, called the Antiphonetes, horrified the pious or superstitious souls of the Latins. The rumour was a vaunt-courier of the edict itself,³ which soon arrived, along with instructions to the civil officers and a letter to the Pope (727). The feeling of dissatisfaction with the government which had before prevailed became now undisguised animosity, and all the cities of the exarchate rebelled. The imperial officials were killed or expelled, and each district elected a duke for itself. The idea was even conceived of electing an Emperor in Italy and escorting him in triumph to New Rome. Exhilaratus, duke of Naples, who tried to enforce obedience to the edict, was lynched, and in Rome the feeling was so high, owing perhaps to the idea that the Pope's life was in danger, that an army was despatched from Ravenna to quell the recalcitrant spirit in its central seat. But King Liutprand, who from his palace in Pavia was watching for an opportunity to extend his dominion, which he perhaps hoped to make conterminous with Italy, assumed the position of a supporter of the Pope and Latin orthodoxy against the imperial heretic, and entered into communication with the rebels. At his instance the Lombards

¹ Cf. Theoph. 6217 A.M. Lib. Pont., *consum in provincia ponere praepediebat*. It must have been extraordinary, as Dollinger (*op. cit.* 152 *sqq.*) and Hefele point out (cf. Langen, *op. cit.* p. 613). Pope Gregory II would not have encouraged resistance to the regular dues. He always showed himself anxious to pacify a downright rebellion; but for him, says Paulus Diaconus, a rival Emperor would have been proclaimed. The question is between the credibility of Theophanes on the one hand and the "Papstbuch" and Paul the Deacon on the other; and I think we must follow Dollinger in preferring Italian witnesses on an Italian matter. I have found

here, as elsewhere, Hefele's *Concilien-geschichte* a valuable guide, and I may notice that J. Langen of Bonn, in his work mentioned above, follows Hefele in the main as to the order of events.

² It is sometimes stated that he actually took Ravenna, but F. Hirsch has shown that he only took Classe (*Das Herzogthum Benevent*, p. 34). Cf. Paul. Diac. vi. 49.

³ The early arrival of this news is proved by a passage in the first letter of Gregory to Leo. Foreigners (Franks, Vandals, Goths, Moors, also Romans) had seen the act of desecration and noised it abroad in the West.

of Spoleto and Tuscany surprised the army which was marching from Ravenna to Rome at Ponte Salario—the bridge which Totila destroyed and Narses restored—and prevented its further progress.

Ravenna meanwhile was rent with discord, some supporting the Emperor and others declaring for the cause of rebellion, or, as they loved to say, for the Pope. The latter faction, whose zeal was doubtless stimulated by private agents of Liutprand, prevailed, killed Paul the exarch, expelled his successor Eutychius,¹ and enabled the Lombard king to gain possession of the strong city² of the marshes, which Lombard kings had so long coveted in vain, and he himself had failed to take a year before. The cities of the Pentapolis, Rimini, Fano, Pesaro, Ancona, and Umana, the Roman cities of Aemilia, and the city of Auximum invited Liutprand to occupy them with garrisons, and some time later Sutri was taken by the Lombards of Tuscany.

Eutychius, the successor of Paul, had fled to Venice when he found the insurgent faction too strong for him. The duchy of Venice was theoretically, like Rome and Naples, under the government of the exarch, but practically independent, since the citizens had begun to elect their own dukes in the year 697. It was, however, still attached to the Empire, and a letter of Pope Gregory to his friend duke Ursus brought to Ravenna a Venetian army, with whose help Eutychius expelled the Lombards from the city of the exarchs. This assistance rendered by Venice to Ravenna was an anticipation of the succour that she was to lend her against the Spaniards in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As to the dates of these events we are left by our authorities in uncertainty; the very order of their occurrence is confused. But they clearly occupied a considerable time, and meanwhile Pope Gregory had taken up a decided position and exerted himself actively against iconoclasm,³ while he took care not to encourage the rejection of Leo's civil authority and

¹ The disturbed state of Ravenna must have lasted for a considerable time before the Lombard occupation, as the news of Paul's death had time to reach Constantinople, and Eutychius had time to come to Ravenna. For these events, see Anastasius, *Vita Gregor. II* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol.

127, p. 981).

² Hirsch, *ib.* First letter of Gregory to Leo (Mansi, xii. 969); Paul. Diac. vi. 54.

³ The Pope condemns absolute worship of images (λατρευτικῶς) while he approves of their relative adoration (σχετικῶς προσκυνεῖν).

disapproved of the idea of creating a rival Emperor in Italy.¹ I say a rival Emperor in Italy; but I must explain clearly that there was no idea afloat of disconnecting Italy from the government of New Rome or creating a second Roman Empire; the contemporary biographer of Gregory II states expressly that Italy thought of electing an Emperor and *leading him to Constantinople*. The idea of the Roman Emperor and New Rome were still indissolubly connected in men's minds. Three extant letters of Gregory, one to the Patriarch Germanus and two to the Emperor Leo,² are important documents for the iconoclastic controversy, and show us the position of Gregory. Like John of Damascus, who wrote in Syria against the enemies of image-worship, Gregory asserted that the Emperor had no right to interfere in the question of ecclesiastical doctrines. Leo had laid claim to priestly functions in virtue of his imperial station, and had written "I am an Emperor and a priest."³ In answer to this, Gregory admitted that Constantine the Great, Valentinian I., Theodosius the Great, and Constantine IV were really both priests and Emperors,—because they were orthodox; but he denied it in the case of Leo, and insisted on the essential difference between ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction. In defending picture-worship he chiefly appealed to the authority of the Fathers, but also pointed out that it had a certain educational use for the masses; and he accused Leo of having diverted the people from a wholesome interest in pictures and "occupied them with idle talk, harp-playing, cymbals, flutes, and such trivialities."⁴

¹ "Cognita vero imperatoris nequitia omnis Italia consilium iniiit ut sibi eligerent imperatorem et *Constantinopolim duccrent*. Sed compescuit tale consilium pontifex, *sperans conversionem principis*" (Anastas. *Vit. Greg.* p. 979). Gregory did not despair of the conversion of the Emperor. In Tuscany at the *Castrum Manturianense* a tyrant or "seducer" (*quidam seductor*) named Tiberius Petasius obtained a following and was called emperor, but the movement was only local and was promptly suppressed (*ib.* 983).

² The two letters to Leo were found (in the sixteenth century) by Fronton Le Duc in the library of the cardinal of Lorraine. The first was evidently written in 727 immediately after the

receipt of Leo's, which was written in 726 (ninth indiction). See Hefele, iii. p. 373, who has clearly demonstrated the true date, as I have observed above. The letter to Germanus will be found in Mansi, xiii. 91.

³ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς εἰμι (quoted in the second letter of Gregory, Mansi, xii. 976). Gregory admits in principle the claim of the Emperors to be considered pontiffs—successors of St. Peter; but by heterodoxy of course an Emperor forfeits his claim. The difference, I suppose, between an Emperor and a Pope is that an Emperor can be heterodox, while a Pope is incapable of heresy.

⁴ ἡσχόλησας αὐτοὺς (τοὺς ταπεινοὺς λαοὺς) εἰς ἀργολογίας καὶ ὕθλους καὶ

Having held a council in Rome (727), which condemned iconoclasm, Gregory anathematised the enemies of pictures—expressly mentioning Paul the exarch of Ravenna, but not extending the ban to the Emperor. Leo threatened to treat him as Constans had treated Martin; but the Pope felt secure, with the Lombards and western Christendom to support him, and plainly told the Emperor of New Rome that the Church of Old Rome was the great bulwark of the Empire in Italy against the Lombards. At the same time, it was not the policy of the Popes to favour the extension of Lombard domination in Italy; although the presence of such domination to a certain degree was useful to them as a check on the imperial power. The history of Italy has shown that a double, treble, or multiple political rule has tended to exalt the papal power, and a single rule has tended to depress it; effects which might have been predicted. Accordingly, whether the Popes of the period were on friendly or hostile terms with the Emperors, they regarded with disfavour Lombard aggressions on imperial territory. Yet Lombard aggressions at this time began to turn out to the advantage of the Roman see; for the moral influence of the Popes induced the Lombard kings to present as a donation to the successors of St. Peter what they had taken away from the successors of Constantine. Thus the letters of Gregory II persuaded Liutprand to hand over to him the strong town of Sutrium (south of Viterbo), shortly after it had been captured by the Tuscan Lombards.

Eutychius had not been long restored to his residence at Ravenna when a new and curious political combination, reversing the usual relations of Italian politics, surprised the peninsula for a moment. The exarch Eutychius and King Liutprand formed a league against the Pope and the dukes of Beneventum and Spoletium,¹ who had allied themselves to win back from Liutprand the cities of the exarchate.

I must remind the reader of the position of the dukes of Beneventum and Spoletium. They enjoyed an almost complete immunity from the interference of the Lombard kings,

κυθάρας καὶ κροτάλια τε καὶ αὐλοὺς καὶ
λήρους καὶ ἀντὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ δοξολογίας
εἰς μύθους αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλες.

¹ Anastas. V. Greg. *Eutychius patricius et Liutprandus rex inierunt con-*

silium nefarium, etc. For this affair, see Hirsch, *op. cit.* p. 35. Langen remarks (*op. cit.* p. 610), "Characteres wie Liutprand, Gregor, Leo konnten unmöglich mit einander in Frieden leben."

who dwelled far away in the north at Pavia, and were separated from them by the hostile territory of the exarchate. These duchies were in fact, throughout the seventh century and until the reign of Liutprand, independent principalities. The dukes appointed their own civil officers, and there was no royal domain, at least in Beneventum, to give the king a pretext to interfere. Thus it was to their interest that the exarchate should continue to exist, and that a strip of Roman territory should separate their dominions from the dominion of the king. This was especially desirable when the throne was filled by a vigorous ruler like Liutprand, who aimed at reducing all Italy under his sway, and first of all at bringing into a state of dependence the duchies of his own nationality.

The action of the dukes, Transmund of Spolegium and Romuald II of Beneventum, in allying themselves with the Pope against himself, decided Liutprand to exact their homage and allegiance. At the same time he felt a grudge against the Pope for his share in compassing the recovery of Ravenna, notwithstanding the donation of Sutrium. The exarch, in spite of the Pope's recent assistance, was bound to assert the imperial authority which the Pope had allowed to be defied in Rome. And thus this remarkable league came into existence.

Liutprand did not find it necessary to advance farther than Spolegium, nor was he obliged to make use of force to constrain the dukes to his allegiance. They both met him at Spolegium and acknowledged his suzerainty. He then proceeded to Rome and joined the exarch, who was besieging the city; but his arrival was the means of deliverance for the Pope. Furnished with the pomp and solemnities of his office, Gregory went forth into the camp of the Lombards, and by the influence of his personality moulded the will of the susceptible king, who, laying his arms at the feet of the pontiff, yielded to his wishes and induced the exarch to acquiesce in a peace favourable to Rome.

Soon after this Gregory II died¹ and was succeeded by Gregory III, whose election is remarkable for the circumstance

¹ According to my chronology, Gregory II died in 730 and the council was held 1st November 730; received date

731. *III Idus Feb.* of the fourteenth indiction is the date in Anastasius for Gregory's death.

that he was the last bishop of Old Rome for whose consecration the consent of the Emperor who resided at New Rome was asked. The third Gregory opposed iconoclasm, like his predecessor,¹ and in his pontificate the struggle came to an end as far as Italy was concerned. A council of ninety-three bishops assembled at Rome and excommunicated the iconoclasts; and in reply Leo sent a naval armament² of Cibyriaiot seamen under the command of Manes to arrest the Pope on the charge of treason and bring him to Constantinople, as Martin had been treated eighty years before by Constans. The expedition never reached Rome, but the details of its failure are not clear. It appears that the armament was scattered by a storm in the Adriatic, and that the Greek troops were not over eager to carry out the Emperor's wishes.

At this juncture Leo came to the important conclusion that he would no longer oppose the Pope's ecclesiastical power in the dominions of the exarchate, but would translate the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Sicily and Calabria, as well as of the dioceses of Illyricum, from the bishop of Rome to the Patriarch of Constantinople. The jurisdiction of Calabria meant the jurisdiction of the metropolitan Churches of Rhegium and Severiana and Hydrus (Otranto). All the bishoprics of the Bruttian peninsula were included in the two metropolitan provinces of Rhegium and Severiana, a town probably as old as the age of Pliny, now called by a name which it obtained in the tenth century, Santa Severina, and famous as the natal place of Pope Zacharias.

The effect of this act of Leo, which went far to decide the medieval history of southern Italy, was to bring the boundary between the ecclesiastical dominions of New Rome and Old Rome into coincidence with the boundary between the Greek and the Latin nationalities. In other words, it laid the basis of the distinction between the Greek and the Latin Churches. The only part of the Empire in which the Pope now possessed authority was the exarchate, including Rome, Ravenna, and Venice. The geographical position of Naples, intermediate between Rome and the extremities of Italy, determined that its sympathies should be drawn in two directions; in religious

¹ Gregory III sent three messengers to Leo, but they were all imprisoned.

² Theoph. 6225 A.M.

matters it inclined towards Old Rome, in political matters it was tenacious of its loyalty to New Rome.

The fact that the execution of such a thorough innovation as the detachment of south Italy from Rome was attended with no difficulty or opposition, may at first seem surprising. To explain it we are led to consider the other important, though indirect, result of iconoclasm, which was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, namely the second Greek colonisation of southern Italy in the eighth century A.D., whereby it became a Greek land for four centuries, just as it had been a Greek land before the Roman conquest.

In the crypt of the cathedral of San Sabino at Bari an old discoloured Greek madonna is shown to visitors, which the inhabitants of Bari believe to be the celebrated Hodêgêtria, a picture supposed to have been executed by the hands of St. Luke himself. It was said to have come from Constantinople in one of the ships of the fleet of Manes (autumn 731), a fugitive from the sacrilegious hands of Leo. It had been originally presented to the princess Pulcheria and had been kept in the church of Hodêgos at Constantinople as a possession of priceless and talismanic value, and had sometimes been carried into battle to ensure victory. Regarded with a superstitious reverence above other pictures, it was a special stumbling-block to reason in the eyes of Leo the Isaurian, who decided that it should be burnt, in spite of its antiquity and historical associations; but two monks were sufficiently bold and cunning to convey it to one of the ships about to set sail for Italy, and store it away secretly and safely. When the tempest arose in the Adriatic "above the vessel in which this miraculous image was hidden, an angel descended from heaven under the form of a young man of the greatest beauty, who restored confidence to the terror-stricken crew, and seizing the helm guided the vessel safe and sound into the port of Bari, on the first Tuesday in March."¹ The inhabitants of Bari claim that they still possess this holy picture, now nearly two thousand years old. But the Greek inhabitants of Constantin-

¹ From the Synaxarion of the Greek church of Bari, translated by Lenormant, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 388. I am indebted to this valuable book, which sets forth clearly the truth about the

Greek recolonisation of southern Italy (as first demonstrated by M. Zambellis), for many hints on the history of the Calabrian and Bruttian towns.

ople contend that they have the work of St. Luke, also miraculously preserved from the wrath of the iconoclasts, in a church of Blachernae.

This legend, as M. Lenormant elegantly remarks, may be taken "as a poetical symbol of the transplanting of Hellenism to Italy by orthodox refugees." In the eighth century it was decided that central and northern Italy were to be Latinised and pass out of the sphere of direct Greek influences, while southern Italy was to be Hellenised and detach itself in religion, nationality, and language from the Latin and German¹ world. This change, which knitted the south portion of the peninsula more closely to the eastern Mediterranean, was rendered possible by the indirect and unintentional consequence of iconoclasm, the emigration of an immense number of monks and laymen, who hoped in the recesses of Calabria and Bruttii, beyond the reach of Leo's arm, to be able to adore pictures and relics without fear. The number of orthodox Greeks—priests, monks, and laymen—who escaped from the East to southern Italy in the reigns of Leo and Constantine has been set at 50,000. It was really, as has been pointed out, a new Greek colonisation, which may be compared to the old Greek colonisation fourteen or fifteen hundred years before, and which explains such facts as that Squillace was a purely Latin town in the sixth century in the days of Cassiodorus, and a purely Greek town in the tenth century. Besides Bari, many other towns, such as Barletta in Apulia, Otranto, Amalfi, and Salerno, pretend to possess old Greek pictures brought from the East by iconodulic refugees.

The firm opposition which his religious reforms excited in the West prevented Leo, who was politically far-sighted, from pressing matters to extremes. He saw the danger of alienating the inhabitants in provinces, which without their co-operation might at any moment become the prey of the king of the Lombards or of the duke of Beneventum. He also apprehended clearly that northern Italy and Rome were more alien to the rest of the Empire than were southern Italy and Sicily. Under these circumstances, his policy was to draw in the less alien districts still closer, and allow the rest to remain as they were. But it necessarily resulted that the closer connection of the

¹ Teutonic elements were, however, to be introduced by the Normans.

one with the Empire caused the other to drift more and more away. The special mode, I conceive, in which this tendency operated, was the exclusion of the Pope from all jurisdiction in the eastern part of the Empire; his authority was confined to Latin-speaking districts. He was thus driven as it were into the arms of the German powers, in whose dominions his authority was still accepted as supreme; whereas in the Empire, with whose traditions his office was so closely associated, his influence was practically inoperative, except in a few provinces held by a precarious tenure, and the domains of the see of St. Peter had been confiscated by the temporal power.

Thus the great influx of Greeks, especially monks and priests, who were firmly attached to the Greek liturgy and forms of worship, explains the ease with which southern Italy was alienated from Old Rome. Leo, as I said, was judicious enough not to attempt to enforce his iconoclastic edicts in these regions, which seem to have enjoyed in the eighth century an almost unique period of material prosperity combined with spiritual peace, for which, however, a severe Nemesis in the shape of the "unnameable" Saracens was destined to overtake them in the ninth.

CHAPTER V

CONSTANTINE V¹

Soon after the death of Leo, which occurred on the 18th June 740,² the elements of opposition to his government, which had smouldered during his lifetime, began to flame forth against his son Constantine, who was imbued with his father's ideas and inclined to carry them to further extremes. There were two distinct interests involved, which became blended in a common feeling of hostility to the Isaurian dynasty, the interest of the aristocratic class who maintained the old quarrel with imperial autocracy, and the interest of the orthodox friends of images. It was a favourable opportunity for an ambitious man to utilise the general discontent of large and influential circles before the new sovereign had securely established himself on the throne. Nor was the opportunity lost. Artavasdos, who had supported Leo at the time of his accession and married his daughter Anna, was not deterred by the ties of relationship from determining to oust his brother-in-law. He was count of Opsikion, and had two sons to support him, Nicephorus and Nicetas, of whom one held a command in Thrace, while the other was general of the Armeniac theme. The Armeniac troops were devoted to him; but the Anatolic and Thracian themes were faithful in their allegiance to the son of Leo.

It was in June 741 that Constantine crossed over to Asia

¹ Our sources for this chapter are still Nicephorus and Theophanes. Nicephorus' history deserts us at the year 768. It seems to have been written before the conquest of the Avars by Charles the Great in 796, cf. p. 34, *Παννωνία τη νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένη*.

² Theoph. 6232 A.M. (*τέθνηκε Λέων σὺν τῷ ψυχικῷ καὶ τὸν σωματικὸν θάνατον*). The received date is 741, which, if the indications had not been tampered with, would correspond to the ninth indiction (*τῆς θ' ἐξαιτίας*). See above, p. 425.

Minor in order to conduct a campaign against the Saracens, and pitched his camp at a place called Krasos in Phrygia. He sent an order to Artavasdos, who with the Opsikian troops occupied the plain of Dorylaeum (near the borders of the Anatolic theme), to join him. Artavasdos, however, was already coming; he had assumed imperial rank, and he put to death the Emperor's messenger Bisêr, a patrician. Constantine had barely time to escape to Amorium in the Anatolic theme, where he was sure of personal safety and a loyal reception. The Anatolic troops swore to fight to the death for him, and were joined by the Thracesians under the command of Sisinnius.

Meanwhile Theophanes¹ Monôtios ("One Ear"), who had been left by Constantine as a sort of viceroy at Byzantium, declared for Artavasdos, and at his suggestion proclaimed publicly that Constantine was dead. Artavasdos was accepted as the new Emperor, his son Nicephorus with the Thracian army occupied the city, and the officials who remained loyal to the Isaurian family were displaced. The basis on which the usurper proposed to establish his power and secure popularity was the revival of picture-worship, and no time was lost in restoring pictures in the churches. The Patriarch Anastasius is said to have deserted his iconoclastic colours and to have publicly asserted that Constantine did not believe in the divinity of Christ. Anastasius probably found it necessary to temporise, but we must remember that his conduct is reported by writers who sympathised with his ecclesiastical opponents.

Constantine advanced with his army to Chrysopolis (Scutari), but no action took place, and he returned to Amorium, where he wintered. In the spring of 742 two battles were fought, in both of which Constantine was victorious and displayed his military skill. He first defeated Artavasdos, who was devastating the Thracesian provinces, at Sardis; and then marching in a north-easterly direction, met Nicetas, who was advancing with the Armeniac troops and Armenian auxiliaries,² and routed him utterly at Modrine in the Bucellarian theme. He next proceeded, supported by the Cibyraiot fleet, to besiege

¹ This Theophanes is called by the historian Theophanes, 6233 A.M., *μάγιστρον ἐκ προσώπου*, which shows that the office of *magister militum*

in praesenti still existed.

² They were commanded by Tiri-dates, a cousin of Artavasdos.

Constantinople, where Artavasdos, having fled from the field of Sardis, had shut himself up. The city, unprepared to stand a siege and blockaded by land and sea, was soon reduced to straits of distress,¹ and it was necessary to relieve the pressure by tacitly allowing a large number of the non-fighting inhabitants to escape. All these were received kindly in the camp of Constantine, and many persons of high position, to whom Artavasdos would not have deemed it safe to grant permission to leave the city, stole out secretly in the disguise of women or monks.

Nicetas meanwhile had collected new forces since his defeat at Modrine, and now advanced to the relief of his father. Constantine met him at Nicomedia and defeated him a second time, taking him prisoner, as well as Marcellinus, the archbishop of Gangra, whom he beheaded. After this discomfiture Artavasdos, who had doubtless been holding out in expectation of succour from his son, fled to Nicaea, and having there collected a few soldiers, took refuge in the fortress of Puzane, where he was captured by a battalion of Constantine's army. At the spectacle in the hippodrome which celebrated Constantine's restoration to Byzantium, Artavasdos and his two sons were exposed to the view of the populace and then thrown into prison. Some time afterwards the general of the Thracians, Sisinnius, who had stood by the Emperor in his difficulties, was convicted or suspected of treasonable plotting, and was deprived of his eyesight. It is possible that this plot was a scheme for the elevation of Artavasdos, as the eyes of Artavasdos² and his sons were also put out immediately afterwards.

The troubles that beset Constantine on his accession were a true augury of a stormy and uneasy reign; but the ability which he had displayed in overcoming the difficulties, also boded that his energy and skill would hold the joints of the

¹ The famine was so great that a bushel (modius) of barley was sold for 10, a bushel of pulse for 19, a bushel of millet or lupines for 8 nomismata respectively. 5 lbs. (litrai) of oil cost a nomisma, a pint of wine (*ἔτερνος*, i.e. *sextarius*) cost a semission. The Cibyraiote ships were kept at bay by the

fireships, which lay in the imperial arsenal at the disposal of Artavasdos.

² On the influence of Armenians and Asiatics in the Empire, see Finlay, ii. pp. 200, 201; cf. Bardanes, Artavasdos, Alexius Mousel   (790), Bardan (rebelled against Nicephorus I.), Arsaber (father-in-law of Leo V).

time together. Although it was a time of uneasiness, it was not a time of rottenness, like the reign of Phocas or the reign of Apsimar; the policy of Leo had reformed the State. But the very tendency to reform had created an uneasy surging movement in the Empire. This tendency did not consist merely in the conscious endeavours and definite activity of the Emperor and those who sympathised with his spirit of rational enlightenment. All these conscious endeavours and activities were themselves the result of a general tendency to change, which was latently at work among the inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean in the eighth century. I already touched on this subject in speaking of the pestilence which raged in the reign of Justinian, and put forward the conjecture that plagues on a great scale spread at periods when the organisms of a people are involved in a precarious condition of transformation or decay, and may be peculiarly susceptible to noxious external influences. The plague itself contributes to the formation of a new world by clearing away an effete population and making room for new settlers, while only the fittest of the old inhabitants survive its ravages.

A great plague of this kind broke out in the reign of Constantine and desolated large portions of the Roman dominions. It originated in Syria (744) and spread thence to Constantinople, not, however, by way of Asia Minor, but in a circular direction, travelling through Egypt, Africa, Sicily, and Calabria, and passing thence to Greece and the Archipelago. It is interesting to note this course, for it shows that the plague followed lines of commercial traffic. Had Syria still belonged to the Roman Empire the pestilence would doubtless have traversed Asia Minor and so reached the Bosphorus, as in the days of Justinian; but there was now little intercourse by land between Asia Minor and Syria, as a chronic state of hostility prevailed between the caliphate and the Empire and the trade of the two states was carried on by sea.

The following account of this pestilence is given by Theophanes, who was born about the time of its prevalence:—

“A pestilential death, beginning in Sicily and Calabria, advancing like fire to Monobasia¹ (*i.e.* Monembasia) and Hellas

¹ In the biography of St. Wilibald, by his kinswoman, a nun of Heidenheim, we find the following statement:

and the adjacent islands, spread throughout the whole of the fourteenth indiction (744-745), chastising the impious Constantine and restraining the mad violence against holy churches and sacred pictures; yet he remained incorrigible, like Pharaoh of old. And this plague of *bubo* (swelling in the groin) reached the imperial city in the fifteenth indiction (745-746); and then, suddenly and without visible cause, many crosses of olive oil began to appear on the garments of men and on the sacred cloths of the church (St. Sophia). Hence men were seized with sorrow and great despondency, in perplexity at such a sign; and the divine wrath, destroying and not sparing, overtook not only the inhabitants of the city but those who dwelled round about it. Moreover, many saw apparitions, and, having fallen into ecstasy, they fancied that they were communing with certain strange, as it seemed, and hideous faces, and that they addressed them as friends and discoursed with them, and noting what they said, declared it unto others. And they saw the same forms entering their houses and slaying some of the household, and wounding others with swords. But most of the things which the forms told them fell out, as they afterwards beheld.

"And in the spring of the first indiction (747) the pestilence spread to a greater extent, and in summer its flame culminated to such a height that whole houses were entirely shut up, and those on whom the office devolved could not bury their dead. In the embarrassment of the circumstances, the plan was conceived of carrying out the dead on saddled animals, on whose backs were placed frameworks of planks. In the same way they placed the corpses above one another in waggons. And when all the burying-grounds in the city and suburbs had been filled, and also the dry cisterns and tanks, and very many vineyards had been dug up, the gardens too within the old walls were used for the purpose of burying human bodies, and even thus the need was hardly met."

inde navigantes venerunt ultra mare Adriaticum ad urbem Monafasiam in Slavonica terra, et inde navigantes in insulam nomine Choo dimittebant Corinthios in sinistra parte. The journey of St. Wilibald to the East took place between 723 and 728, so it would appear that at that time the Slaves dwelled in the Peloponnesus, though of course they did not hold Monembasia. Hopf, how-

ever, discredits the statement, and emphasises the geographical ignorance of the authoress. But we have seen that there is no reason to assume that there were not considerable Slavonic settlements in the Peloponnesus as early as the seventh century (see the statement of Isidore, above, p. 280). Hopf in the Graeco-Slavonic controversy is almost as much an advocate as Fallmerayer.

Towards the end of 747 the violence of the disease abated. Constantinople was depopulated after the black year, and while his orthodox enemies were making the most of the misfortune as a direct visitation on the iconoclasts, whom they regarded as no better than Jews, Constantine began to take measures for repopulating the capital. For this purpose he transplanted families on a large scale from Greece and the islands to Constantinople. The effect of this act was to leave room in the Greek peninsula, already depopulated by the plague, for the Slaves, who began to press southward in greater numbers than ever, and complete the process of Slavising large districts of Hellas and the Peloponnesus,¹ in which there was a considerable Slavonic element already. Two tribes, called Ezerites and Melings, established themselves on Mount Taygetus, and long remained independent.

The question suggests itself, how far the Slaves who had been settling in Greece as early as the second half of the sixth century were interfused with the native Greek population. On this subject we have little or no evidence, but we may be

¹ Our authority is the celebrated notice of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*de Them.* ii. 6), *ἐσθλαβώθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος*, of which Fallmerayer made so much for his Slavonic theory. We know not what basis Constantine had for his statement, but there is no reason to doubt it; and it is quite impossible to explain away (as M. Sathas and others have attempted to do) the word *ἐσθλαβώθη*. The pronunciation *Sthlaves* was a Greek softening of *Slaves*. But at the same time *πᾶσα* must not be pressed, it is evidently an exaggeration; and we must not, with Fallmerayer, draw any conclusions as to the large towns, which continued to be Hellenic. Constantine illustrates his assertion by a witticism of the grammarian Euphemius (in the tenth century), who described the face of Nicetas, a concealed Peloponnesian, as *γαρασδοειδὴς ὅψις ἐσθλαβωμένη*. Hopf explains *γαρασδοειδὴς* as "cunning" (*verschmitztes*, *Gr. Gesch.* p. 96); Banduri rendered it by *γεροντοειδὴς*; while Finlay emended it to *γαδαροειδὴς*, "ass-like" (ii. p. 305). But the emendation, though ingenious, carries no conviction; why should the intelligible *γαδαρο-* (mod. Gk. *γαϊδαρος*=ass) have become the difficult *γαρασδο-*? It is clear that

γαρασδο- is not Greek, and from the context we might be inclined to conclude that it contains some special Slavonic allusion. I conjecture that the Greeks applied the term *Γαρασδοί* or *Γαρᾶροι* to the inhabitants of Slavonic town-settlements—"men of a *gárad*" (or town). This Slavonic word (Church. Slav. *grad*, Russ. *gorod*) is familiar from such names as *Novgorod*, *Belgrad*. The use of the word by the Slaves who settled in Greece is proved by three towns called *Gardiki* in Greece, one in Messenia and two in Thessaly. *Gardiki* is a diminutive form, cf. Russ. *gorodók*. *Γαρασδοί* was probably applied to the Slaves of some special *gárad* (or *gardiki*), well known to the contemporaries of Constantine VII. According to this conjecture we might translate the verse,

"A Slavonised and Garaditish face."

The numerous Slavonic names of places in modern Greece are an important confirmation of Constantine's assertion; they have been treated of in the essay of Miklosich, *Die slavischen Elemente im Neugriechischen*. I may add that our English Slavonic scholar Mr. Morfill holds the view that Greece was Slavised, see *Early Slavonic Literature*.

justified in speculating that the infusion took place rapidly, and that the Slaves who settled in Greece between the dates 570 and 640 were gradually and easily converted to Christianity. It is at least remarkable that we hear of no intestine conflicts in Greece, nor yet of a mission for the conversion of the Slavonic settlers there. It is inviting to compare the infusion of the Slaves with the Greeks to the speedy amalgamation of the Danes, who invaded England in the ninth century, with the Angles. "The Danish Odo, Oskytel, and Oswald were archbishops in less than a century after Halfdane had divided Northumbria"¹; and just in the same way the Slavonian Nicetas became Patriarch of New Rome in the reign of Constantine V. We may pursue the parallel further, and compare the later Danish migrations of the eleventh century to the later Slavonic migration of the eighth century, of which we have just spoken. It was against these new immigrants, not yet amalgamated with the inhabitants, that the expedition of Stauracius was directed in 783.

Thus the plague was fruitful in far-reaching changes. On the one hand, an immense number of the inhabitants of Greece, who kept up many old Hellenic traditions, were either exterminated or transferred to a new place, where they came under new influences. On the other hand, a vast portion of the inhabitants of Byzantium, who maintained a certain Roman character and many Roman traditions amid all their half-Hellenic half-oriental ways, had been carried off by the plague, and were replaced by pure Greeks who had not inherited the effects of Roman influence, but, on the other hand, had been affected by intercourse with the Slaves. A double process went on in Byzantium; the new Greek settlers were Byzantinised, and at the same time Byzantium was Hellenised more completely than before. This was an important step in the direction of becoming a Greek nationality, to which goal the Roman Empire was steadily tending.

But we must especially emphasise the fact that these changes mark the final separation of the Empire from the ancient world and its assumption of a completely medieval

¹ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. p. 219. The rapid amalgamation of Slavonic settlers in more northern regions of the Illyric peninsula is indicated by

the position of Belisarius, if I am right in interpreting his name as Slavonic (White Dawn).

character. The removal of the Greeks from Greece cut off the dim survivals of the ancient Hellenic spirit; the depopulation of partly-Roman New Rome cut off the dim survivals of the ancient Roman spirit. All the elements that define the Middle Ages operated henceforward unstified and unmodified. In the middle of the sixth century, the time of the plague in Justinian's reign, we left the ancient world and entered the outer gate of the medieval city¹; in the reign of Heraclius, after the conquest of Persia, we passed an inner gate²; but the innermost gate is not reached till the eighth century; and the plague in the reign of Constantine marks the new departure. The ninth century and the twelfth are far more homogeneous than the sixth and the eighth.

Neither Constantine nor his father Leo took pains to commemorate their reigns by costly buildings, as did other less patriotic Emperors when the public purse could but ill afford the expense. Constantine, however, executed one solid and useful public work. The aqueduct of Valens had been destroyed by the Avars when they besieged Constantinople in the reign of Heraclius, and had never been restored since. The consequence was that the city was not well supplied with water, and when there was a drought in 766, the want of a duct to bring water from the hills was painfully felt. The Emperor immediately set about the restoration of the old aqueduct, which involved a large outlay. He collected skilled workmen from various parts of the Empire: a thousand masons and two thousand plasterers or cement-workers from Pontus and from Asia (that is, the western coast lands of Asia Minor); five thousand labourers and two hundred potters from Thrace; five hundred *ostrakarioi* or pottery-workers from Greece and the Aegean islands.³

Constantine was said to be avaricious, and one writer calls him a "Christ-hating new Midas." This accusation seems

¹ See vol. i. p. 399.

² See above, p. 246. It may be well to state that I use the conventional terms *ancient*, *medieval*, and *modern* as a convenient way of marking certain broad distinctions, but without attaching any intrinsic value to arbitrary lines of division.

³ Both *κεραμοποιοί* and *οστρακάριοι* mean potters. The latter, I suppose, made the earthenware pipes (which Vitruvius considered better than leaden, as the water that passed was purer), and the former were the brickmakers. See Theophanes, 6258 A.M. = 765-766.

to be chiefly founded on a curious and unjustifiable economic measure, which, whether designedly or not, had the effect of benefiting the non-productive portion of the community at the expense of the productive. He withheld the imperial revenue from circulation, and this at once cheapened all articles of food. The farmers and corn-growers were forced to sell their products at absurdly small prices; so that the money received was hardly sufficient to pay the taxes, which were not diminished and were exacted in coin. Meanwhile the non-agricultural classes, the buyers, were jubilant, attributing the low prices to plenteous crops, instead of to the true cause, scarcity of the medium of exchange. This affair is an interesting paragraph in the history of political economy.¹

Constantine married three times. By his first wife, Irene, the daughter of the khan of the Khazars, he had one son Leo (nicknamed "the Khazar"), who succeeded him. His second wife, Maria, died childless in 751. He then married Eudocia, who bore him five sons, Christophorus, Nicephorus, Nicetas, Anthimus, and Eudocimus. The eldest son, Leo, married an accomplished and ambitious Athenian lady named Irene in 768. The second and third sons were raised to the rank of Caesar and the fourth and fifth to the rank of nobilissimus in 768; the youngest, Eudocimus, was not made a nobilissimus until the reign of his half-brother Leo.²

¹ On the great wealth of society at this period, see Finlay, ii. 213. Our direct evidence for the amount of specie in circulation in the Roman Empire concerns the reign of Theophilus rather than the eighth century; but it is certain that the Empire kept the west of Europe supplied with gold coins.

² Constantine had a daughter named Anthusa by his third wife. She was called after a nun, a friend and protégée of her mother. "The princess Anthusa

was distinguished for her benevolence and piety; she is said to have founded one of the first orphan asylums established in the christian world; and her orthodox devotion to pictures obtained for her a place among the saints of the Greek Church, an honour granted also to her godmother and teacher" (Finlay, ii. p. 68). The intimate relations of the nun Anthusa to the imperial family shows Constantine's domestic mildness.

ISAURIAN DYNASTY

LEO III, *m.* Maria, *d.* 740.

CONSTANTINE V

- b.* 718; *cor.* March 25, 720; sole Emperor, June 18, 740;
d. Sept. 14, 776.
m. 1. Irene, the Khazares, 731. 2. Maria, 749 or 750 (*d.* 751).
 3. Eudocia (*cor.* Augusta, April 1, 768).

Anna, *m.* Artavasdos.

Nicetas.

Nicephorus.

LEO IV (by Irene)

- b.* Jan. 25, 749; *cor.* 750; sole Emperor,
 Sept. 775; *d.* Sept. 8, 780.
m. IRENE, Sept. 3, 768 (*cor.* Augusta, Dec. 17).

CONSTANTINE VI

- b.* Jan. 14, 770; *cor.* April 24, 776;
 Emperor (with Irene), Sept. 8, 780.

Leo

- b.* Oct. 7, 796; *d.* May 1, 797.

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Nicephorus | Christophorus
(by Eudocia) | Nicetas
(by Eudocia) | Anthimus
(by Eudocia) | Eudocimus
(by Eudocia);
nobilissimus,
Easter Eve, 776. | Anthusa
(by Eudocia). |
| <i>cor.</i> Caesar,
April 2, 768. | Caesar,
April 2, 768. | <i>b.</i> 762;
nobilissimus,
April 2, 768. | <i>b.</i> 768;
nobilissimus. | | |

CHAPTER VI

ICONOCLASTIC POLICY OF CONSTANTINE¹

CONSTANTINE was an apt pupil of his father Leo in the lessons of autocratic government and the assertion of imperial supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. But in the matter of iconoclasm his little finger was thicker than his father's loins, and he detested so intensely the superstition and stupidity which were fostered by the monks that he ended by persecuting them with a sort of passionate bitterness. As monasticism was one of the most radical elements of medieval Christendom, Constantine's opposition may appear vain and untimely²; nevertheless, he was not altogether beating the air. For, although persecution is always impolitic, the attitude of the iconoclasts was the expression of a new and healthy spirit, and we should not blame them much if they fell into the error of intolerance, whose entire eradication can be looked for only after a long education of the human race. And when we read the accounts of the persecutions we must remember that they emanate from Constantine's opponents, and that no sources written in the iconoclastic interest are extant. It will not be necessary to enter here into the details of the "martyrdoms,"

¹ For this chapter my chief Greek authorities are the Chronography of Theophanes; the Acts of the seventh Ecumenical (second Nicene) Council, Mansi, vols. xii. and xiii.; the Life of St. Andreas of Crete (*Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. viii.); *Vita Stephani Junioris* (published 1688 A.D. in the *Analecta Græca* of the Benedictines). A pamphlet against Constantine V, falsely ascribed to John of Damascus, is contained

in the *Cod. Reg.* 2428—a codex written by Leo Cinnamus in the year $\psi\pi\delta'$ =6784, who transcribed it from a codex written in $\sigma\epsilon\zeta\eta'$ =6267 (517 years before)=758 A.D. Migne has included this in his edition of John Damascenus.

² I shall point out further on that Constantine's policy was actuated by economic motives as well as by hatred of superstition.

which find a fitter place in works on ecclesiastical history ; our attention is directed rather to the general spirit of the rationalistic movement.

Constantine not only condemned picture-worship and hated monachism, but his orthodoxy in theological doctrine was extremely doubtful, and in some respects his moral principles were decidedly far from austere. Thereby he laid himself open to the attacks of his opponents, who made him out to be almost a pagan in creed and a Minotaur or a Cyclops in manners.

The stories that are told to illustrate his tendency to Nestorianism, or even to Arianism, have probably a basis of fact, and both Leo and Constantine may have been secretly inclined to a unitarian system as a purer form of religion. In any case, Constantine won the reputation of being addicted to free theological speculation. He forbade the prefixion of the epithet *saint* to the names of men ; he would not permit any one to speak of St. Peter, but only of the apostle Peter. He bantered his courtiers unsparingly when they displayed traits of superstition or an inclination to practise austerities, which he deemed unjustified by reason. If one of his nobles slipped and fell in his presence and happened to employ such an expression as "Virgin, help me," he was exposed to the Emperor's smiles or sneers. If a minister was in the habit of attending church services with a pious and punctilious regularity, or complied with such a custom as the keeping of a sacred vigil, the Emperor laughed him to scorn. Even an over-scrupulous care in avoiding profane language was held up to ridicule by this enemy of all that savoured of superstition.

Constantine recoiled in horror from the austerity as well as from the superstition of monasticism, and he held a merry, perhaps ribald court, which gave his enemies welcome material for charges against him. His palace was the scene of banqueting, music, and dancing ; he was not prudish in conversation ; he was fond of the companionship of handsome young men. His ecclesiastical opponents circulated mysterious stories of secret orgies ; and a tale was told, which may be true or false, that a youth named Strategius, whose intimacy Constantine courted with peculiar ardour, communicated the

dangerous secret to a third person, and was on that account put to death by the Emperor.¹

Both Leo and Constantine, while they deprived the people of sacred pictures, desired to substitute other things, not for their edification, but rather for their amusement. Pope Gregory accused Leo of endeavouring to replace images² by harps, cymbals, and flutes, as means of popular enjoyment; perhaps Leo organised public concerts. Constantine was fond of music; the attention which he paid to harp-playing is one of the charges brought against him; and it was he who sent to Pipin the first "organ" that ever reached western Europe. Theatrical entertainments, to which the Quinisext Synod had assumed an uncompromisingly hostile attitude, were in favour with the iconoclasts³; nor did their reprobation of sacred and seductive pictures by any means imply hostility to the art of painting as an art. For example, when the walls of St. Maria in Blachernae were stripped (after the synod of 753 A.D.) of pictures which illustrated the history of Christ, they were covered instead with paintings of landscapes,—trees and birds and fruits. How beautiful such ornamentation may have been we can fancy from the exquisite mosaics preserved in the church of St. George at Salonica; but the author of the *Life of Stephanus* describes St. Maria as transformed into an aviary and a fruit market. The Patriarch's palace was adorned with "Satanic" representations of hunting scenes, horse-races, and similar subjects. Hence we cannot take literally the condemnations of painting in itself which are recorded to have been uttered by the synod of 753.

This synod, which condemned image-worship as contrary to Christianity, was held at Constantinople, and consisted of 338

¹ Constantine has been accused, among other things, of intercourse with demons, of delighting in effeminate practices (*μαλακίας*), and of a strange hankering after the excrement of horses (whence, it is said, he was called "Kaballinos"). In regard to Constantine's character, it is as stupid of Walch, his admirer, to make hazardous assertions about his chastity as it is irrelevant of his detractors to dwell on the statements that impugn his morality in sexual relations. It is well worthy of note that in this respect the fame of Leo III has not been even

breathed upon by the most virulent of his foes.

² See above, p. 443.

³ For example, John of Damascus, in a letter to Constantine V, mentioned several of that Emperor's followers as fond of theatrical shows, as we are told in the *Vita Stephani Junioris*. He called the iconoclastic bishops *κοιλιοδούλους τε καὶ γαστρώφρονες*; he called Constantine himself *αἰσεχελῆ* (?) καὶ Μάμοθ εἰκονοκαύστην τε καὶ μισάγιον. The reading *αἰσεχελῆ* is uncertain; it is rendered in the Latin translation *haereticam blateronem*, as if *αἰσεπεσεχελῆ*.

members, but was not attended by representatives from Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem, so that it had no just claim to be styled ecumenical.¹ The Patriarch Anastasius had died of a foul disease in the preceding year, and as no one had been elected in his place, Theodosius, bishop of Ephesus and son of the Emperor Apsimar, presided at the council. Soon afterwards the patriarchal chair was filled by Constantinos, bishop of Sylaeum, who was presented to the people in the church at Blachernae by the Emperor himself, with the words, "Long live the ecumenical Patriarch." A few days afterwards, accompanied by the new Patriarch and the bishop of Ephesus, Constantine declared aloud his heretical doctrine in the Augusteum (Forum of Constantine).

After the synod, coercive measures were taken to carry out its resolutions. It would seem that for almost ten years after Constantine's victory over Artavasdos he had abstained from active proceedings against the adoration of pictures, waiting until he should feel himself securely established on the throne, and that consequently the churches which Leo had purified were once more adorned with sacred paintings and images. The monks, moreover, had taken advantage of the lull to propagate the orthodox doctrine and encourage the forbidden practices; nor did they cease after the synod to agitate against the Emperor and the Patriarch. But for several years wars and other affairs prevented Constantine from pushing coercion to extremes and suppressing by violent measures the refractory monks who, from the aspect of Caesaropapism, were no better than rebels.

But in 761 the persecution began, and among the many monks who were put to death or maltreated six stand out conspicuously, as the Greek Church commemorates the anni-

¹ In the preceding year preparatory synods were held in the provinces. The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem declared themselves in favour of image-worship. Notwithstanding the fact that the see of Constantinople stood alone, the council of 753 styled itself the seventh Ecumenical Council. It condemned images of Christ and images of the saints on different grounds; the former (and here we see the approximation to monophysitism), because Christ's nature being

divine, is *ἀκατάληπτος*, incomprehensible, and *ἀπεριγرافος*, not circumscribable, and therefore must not be represented circumscribed by the limits of a figure in space; the latter (to which this reasoning would not apply), because all images and idols in religious worship savoured of heathen usage. It must be specially noted that the synod enjoined that rich churches were not to be plundered or injured on the pretence of iconoclasm.

versaries of their martyrdoms. Peter Kalybites,¹ who had called Constantine a new Valens and a new Julian,—he probably detested an Arian even more than a pagan,—was flogged to death in the circus of St. Mamas in Blachernae on the 16th of May. John of Monagria suffered two months later. The year 766 was signalised by the executions of Paul of Crete and Andreas of Crete. Another Paul underwent martyrdom in 771 (8th July). But of all the victims the most celebrated and influential was the abbot Stephanus, whose death is commemorated on the 28th day of November; the year in which he suffered cannot be fixed with positive certainty, as the statements of our authorities are contradictory. Stephanus lived the austere life of an anchorite in a cell on Mount Auxentius in Bithynia, and when Constantine began (about the year 760 or 761) to suppress monks and monasteries, not only the monks of Bithynia, but those of Constantinople and the country round about, betook themselves to the secluded mountain and lived under the guidance of the abbot. It was said that false witnesses were suborned by the Emperor to bring charges against this powerful opponent, and that a noble widow, Anna, the spiritual daughter of Stephanus, was accused by her slave of having indulged in carnal conversation with the abbot, and was whipped in the vain hope of extorting a confession (about September 762). When this charge failed, Stephanus was accused of having transgressed the Emperor's edict that no monk should take in a novice, and of having tried to seduce a young court page into embracing monastic life under his guidance. Of course the biographer of the martyr represents this charge as false, but we cannot accept his colouring of the story without reservation, and must regard it as at least quite possible that the complaints of the page had some foundation.²

¹ Theophanes erroneously calls him Andreas Kalybites, while conversely he calls Andreas of Crete Peter Stylites. See the article of the Bollandists, "de Andrea Cretensi dicto in crisi," *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vol. viii. (1853). John, the abbot of Monagria, is commemorated on 4th June; Paul of Crete on 17th March; Andreas of Crete on 20th October. Hefele and the Bollandists place the martyrdom of the two last in 767. According to my chronology the date is 760, which corresponds partly

to 6258 A.M. and partly to 6259 A.M.

² The charges against Stephanus (according to the Patriarch Nicephorus) were that "he deceives many, teaching them to despise present glory and houses and kindred, and to leave the imperial court and adopt the monastic life"; and Nicephorus, so far from hinting that the charges are false, considers the alleged conduct part of the monk's piety. Stephanus' proselytising habits were just what made him so obnoxious to the Emperor.

At all events, the Emperor's representations of the matter in Constantinople created a current of popular excitement against the monks, and Constantine no longer hesitated to send soldiers to Mount Auxentius with orders to pull down the monastery and the church, which were built at a lower point on the mountain than the cell of the abbot,¹ to disperse all the monks, and to conduct Stephanus to the island of Proconnesus. He was allowed to remain there in exile for a space of two years, but as crowds of monks congregated to him and he continued to preach the doctrine of image-worship with unflagging energy, he was at length removed in fetters to Constantinople (764) and flung into the praetorian prison (*praetorium*) with 342 monks, who were condemned to suffer various penalties and indignities—some losing their eyes, some having their ears or noses slit, while the beards of others were tarred and burnt. Stephanus was condemned to death, and stoned or hewed to pieces in the street.²

Soon after he had removed from his way the zealous and noxious Stephanus, the Emperor adopted the measure of exacting an oath from all his subjects that they would not worship pictures. About the same time he induced the Patriarch Constantinos to relax the severity of manners affected by ecclesiastics, to abandon the habit of eschewing meat, to join in good fellowship at the imperial table, and to assist at musical entertainments. The Patriarch thus became, in the eyes of the monks, no better than a worldly reveller.

When he had returned from his unfortunate expedition against Bulgaria (765), Constantine entertained the populace and held the monks up to ridicule by a curious exhibition. He caused a large number of monks to walk up and down the hippodrome, each holding a harlot, or, according to some accounts, a nun, by the hand, spat upon and jeered by all the people. As for the monasteries, which were numerous, he had either caused them to be pulled down, as those of Calli-

¹ The cell was situated under the highest peak of the mountain.

² The body of Stephanus was thrown into a place called "the tombs of Pelagius" (or Pelagioi), where pagans and suicides were buried. The exact name is not clear, for the MSS. of Nicephorus in one place read *ἐν τοῖς*

καλούμενοι τάφοι τῶν Πελαγίου (p. 72, ed. de Boor) and in another place (p. 75) *τοὺς τῶν Πελαγίων καλούμενους τάφοις* (so Theoph. p. 674). I am inclined to think that the original name was *τὰ Πελαγίου*, and that it afterwards became corrupted to the plural.

stratus and Dion, or converted them into barracks for soldiers like that of Dalmatus.

Hitherto the campaign against monachism had been chiefly confined to Byzantium and regions in the vicinity on either side of the Propontis; but in 766 Constantine appointed staunch and unflinching iconoclasts, men after his own heart, to governorships in the Asiatic provinces, and commanded them to abolish pictures and coerce monks. Michael Lachanodrakon was made governor of the Thracesian, Michael of Melissene of the Anatolic, and Manes of the Bucellarian theme. Who can describe, cries the chronicler, the evils which these men did in the provinces? But we hear no details until the end of the year 769 or the beginning of 770, when Lachanodrakon assembled all the monks and nuns of the Thracesian theme in a plain called Tzukanisterion ("Polo-ground"), and bade them immediately marry under pain of being transported to Cyprus. Many, most probably, yielded, but some chose the penalty. Subsequently the same governor attacked the monasteries, committed all the patristic books, monastic manuals, and sacred relics to the flames, and sent to the Emperor a welcome sum of money obtained by selling the costly consecrated vessels. The Emperor wrote him a letter of warm thanks, and said, "I have found a man after my own heart." Not a monk was left in the Thracesian theme, and it is said that Lachanodrakon anointed the beards of some with a mixture of oil and wax and set fire to them; but these are the stories of opponents.

I may here draw attention to another aspect of Constantine's war against the monks, and point out that economical considerations as well as the desire of uprooting superstition evidently influenced his policy. In a society where the danger was depopulation, not over-population, the monastic system was distinctly an evil. A few monasteries scattered here and there might have been not only innocuous but highly beneficial; but in the Roman Empire cloisters multiplied every year, and a sort of mania seems to have seized the wealthier classes in the eighth century to found monasteries and retire to their seclusion. The consequence was that an unduly large proportion of the population, men who should have been productive and reproductive citizens, led a life of

sterility and inactivity, saving as they thought their own souls, utterly regardless of the State. The progress of this individualism was fraught with peril for the Empire, which was always surrounded by enemies and needed the active co-operation of every subject for its preservation; and I believe that this was one of the deepest causes which led to the decline of the Eastern Empire. For after the iconoclastic movement had died out, the monastic spirit increased more and more, and almost every man who was in receipt of a respectable income saved money in order to endow a monastery before he died; while it was a common occurrence that ministers or governors embraced the spiritual life ere they had passed their prime.

Constantine V could not be blind to this aspect of the monastic system, nor could he fail to see that it stood in direct antagonism to the interests of the State. It is recorded that he always became angry if he heard that any of his courtiers or officers entertained the intention of retiring to a cloister; and the statement not only indicates the Emperor's attitude but also illustrates the fact that persons of rank frequently sought the seclusion of cells. The measure of compelling monks to marry proves, I think, that a desire to redress the evil of depopulation, as well as the motive of eradicating superstition, determined Constantine's policy. It may be added that the enormous ravages which the great pestilence made among the inhabitants of the Empire rendered the population question more important and pressing than ever. If we once realise that not merely ecclesiastical differences of opinion, but social and political problems of the greatest magnitude, were involved in Constantine's conflict with monasticism, we shall be more able to comprehend and ready to make allowances for the unrelenting severity with which he suppressed men like Stephanus, who, though personally amiable and well-meaning, exerted all their power and influence to maintain a system which, as he plainly saw, was undermining and ruining the Empire.¹ One might almost say that the

¹ In regard to the method adopted by Constantine in secularising the lands of monasteries and religious houses, we have no certain historical evidence; but it seems at least prob-

able that he put into practice the *charistic* system, which was so notable a feature in the eleventh century. At all events, it is well worthy of notice that John, a Patriarch of Antioch, in his

spirit of Constantine's policy anticipated the famous paradox of Gibbon that the virtues of the clergy are more dangerous to society than their vices.

Before concluding this chapter I must mention the fate of the Patriarch Constantinos, of which the causes are somewhat obscure. A conspiracy was formed against Constantine in August 765, shortly after his disastrous expedition to Bulgaria, by a number of men of high rank, including Antiochus, who had filled the posts of governor of Sicily and *logothete of the course*¹; Constantine Podopagurus, who was in office as *logothete of the course*, and his brother Strategius, the domesticus of the imperial guards; David, count of Opsikion; Theophylactus, governor of Thrace. Constantine and Strategius were beheaded, others were blinded. But the most remarkable circumstance was that the iconoclastic Patriarch Constan-

Oratio in donationes monasteriorum Laicis factas, traces this system to the iconoclastic Emperors, especially Constantine V. (See Cotelierus, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, i. 168, 169). The *charistic* system, as it may be called, corresponded to the benefice system of the West, and consisted in making over lands as a present, *δὲ χάριστικῆς*, without any contract or written conditions. The lands were consequently not alienated, and if the *charistikiar* (as the receiver of the benefice was called) did not satisfy the possessor or fulfil his verbal conditions, the possessor might resume possession when he liked. This practice was very common in the eleventh century in the case of monasteries, but there is no evidence that it was employed in the case of secular landed property. M. Skabalonovitch gives a long and interesting account of the system in his *Vizantiyskoe Gosudarstvo i Tserkov v xi. Věkě*, p. 253 sqq. He identifies this system with the system of *beneficia* or *precaria* (*prekarno-benefitsialnaya sistema*), of whose existence in the fifth century we have evidence in Salvian and the Code of Justinian, and which was in full force in Gaul under the Merovingians.

Among the Franks the two chief sources of feudalism were (1) benefices of two kinds, and (2) commendations. The *charistic* system and the *πρόνοια*

(imperial gifts, resumable at pleasure) of the eleventh century are the analogues of one form of the western *beneficia*; and we have proofs that the other form of benefice also existed at the beginning of the tenth century. Poor landowners gave (*πρόσω δωρεάς*) their property to richer lords for the sake of the protection and patronage of the latter, as we learn from constitutions of Romanus. In this practice there were the germs of a mild feudalism, and it is interesting to observe that the Emperors endeavoured to counteract the tendency. The expression *δωρεά*, which is also applied to the *charistic* custom, leads Skabalonovitch (p. 262) to bring the two customs into close connection. The second form of benefices in the West may be traced back to the *patrocinia majorum* of Salvian, but it would be hazardous to argue that the custom was prevalent in the East before the ninth century. The two forms are explained by Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. 275. The other element of feudalism, *commendation*, "may have had a Gallic or Celtic origin" (ib. 276); it never appeared in the East. It need hardly be said that Byzantine centralisation never permitted anything like "grants of immunity."

¹ *λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου*, who superintended the *cursus publicus*. See *post*, p. 471.

tinus¹ was suspected of being an accomplice; or else the Emperor was angry with him for some other reason, and framed against him a false charge of participation in the conspiracy. The historians say that some of his own servants were suborned to declare that their master had conferred treasonably with Podopagurus. Accordingly Constantinos was banished to Hieria, and Nicetas, a Slavonian and of course an iconoclast, was elected in his stead. A year later (6th October 766) Constantinos, who had in the meantime been transferred from Hieria to Prince's island, was brought to Constantinople. He was first beaten so severely that he could not walk, and then carried in a litter to St. Sophia, where an imperial secretary read out a list of the accusations which had been preferred against him, accompanying the recitation of each item with a blow in the face, to the delectation of the new Patriarch Nicetas, who looked on. He was then beaten backwards out of the church; and on the following day, sitting on an ass, with his face turned to its tail, was exposed in the hippodrome to the spits and mocks of the people. He was beheaded in the Kynegion, his head was exposed in the Milion, and his body was dragged by ropes along the streets to "the place of Pelagius," the barathrum of Byzantium.

Unfortunately we know nothing of the crimes or misdemeanours which the imperial secretary read in the solea of St. Sophia, and it is not a little surprising to find the Emperor treating thus an iconoclastic Patriarch, whom he had at first regarded with marked favour. If I may hazard a conjecture, perhaps Constantinos, while he agreed with the Emperor in his hatred of image-worship, did not agree with him in his hatred of monks, and did not approve of his thoroughgoing policy, which aimed at the extirpation of the monastic system. I am inclined to think that in this respect the iconoclastic clergy were not at one with the supporters of Constantine's policy against monachism, and that this difference may have occasioned a breach between the Patriarch and the Emperor.

¹ Like Finlay, I call this Constantine *Constantinos* to distinguish him from the Emperor.

CHAPTER VII

BULGARIA

THE Bulgarian monarch Terbel, who had restored Justinian II to the throne, and in return for that service obtained the rank of a Roman Caesar, who had afterwards attacked the Saracens as they besieged Constantinople, and in the following year espoused for a moment the cause of the ex-Emperor Anastasius, died in 720, after a reign of twenty years, during which the Bulgarian kingdom had been on terms of almost unbroken peace with the Roman Empire.¹ Forty-three years passed, during which two princes, both fameless and one nameless, ruled the Bulgarians; then in 753 Kormisoſ usurped the royal power, and a period of disturbances set in.

As the Bulgarians were in the habit of making inroads on Thrace, Constantine took measures to secure the frontier by establishing strong fortresses, and planting, as settlers in the northern parts of Thrace, the Syrian and Armenian inhabitants of towns in Asia, which he conquered from the Saracens. At this juncture (755) Kormisoſ sent a message to Constantine demanding the payment of tribute, that the Emperor's refusal might be an excuse for invading the Empire. According to one

¹ A treaty, fixing the boundaries and determining commercial relations, was concluded in the brief reign of Theodosius III. We learn this fact incidentally from a notice of Theophanes when he is dealing with Crumn and Nicephorus I., 6305 A.M. τὰς ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Ἀδραμυτηνοῦ στοιχηθείσας καὶ Γερμανοῦ τοῦ πατριάρχου σπονδὰς πρὸς Κορμέσιον τὸν κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ κύριον Βουλγαρίας· αἱ τοὺς ὅρους περιεῖχον ἀπὸ

Μηλεωῶν τῆς Θράκης, ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ κόκκωα δέρματα ἕως τιμῆς λ' λιτρῶν χρυσίου . . . τοὺς δὲ ἐμπορευομένους εἰς ἑκατέρας χώρας διὰ σιγίλλων καὶ σφραγίδων συνίστασθαι, τοῖς δὲ σφραγίδας μὴ ἔχουσιν ἀφαιρῆσθαι τὰ προσόντα αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰσκομίζεσθαι τοῖς δημοσίοις λόγοις. Theophanes errs in the name of the king of Bulgaria, who was Terbel in 716, not Kormesios. Jiriček (p. 140) wrongly places this treaty in 714.

historian, the Bulgarians devastated Thrace up to the Long Wall, but were then attacked and routed by the Emperor¹; according to another, they returned to their country unharmed.²

In 758 Constantine proceeded to Macedonia to reduce the Slaves, whose numbers in those regions had considerably increased of late. In consequence of the ravages of the plague, there had been a very large migration of families from northern Greece and the Peloponnesus to Constantinople; and this evacuation had left room for the Slaves to press southwards, where they were fast gaining ground. The Sclavinias, as the settlements in Macedonia and Thessaly were called, were nominally tributary to the Emperor, but they were ever ready to throw off the yoke, and it was not always easy for the Emperors, occupied by Saracen or Bulgarian wars, to reduce them to submission. Constantine subjugated "the Sclavinias," and made prisoners of the refractory.

In the following year he headed an expedition against Bulgaria,³ but when he arrived at the pass of Berégaba, somewhere between Anchialus and Varna, he was met by the enemy, and experienced a defeat, which was fatal to two important ministers, the general of the Thracian theme and the master-general of the post (logothete of the course).⁴ Three years later we find that Kormisoš is no longer king, that the Bulgarians have revolted and set up Teletz (Teletzes), a man of a bold, and some said bad, disposition. The domestic discord that prevailed at this time induced an immense number of Slaves, two hundred and eight thousand, to leave Bulgaria. They fled in their boats on the Euxine to the shelter of the Roman Empire, and Constantine settled them near the river Artana in Bithynia.

¹ Nicephorus, p. 66.

² Theophanes, 6247 A.M. Nicephorus and Theophanes are our only original authorities for this chapter. An old half-Slavonic half-Bulgarian list of Bulgarian monarchs (Jiriček, p. 139) gives us a few names.

³ 6251 A.M., 759 A.D. Jiriček (p. 141) would identify Berégaba with either: "Nadir Derbend oder der Saumpfad von Mesembria über Eminé nach Varna." Nicephorus mentions, without date, a very successful expedition of Constantine by land and sea.

He defeated the Bulgarians in a battle at Marcellae (Marcellon?), and ravaged their country. This is not mentioned by Theophanes (or Jiriček), but from the order of the narration in Nicephorus must have taken place about 756 or 757.

⁴ *λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου*. This is the earliest mention of this office, which in the sixth century belonged to the praet. prefects. It is to be presumed that the logothete of the course was created in the seventh century, when the praet. pref. of the East ceased to exist.

Teletz soon attacked Roman towns and plundered Roman territory in the neighbourhood of Mount Haemus, and Constantine prepared an expedition to chastise his insolence. On the 17th of June 762 he left the city, having previously sent by the Euxine a fleet of eight hundred transport vessels,¹ carrying twelve horses each, to meet him at Anchialus. When Teletz heard of these preparations, he collected about two thousand auxiliary troops from the neighbouring Slavonic tribes of Illyricum,² and secured his fortresses. The Emperor encamped in the plain of Anchialus, and on the 30th of June, when Teletz arrived with a large army, a battle was fought, lasting from eleven o'clock in the forenoon until late in the evening. The Bulgarians and Slaves were beaten back and routed by the Roman cavalry. Many were killed and many captured; the latter were carried through the streets of Constantinople on wooden planks,³ adorning the triumph of the Emperor, who then delivered them to the populace to deal with as it willed.

The defeat of Teletz was fatal to his supremacy. The people rebelled, slew him and his ministers, and set up Sabin, the son-in-law of Kormisoš, in his stead. The new king sent to the Emperor a proposal of peace, but this policy displeased his disorderly subjects, who delighted in war. They met together in a sort of diet, called by the Greek historian *komventon* (*conventus*), and having deposed Sabin, asking him, "Is Bulgaria to be enslaved to the Romans by thee?" they elected Baian (Paganos).⁴ Sabin fled to Constantine, who espoused his cause; and the Emperor found some means to seize the wives and relations of the Bulgarian nobles who had led the opposi-

¹ Theophanes says 2000.

² ἔχων εἰς συμμαχίαν καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα πλῆθη (Nic.) These cannot have been his subjects, and were presumably his western or south-western neighbours. Theoph. say he obtained two thousand troops from neighbouring nations.

³ ξυλοπανδούροις (Theoph.)

⁴ Theophanes calls him Pagános, but his true name, Baian, is known from the old Bulgarian catalogue, already referred to. The name Baian was familiar to the Greek historian; it was a common name of Hunnic sovereigns. We cannot, therefore, suppose that the corruption was due to Theophanes. I suspect that the Slaves (or

Vlachs?) gave this king the name of Pagán, "heathen," as a sort of play on Baian. The Latin word *paganus* had passed into the Slavonic tongues, apparently in Pannonia, and Constantine Porphyrogenetos actually regarded it as a Slavonic word. The Byzantines, hearing the king called Pagan by the Slaves, adopted the name. It has, however, been suggested that Pagan and Sabinus were sprung from the Roman population of the Balkan lands—in fact, that they were Roumans or Vlachsians. If so, their reigns were an anticipation of the Vlach-Bulgarian empire of later days. It is noteworthy that Nicephorus distinguishes *Baian* and *Kampagános*.

tion against Sabin. The possession of these hostages rendered the Bulgarians desirous of peace,¹ but Constantine apparently declined at first, and made an ineffectual expedition against their country, which they were able to protect by occupying in good time the passes of Mount Haemus. After this (762) the Emperor consented to grant an audience to Baian and his bolyars, whom he received in the presence of Sabin, and, having reproached them for their rebellious behaviour, made a treaty with them.

Thrace suffered not only from the inroads of the northern kingdom, but also from the pillaging expeditions of independent Slaves and the brigandage of mountain outlaws. About this time Constantine captured a chief of the Slovene tribe of the Severs, nominally dependent on Bulgaria, who had inflicted many evils on Thrace.² He also captured Christianus, an apostate Christian, who had "magarised" or turned Mohammedan and commanded a band of scammers. I have already mentioned the horrible punishment which this man suffered.³

We hear not what became of Baian, but he was succeeded by Omar, who represented the interests of Sabin, and was opposed by Toktu, Baian's brother.⁴ Constantine invaded Bulgaria to suppress Toktu, who, supported by the majority of the Bulgarians, had driven Omar from the land; and, finding the passes undefended, he advanced as far as the river Tundža,⁵ plundering the villages. In the woods on the banks of the Danube, Toktu was captured and slain. The Roman invasion wrought terrible mischief to Bulgaria, which, as is specially stated, offered a spectacle of devastated fields and burnt hamlets.

Constantine followed up this success by organising another expedition on a larger scale in the following year. Two thousand six hundred transport ships were prepared; troops were assembled from their various stations for a simultaneous attack

¹ These details are narrated by Nicephorus, who places these events in the first indiction, that is, according to the official reckoning of the time, 6254 A.M. (=761-762). Theophanes, on the other hand, places them in 6256 (=764). I prefer to follow Nicephorus; and place the expedition of Constantine in the third indiction, as noted by Nicephorus, identifying it with the expedition noted by Theophanes under 6256.

² Theoph. 6256 A.M. τὸν Σεβέρων ἀρχοντα Σκλαβούρον (so de Boor).

³ *Ib.* See above, p. 422.

⁴ Nicephorus calls Toktos Baian's brother, and immediately afterwards speaks of Toktos and Baian's brother as two distinct persons. The position of Omar, as Sabin's representative, is not clear. He is mentioned as reigning forty days in the Slavonic list of Bulgarian monarchs.

⁵ De Boor, however (with Anastasius), reads *ἕως τοῦ Τῆρας* instead of *ἕως Τούνζας*.

on Bulgaria by land and by sea. But a north wind blew hard and wrecked the ships as they were sailing to Anchialus. The crews were drowned, and by the Emperor's orders the bodies were fished up with hooks and received christian burial (765).

Before Constantine's next Bulgarian expedition King Telerig¹ had ascended the throne, and his measures for the defence of his kingdom were so efficient that in the year 773 Constantine, who had arrived with a land army and a naval armament,² abandoned the idea of hostilities and concluded a written treaty, each party undertaking not to attack the other.³ This was in May or June. In October of the same year Constantine, who had friends and emissaries⁴ in Telerig's dominions, was informed by them that the king was sending an army of twelve thousand men to enslave the Slavonic land of Berzetia⁵ and remove the inhabitants to Bulgaria. Promptness and secrecy were necessary to anticipate this invasion; and, as Bulgarian ambassadors were then present at Constantinople, the Emperor pretended that the preparations which he set on foot were for war against the Saracens. To keep up this pretence he caused some troops to cross over to Asia; but as soon as the ambassadors had departed he assembled in Thrace an army of eighty thousand, consisting of garrison soldiers collected from all the themes, of the Thracian regiments, and of the Optimati who were settled in Pontus. At Lithosoria he completely surprised the unsuspecting army of the enemy, gained a great victory, and returned with abundant booty.⁶ In 774 he again embarked a large squadron of cavalry, but at Mesembria the ships were wellnigh wrecked by a storm and the expedition returned without having effected its object.

The success that generally attended Constantine in his

¹ Theophanes (6266 A.M.), Τελέριγος; also called Tzerig.

² Theophanes mentions Ρούσια χελωνδια, and Finlay notes the passage as containing the first mention of the Russians in Byzantine history (ii. 87). But de Boor, though he prints Ρούσια σία, takes ρούσια χ. in his index as red boats.

³ The Bulgarians sent to Constantine a bolyar (βουλᾶν) καὶ Τριγάτον (so de Boor). It seems to me probable that this word should be written with a small initial, as its collocation with βουλᾶν demands and as one MS. confirms. I take it for a Bulgarian word meaning "warrior," and identical with the

Tartar *djiguit*, used by Circassians and Cossacks.

⁴ τῶν κρυπτῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ (Theoph.)

⁵ Βερζέτια, in Macedonia. The Berzétai took part in the siege of Salonica in 676. At the present time Brzaci or Brsjaci live in Macedonia about Prilép, Veles, Bitol, and in the district of Tikveš (Jiriček, p. 119).

⁶ October, twelfth indiction, but the preceding May was also in twelfth indiction, as one indiction was spread over two years (see p. 423). Thus the date of the campaign is end of 773, or beginning of 6266 A.M. The dates in Finlay and Jiriček require correction.

Bulgarian campaigns was greatly promoted by the presence of his agents in Bulgaria, who, keeping him well informed concerning the state of the country and the intentions of the monarch, enabled him to seize favourable opportunities. Telerig knew this, and, in order to identify the traitors, had recourse to a stratagem. He wrote to Constantine announcing his intention of fleeing from his realm and taking refuge in the Roman Empire, and asked him to advise him touching persons to whom he might most wisely confide his scheme. Constantine was taken in by the guile and sent to Telerig the names of his friends, whom Telerig immediately put to death.

In August 775 the Emperor, indefatigable in his hostilities against Bulgaria, headed an army and marched northward once more, but, seized with an inflammation in his legs, he was obliged to return to Arcadiopolis, whence he was brought to Selymbria,¹ and a few days later died in the vessel that was conveying him to Constantinople.

In the reign of his successor Leo IV, Telerig carried out in earnest the intention which he had falsely professed to Constantine and fled from his kingdom to the Roman Emperor, at whose court he was baptized, created a Patrician, and married to a Roman princess. Cardam succeeded Telerig, and in his reign the Romans were on the whole unsuccessful. The general of Thrace was surprised and his army routed in the neighbourhood of the Strymon (788).² Two or three years later Constantine VI led a fruitless expedition against Bulgaria; the Romans and the Bulgarians fled from each other in mutual terror (April 791).

The second expedition of Constantine VI, in July 792, was attended with a calamitous defeat. Cardam with all his forces advanced to meet him, and the fair presages of false prophets induced the Emperor to give battle at a disadvantage. The Romans were utterly routed and left some of their most able officers on the field,³ among whom was the veteran Michael Lachanodrakon, the beloved of Constantine V. The Emperor made good his escape, but the disaster almost cost him his throne, as it led to a revolt in the army.

¹ He sailed from Selymbria 13th of September, fourteenth indiction = 775.

² The general's name was Philetos. The date falls between 1st September

788 and 1st September 789.

³ Bardas, a patrician; Nicetas and Theognostos, *stratēgoi*; Stephanus, a *protospathar*, and others are named as having fallen.

The next campaign took place in 796. Cardam sent a message to the Emperor demanding a donation of money, and threatening, in case the demand were refused, to lay waste Thrace up to the Golden Gate. The Emperor sent him back horse-dung rolled up in a napkin, with this message: "I send you the tribute that is meet for you. You are an old man, and as I don't wish you to tire yourself by coming so far, I shall go to the fort of Marcellon. God will decide the result." The peratic themes were collected for this expedition, but Cardam fled without hazarding an engagement. Here we take leave of the Bulgarian kingdom, on the eve of the accession of one of its most warlike and savage monarchs, the famous Crumn, and of the catastrophe of the Roman Emperor Nicephorus I., who was slain in battle and whose skull was used as a goblet in the palace of Peristhlaba or of Varna.

By the end of the eighth century, as we have seen, the Bulgarian kingdom had not advanced beyond its original frontiers; but, on the other hand, the Slovenes had pressed southwards in great numbers, had Slavised the country districts in northern Greece and the Peloponnesus, and had probably increased in strength in the regions of Illyricum and Macedonia, which they had occupied before. This Slavonic movement really prepared the way for the extension of the Bulgarian power in a south-western direction, and before the end of the ninth century the southern boundary of the kingdom was the same as the northern boundary of modern Greece. The first step in this direction was the capture of Sofia, which took place in 809; but this lies beyond the limits of the present work.

I should not omit to mention that in the eighth century the northern parts of the Aegean Sea were rendered unsafe by the bands of Slavonian pirates who infested it. These pirates belonged to "the Sclavinias," that is, Macedonia and Thessaly. In the year 768 they carried off into bondage no less than two thousand five hundred inhabitants of Tenedos, Imbros, and Samothrace, and Constantine ransomed the captives by silken robes.¹ "No act of his reign," says Finlay, "shows so much real greatness of mind as this," because to make terms with pirates was for an Emperor to lower his dignity.

¹ Nic. p. 76; in the seventh indiction, *i.e.* 767-768.

CHAPTER VIII

LEO IV

THE short reign of Leo IV is by no means remarkable. He was an iconoclast at heart like his father; but just as his father had refrained from giving full effect to his theories for some years after his accession, so Leo at first veiled his real opinions and not only favoured the monastic order, electing monks to metropolitan sees—a practice which seems to have become prevalent by the end of the seventh century—but even pretended to be “a friend of the Mother of God,” whom iconoclasts generally treated with scant respect. His generosity with the stores of money which his father had laid up gained him popularity. But before he died he laid aside the veil and imitated his father’s policy against image-worship, not, however, proceeding to such violent extremes. In 780 a number of distinguished men, among them Theophanes the chamberlain, were arrested for iconodulic practices; they were flogged, tonsured,¹ led in procession through the streets, and shut up in the praetorian prison, where Theophanes died. It is noteworthy that the Slavonic Patriarch Nicetas died (6th February 780) and was succeeded by the Cyprian Paul just before the persecution began; and it might be conjectured that the influence of Nicetas was exerted in the direction of tolerance, and that the newly elected Paul instigated the Emperor to renew the persecutions.

Soon after Leo’s accession measures were taken, at the express desire of the imperial governors and the people, to

¹ This punishment (never, of course, used by Constantine V) shows that Leo did not sympathise with his father in anti-monachism.

secure the succession to his son Constantine. Leo was probably consumptive and felt that he could not expect to live very long. On Good Friday (776 A.D.) all the governors of the themes, ministers, and persons of senatorial rank, all the soldiers present in Byzantium, the representatives of all classes of citizens, and especially of the guilds of artisans,¹ took an oath of allegiance to the child Constantine. As Finlay observes, a more than usually popular character was given to the ceremony. On the following day the Emperor created his brother Eudocimus (a boy who can have been little older than his own son) a nobilissimus in the chamber of the Nineteen Accubiti. Thence he proceeded, accompanied by his son and the two Caesars and the three nobilissimi, to the church of St. Sophia, probably by way of the covered passage which connected the church with the palace. Having changed his dress in a side room, he entered the ambo with his son and the Patriarch Nicetas; and the people who had assembled in the church came forward in order and deposited their written oaths on the altar. "Behold, brethren," said Leo, "I fulfil your request and give you my son for Emperor. Behold, receive him from the Church and the hand of Christ." The people cried in reply, "O Son of God, be our surety, that we receive from thy hand the lord Constantine as Emperor, even to protect him and die for him." The next day was Easter Day, and at dawn the Emperor proceeded with the Patriarch to the hippodrome. There the *antimission*,² a carpet which was used on ceremonial occasions, was spread out beside the Emperor's throne; the Patriarch stood upon it and prayed; then Leo crowned his son; and the two Augusti proceeded to St. Sophia accompanied by the Caesars and nobilissimi.

Shortly after this ceremony a conspiracy was discovered, in which the Caesars Nicephorus and Christophorus were involved. Though the popular feeling was strongly in favour of punishing the princes, they were pardoned, but their confederates were banished to Cherson, and on them doubtless the real blame rested, as all Leo's half-brothers were weak men.

¹ οἱ τῶν ἔσω ταγμάτων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐργαστηριακῶν, Theophanes—who for this and the following reign is in every sense a contemporary source. Leo IV was called "the

Khazar" because his mother was a Khazar princess.

² Also called *antimission*; derived from *mensa*. Interchange was common between *νσσ* and *σσ*, cf. *πποκέρσσω* for *προέσσω*.

A considerable success was gained over the Saracens in 778. Leo organised a large expedition, 100,000 strong, for the invasion of Syria. All the Asiatic themes except the Cibyraiots took part in it; the iconoclast Lachanodrakon commanded the Thracesians, Artavasdos (an Armenian) the Anatolics, Gregory the Opsikians, Karisterotzes the Armeniacs, and Tatzates the Bucellarians. Germanicia was blockaded, but Lachanodrakon was bribed to raise the siege, and the army turned to plunder the country. The Saracen forces then arrived and experienced a severe defeat; in honour of which the generals were received on their return to Constantinople with a triumphal welcome. A number of Syrian Jacobites were led captive and settled in Thrace. In the following year a Mohammedan army invaded Asia Minor and ineffectually besieged Dorylaeum. Harassed by the Roman troops, who did not risk a general engagement, but cut off the provisions and obstructed foraging parties, they were compelled to return home. In 780 the successful siege of Sêmalûos¹ rewarded Harun's invasion of the Armeniac theme, but another army under Othman was defeated by the general of the Thracesians.

Leo IV died² on the 8th of September 780, and was succeeded by his wife Irene and his son Constantine, then ten years old.

¹ τὸ Σημαλοῦος κάστρον : Weil calls it Semabrum.

² Boils broke out on his head, and he succumbed to a violent fever.

CHAPTER IX

CONSTANTINE VI AND IRENE

THE record of the twenty-two years which elapsed from the death of Leo IV to the deposition of Irene (in 802) is chiefly occupied, apart from military and ecclesiastical events, with conspiracies and intrigues, the unnatural struggle of Irene¹ with her son, and the schemes of rival eunuchs. We will first note the conspiracies in which the brothers-in-law of the Empress were involved; we will pass on to the details of the tragedy which was determined by the unscrupulous ambition of Irene, and then to the intrigues which troubled the five years of her sole power after the fall of Constantine. The chapter may be concluded with a short notice of the monotonous wars with the Saracens.

All the sons of Constantine V, six in number, were men of inferior ability; Leo, who actually reigned, was probably the best of them all, notwithstanding his physical weakness. The other five were always glad to share in a treasonable conspiracy

¹ Irene was the second Athenian lady who married a Roman Emperor and became an Augusta; the first was the famous Athenais (Eudocia). It is interesting to observe that periods in which women are prominent figures in Byzantine history alternate with periods in which the Empresses are ciphers. From the beginning of the fifth century to the reign of Justin II we have a series of self-asserting Augustae in Eudoxia, Pulcheria, Eudocia, Verina, Ariadne (even Lupicina-Euphemia seems to have had a will of her own), Theodora, Sophia. Then for nearly forty years there is a break in the traditions of

female imperialism; of the wives of Tiberius, Maurice, Phocas we only know the names, and the first consort of Heraclius did nothing to win publicity. Then we have Martina, whose career recalls the glories of Verina and Sophia; but her example is not followed by the spouses of Heraclius' successors. We know not even the name of the wife of Constans II; and Anastasia, Theodora, Maria, Irene, Maria, and Eudocia played as little part in political affairs as the nameless wives of the Emperors between 695 and 716. Irene made up for the deficiencies of her predecessors.

whose object was to place one of themselves on the throne ; but none of them had the energy to organise a plot himself, or the capacity to carry it out with a fair prospect of success. The way in which the three Caesars, Nicephorus, Christophorus, and Nicetas, and the two nobilissimi, Anthimus and Eudocimus, are always grouped together, like a company of puppets ever ready to be employed by any designing conspirator, without any initiation on their own part, is really amusing. We have already seen, in the reign of Leo, a conspiracy to elevate Nicephorus, which resulted in the exile of all the guilty persons except the Caesar himself. About six weeks after the accession of Constantine VI and Irene a similar plot was formed, of which the prime movers were probably nobles and courtiers who had supported the iconoclastic policy of Leo and his father and disliked the iconodulic proclivities of the Greek Empress-mother. Bardas an ex-governor of the Armeniac theme, Gregory the logothete of the course, Constantine the commander (domesticus) of the imperial guards, Theophylact Rangabé the admiral (drungarius) of the Dodecanese,¹ and other distinguished men were flogged, tonsured, and banished. The three Caesars and the two nobilissimi were ordained and caused to administer the sacrament on Christmas Day,² in order to impress on the people the fact that they had become ministers of the Church. As there was no such institution as an official gazette, these measures of informing the public were adopted.

Irene appointed Elpidius governor of Sicily in February 781. Whether he had been secretly connected with the recent conspiracy we are not told ; Irene plainly had no suspicion of his disloyalty. In April news reached Constantinople that he had revolted and professed to support the claims of the late Emperor's brothers. Theophilus, a spathar or aide-de-camp, was sent to bring him back ; but the Sicilians would not allow him to be arrested ; so that Irene was obliged to content herself for the time with flogging and imprisoning his wife and children. The support which Elpidius found in

¹ This is the first occasion on which we hear of the "Twelve Islands" as a separate province.

² On this occasion there was a State procession, and Irene (*προελθούσα*, the

technical word for procession) placed in the church the crown, set with pearls, which her husband Leo had appropriated (Theoph. 6273 A.M.)

Sicily seems to show that he was not an iconoclast, or that, if he was, he carefully disguised the fact. We may in any case be sure that he used the names of the Caesars merely as a cloak. In the following year an armament was sent against Sicily under the command of the patrician and eunuch Theodore, an energetic officer. Accompanied by the duke Nicephorus—the duke, one may conjecture, of Calabria—Elpidius immediately fled to Africa, where he was well received by the Saracens. This revolt reminds us of the Sicilian revolt at the beginning of the reign of Leo III, when Sergius fled to the Lombards, just as Elpidius fled to Africa.

For the next ten years the three Caesars and the two nobilissimi were permitted to live in an obscurity from which they were not worthy to emerge. But at length, in the year 792, when general dissatisfaction was felt with Constantine in military circles after the grievous defeat which he had suffered at the hands of the Bulgarians, through his own credulity and ineptitude, the soldiers formed the design of deposing him and elevating his uncle Nicephorus, notwithstanding the clerical status of that Caesar.¹ Constantine, seeing that the priestly garb was not a sufficient disqualification for elevation to the throne, blinded the eyes of Nicephorus and slit the tongues of the other two Caesars and of the two nobilissimi (15th August). He probably considered himself, and was generally considered, clement in not putting them to death.

For five years after this the five puppets of fortune were left in peace and confinement; but in November 797, after Constantine VI had been blinded—a retribution, his uncles probably thought, for his cruelty to themselves—and Irene had become sole sovereign, some restless persons organised a plot to set one of her brothers-in-law on the throne, and they were enabled to escape from their prison and seek refuge in St. Sophia. Aetius, the eunuch and chief favourite of the Empress, immediately repaired to the church, and the five princes, assured that no harm would befall them, followed him as readily and meekly as they had concurred in the schemes of the conspirators, and were banished to Athens. As Athens was the native city of Irene, she thought that she could rely on its loyalty. In March 799, however, a plot was formed in the Helladic

¹ Ex-Caesar, τὸν ἀπὸ Καισάρων (Theoph. 6284 A.M.)

theme, and an appeal was made to Akamer, the lord of the Slovenes of Belzetia,¹ to make one of the unfortunate brothers Emperor. Irene promptly suppressed the revolt, and the eyes of the conspirators were put out. It might have been expected that the Greeks, among whom the iconoclastic movement was unpopular, would have been loyal to the restorer of image-worship, all the more as she was Greek herself. We can hardly avoid suspecting that many, perhaps most, of the Helladikoi were Slaves. In Greece there were multitudes of Slaves who were theoretically Romans and possessed lands entailing the duty of military service, as well as of Slaves who were only tributary and constantly hostile.

The struggle for sovereignty between Irene and her son broke out in the year 790, when the latter was twenty years old. As long as he was a boy and submitted implicitly to her authority, Irene was content that her own name should come second in official documents; but when he began to show signs of impatience at his own nonentity, his mother determined to affirm her authority by reversing the order of the imperial names, and afterwards even to depose her son altogether. When he was about twelve years old (782) a marriage had been arranged between him and Rotrud,² whom the Greeks called Erythrô, the daughter of Charles the Great, and a certain Elissaeus had gone to the court of Aachen to teach the future Empress Greek. The imagination of the boy seems to have been attracted by the idea of marrying the Frank princess, whom he never saw, and he was inconsolable when his mother broke off the match and compelled him to marry, at the age of eighteen, a lady of Paphlagonia, named Maria, for whom he never cared.

Soon after his marriage Constantine became bitterly aware of the fact that the favourites of his mother, especially the logothete Stauracius, conducted all the affairs of government quite independently of him, and that she was resolved to exclude him from all share in sovereignty as long as she lived. The

¹ Theoph. 6291 A.M. ὁ τῶν Σκλαυ-
νῶν τῆς Βελγητίας ἀρχὼν νυχθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἑλλαδικῶν. Is Belzetia the same as
Berzetia?

(Rhuotrodís)—

hanc et Graecorum luxerunt ditia regna
quod non hac tali digna forent domina.

² The Poeta Saxo writes of Rotrud See Theophanes, 6274 A.M.

circumstance that no one ever thought of presenting a petition to him, all repairing with their grievances or requests to Stauracius, was humiliating. It was the interest of the courtiers to foster the jealousy and widen the breach between the mother and son. The eunuchs and creatures of Irene, knowing how to play on her unscrupulous ambition, flattered her into the hope of being sole sovereign. Stauracius, a patrician and a eunuch, was at this time the most powerful minister. He held the office of logothete of the course, or post, and had won laurels by reducing the rebellious Slaves of Macedonia, northern Greece, and the Peloponnesus, and compelling them to pay tribute (783 A.D.)¹ At another time he had been employed in negotiating with the Saracen caliph, and it was he who superintended the disbanding of the refractory guards, who had rioted in the cause of iconoclasm and prevented the meeting of a synod (786).

The intimate friends of the Emperor were few. Three are especially mentioned—Theodore Camulianus, Peter the *magister officiorum*, and Damanus. Wishing to assert himself, Constantine took counsel with these and others, and a plan was formed (January or February 790) to overthrow Stauracius and banish Irene to Sicily. But the watchful Stauracius discovered the plot in time and revealed it to his mistress, who banished some of Constantine's party to the Peloponnesus and Sicily, and punished others by confining them to their houses,² a mode of punishment which became frequent at Byzantium. Her son she actually struck, and prevented him from leaving his apartments for several days. An oath was then formulated, which all the soldiers in the Empire were required to take, to this effect: "As long as you live, we will not receive your son to reign over us." All the troops in the city took the oath, and the regiments of Asia also acquiesced, except the Armeniacs, who refused to place the name of Irene before that of Constantine. Then the Empress sent to them Alexius Mouselé, the drungarius of the watch, but he did not much avail her cause, as the soldiers placed their stratêgos Nicephorus in custody and replaced him by Alexius, proclaiming Constantine sole

¹ He brought back many spoils and captives; thus the Slavonic territory was treated as a foreign country. He en-

joyed a public triumph in January 784.

² ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. The more usual phrase is ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου.

Emperor. Then the other themes, in spite of their recent oath,¹ followed the example of the Armeniacs, and elected new generals. These events took place in September, and in October all the themes, except the prime movers, the Armeniacs, who were too far away, assembled at Atrôa and demanded the presence of the Emperor. Irene, unable to resist this pressure, allowed her son to go, and the soldiers straightway proclaimed their allegiance to him and deposed her. Then Constantine sent two officers to the Armeniacs to receive a formal oath of loyalty from them. In December he returned to Constantinople and removed Irene's favourites. Stauracius was whipped, tonsured, and banished to the Armeniac theme; Aetius, also a eunuch, and many other of her confidants were likewise exiled. She was herself confined in the palace of Eleutherius, which she had built, and in which she was supposed to have concealed much money—a part of those stores of treasure which had been laid up by Constantine, her father-in-law.

A circumstance may be noticed here which seems to indicate that soon after her husband's death Irene deposed the governors of themes who had been appointed by Constantine or Leo. For we observe that the iconoclast Michael Lachanodrakon, who before the accession of Irene had been governor of the Thracesian theme, was an adherent of Constantine VI, and was one of the two officers who were sent by him to secure the allegiance of the Armeniacs. Now we are told that all the themes deposed their generals, who were evidently supporters of Irene; hence Michael Lachanodrakon can no longer have been general of the Thracesians, for, as he was a staunch supporter of Constantine, there would have been no reason for deposing him. Nor can this conclusion be escaped by saying that, while in most cases the generals were displaced by the soldiers, the Thracesian theme may have been an exception; for, had Lachanodrakon been governor of the Thracesians, he would hardly have been sent to the Armeniac theme² on a mission which was suitable for a spathar, or for an officer whose functions were unconfined to a district, but

¹ This is a source of much shaking of the head to the pious historian Theophanes.

² Along with Lachanodrakon was sent the Emperor's protospathar and bajulus (βαγυλος) John.

not for the governor of a province. Moreover, in 792 Lachanodrakon is spoken of as the *magister (officiorum)*.¹

During the following year (791) Constantine, who had inherited his grandfather's love of war, was occupied with expeditions against the Bulgarians and Arabs, but in January 792 he was weak enough to consent to allow his mother to be proclaimed Empress again. Nor did he confine himself to a mere passive consent, but when the Armeniac theme resisted the measure he determined to enforce actively their recognition of his mother's title. He had summoned to Constantinople, a short time before, Alexius, the governor of that theme, who was suspected of aiming at usurpation; and as soon as the Armeniacs declared their refractory spirit and demanded that their governor should be restored to them, the Emperor imprisoned Alexius in the praetorium, having first flogged and tonsured him, according to the custom of the time. After the Bulgarian expedition, which ended disastrously and led to a plot which was wellnigh fatal to Constantine, Alexius was subjected to the severe penalty of losing his eyesight. When the Armeniacs heard of this, they were greatly enraged, and retaliated by blinding Theodore Camulianus, who had succeeded Alexius as their general. Then Constantine sent against them an army commanded by Constantine Artaseras and Chrysocheres, the general of the Bucellarian theme; but the Armeniacs were victorious in a battle, and blinded the two generals.² Nothing was left for Constantine but to go forth and punish those wicked servants himself. The treachery of the Armenian auxiliaries secured him an easy victory.³ Three of the instigators of the rebellion were put to death, one of whom was the bishop of Sinope⁴; the rest were mulcted by fines or total confiscation. One thousand were led in chains to Constantinople and conducted through the Blachern gate, as an example to men, each of them bearing on his face an inscription tattooed in black ink, "Armeniac conspirator." They were then banished to Sicily and other islands.

¹ Theoph. 6284 A.M. Or does μάγιστρος here mean *magister in praesenti* (ἐκ προσώπου)?

² November 792.

³ 27th May 793. The Armenians expected rewards for their treachery (or

loyalty) but received none, and consequently gave up the fort of Kamachon to the Arabs.

⁴ The other two were Andronicus and Theophilus, both turnmarchs, doubtless friends of Alexius, who had perhaps appointed them.

The ensuing year was uneventful, but on the 3d of January 795 a new act of the imperial drama was opened by the divorce of Maria, Constantine's unwished-for consort, who then retired to a nunnery. The Emperor's affections had been for some time bestowed on Theodote, a maid of honour, and he crowned her Augusta and married her before the end of the year. This marriage, as his first wife was still alive, created a great scandal among strict orthodox Christians, and some said that his mother Irene had instigated him to divorce Maria and marry Theodote in order that he might incur public odium and that she might win a chance of resuming the reins of government. The Patriarch Tarasius refused to perform the ceremony, but he countenanced the imperial sin, inasmuch as he did not excommunicate either the Emperor or the abbot Joseph, who officiated at the nuptials. Chief among those who openly expressed their indignation at what seemed to them an unblushing act of adultery, were the abbot Plato and his monks. He had founded a monastic retreat in his estate at Saccudion in Bithynia, and lived there a quiet but influential life. He repudiated the conduct of Tarasius and refused communion with him. Bardanes, the commander (domesticus) of the *scholarii*, and Johannes, count of Opsikion, were immediately despatched to Saccudion; Plato was taken to Constantinople and imprisoned in a room in the palace (adjoining the chapel of St. Michael), and his flock of monks, conspicuous among whom was his nephew Theodore, were banished to Thessalonica.¹ It was a welcome opportunity for Irene to embrace the cause of the monks, and place Constantine's conduct in the worst light.

Constantine and his mother visited Prusa in autumn 796 for the sake of the hot baths, which made it a place of resort. While they were there, the welcome news arrived that a son² was born to Constantine, who immediately galloped off to the city with his staff and attendants. Irene took advantage of his absence to beguile the military officers with gifts and pro-

¹ Theoph. 6288 A.M. Theodore, in a letter to his uncle Plato, describes the journey to Thessalonica (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 99). His account will be found in brief in Finlay, who took it at second hand from Schlosser. But Finlay does not note the interesting point that the person whom he calls the governor of Thessalonica is the

praetorian prefect of Illyricum (*ἐπαρχος*), whose former wide sphere has dwindled down to the local mayoralty of Salonica. An account of Plato and his life at Saccudion will be found in Theodore's panegyric on him.

² He was named Leo; born 7th Oct. 796, died 1st May 797.

mises, and persuade them to undertake to place the imperial power in her sole hands. She was almost as successful as she could have wished; she drew all men unto her by flatteries. The intrigues of Irene's supporters rendered ineffectual an expedition against the Saracens which the Emperor headed himself in the following spring; it was important to prevent him from acquiring popularity by winning military glory. At length in June (797) it was decided to strike the final blow. As Constantine was proceeding from a spectacle in the hippodrome to the church of St. Mamas in Blachernae, he was attacked by troops bribed to kill him, but he escaped to the imperial boat (chelandion), which conveyed him to the Asiatic coast. He intended to flee to the Anatolic theme, where the Isaurian Emperors were always befriended, but unfortunately he was accompanied by false friends who were really attached to his mother. A letter from Irene, who threatened to disclose their treason to her son unless they acted promptly, decided their wavering resolution; they seized Constantine and hurried him back to Constantinople. Arriving early in the morning, they shut him up in the palace in the Purple Chamber, in which he had been born, and at the ninth hour (15th August) put out his eyes in a brutal manner, intentionally calculated to cause his death.¹ The superstitious observed the coincidence that on the same day five years before Constantine's uncles had been blinded by his orders, and saw therein a supernatural retribution. It was also said that a miraculous darkness prevailed for more than two weeks.

Irene had now attained her wish and was sole sovereign of the Empire. Her court became the scene of quarrels between her eunuchs Stauracius and Aetius, each of whom desired, not to be an Emperor—for a eunuch on the throne would not have been tolerated—but to be an emperor-maker and to secure the succession for a friend of his own. These favourites had probably been allowed to return² from their banishment in

¹ Constantine, however, as it appears, did not die; he lived till the reign of Michael the Stammerer, as is expressly affirmed by the (tenth-century) author of the Chronicle from Leo V to Michael III in *Contin. Theoph.* The words of Theophanes are (6289 A.M.) ἐκτυφλοῦσιν αὐτὸν δεινῶς καὶ ἀνατῶς πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν, γνῶμη τῆς μητρὸς

αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συμβούλων αὐτῆς, which imply that he died. See Schlosser, *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser des oströmischen Reichs*, p. 327 sqq.

² Thus we find Stauracius actively engaged in bringing about the fall of Constantine. It was he who contrived the scheme which rendered Constantine's campaign in 796 futile.

792, when Irene resumed her position as Augusta. Their quarrels must have made her life uneasy, but Stauracius seems to have been the prime favourite until May 799,¹ when she fell sick, and the eunuchs, seeing an immediate prospect of her decease, schemed and strove more than ever. Aetius obtained for a while the ear of the Empress, accused his rival of aiming at power, and made her believe that he was the cause of all the factions and discords that prevailed. Irene scolded and threatened Stauracius, but he was able to win her confidence again and turn her against Aetius. She was the plaything of her favourites.

In the following February Stauracius organised a definite conspiracy against the throne, enlisting the guards (*scholariii* and *excubitores*) in his interest by bribes. His conduct was so suspicious that Irene held a *silentium* in the "room of Justinian" to examine the matter, and the curious order was issued that no military persons should hold converse with Stauracius.² He did not live long after this. He was afflicted with a spitting of blood, which the doctors knew must soon prove fatal; nevertheless, until the day of his death (in June 800) the flatterers and clients who frequented his house, like those of other great men, including the doctors themselves, wizards and monks ("unmonkish" or spurious monks they are called by the historian), continued to assure him that he suffered only from a slight indisposition, and that he was destined to live and reign. It would appear from this that Stauracius actually dreamed of ascending the throne himself, and exhibiting to a horrified world the unheard-of monstrosity of a eunuch wielding the sceptre of Augustus and Constantine. While he was suffering from the fatal disease, he was occupied with planting and fostering a conspiracy in Cappadocia, which was intended to bring about the violent overthrow of Aetius, who now occupied his own place in the confidence of Irene. Two days after his death the explosion for which he had laid the train broke out, but it was promptly extinguished and the

¹ On Monday of Paschal week 799 it is noticed that Irene went forth from the palace in a golden car drawn by four white horses and driven by four patricians (Bardanes, governor of the Thracians; Nicetas, the domesticus of the *scholariii*, a friend of Aetius;

Constantine Boilas; and Sisinnius, general of Thrace). The *hypateia* (consular donative) was generously doled.

² He was, if I may be permitted to use a phrase of modern slang, to be "sent to Coventry" by the army.

conspirators were punished. Henceforward, until her fall two years later, Aetius was the prime minister of the Empress, a position which in later times became a recognised office, its holder being called *ὁ παραδυναστεύων*.¹ The extent of Aetius' power may be estimated by the fact that the Opsikian and Anatolic themes were placed together under his sole command.

At this time Charles the Great, shortly after his coronation (25th December 800 A.D.), conceived the idea of uniting together the Teutonic Roman Empire and the Greek Roman Empire by a marriage with Irene. If this had taken place it would have brought about for a moment one European Roman Empire, somewhat resembling in geographical extent the old Roman Empire of Constantine the Great, and it would have added a new map to our historical atlases. But it could not have had any permanent duration; the marriage of countries and peoples so ill assorted must have been followed by a speedy divorce. As it was, this second design of an alliance of the Isaurian with the Karlingian house was thwarted by the influence of Aetius, who was bent on securing the throne for his relation Nicetas, the captain of the guards.

But the patricians and lords could not long be patient of the powerful eunuch's insolence, and they determined to anticipate his designs by dethroning Irene and electing an Emperor from among themselves. Nicephorus, the chancellor of the exchequer or "general logothete," was chosen, and on the last day of October 802, as Irene was suffering from indisposition and residing in her mansion of Eleutherius, the conspirators proceeded to the palace gate of Chalke and knocked for admission. They informed the porter (*papas*) that they were sent by the Empress to make arrangements for the proclamation and coronation of Nicephorus, as she wished to forestall and thwart the ambitious plans of Aetius. The palace officials did not hesitate to believe their statements and admit them, as they were all well-known men of the highest position. Having obtained possession of the palace, they collected a crowd of people in the Augusteum and proclaimed Nicephorus Emperor before the break of day, having

¹ Zonaras actually uses this word of Aetius—"the man who has power at court." In many respects these minis-

ters may be compared to the justiciars of English history.

taken the precaution of surrounding the house of Irene with soldiers. Then they transferred her to the great palace, and Nicephorus was crowned in St. Sophia—the first Augustus crowned there who cannot be called “the Roman Emperor” unreservedly, but must be called “the eastern Roman Emperor.”¹

On the following day the new monarch paid a visit to Irene, who had accepted her fall with a quiet dignity, and only asked to be allowed to continue to live in her private house. Nicephorus promised to grant her request if she disclosed to him the secret stores of treasure which she was generally known to have concealed. She agreed, but when the Emperor had obtained the desired information he failed to fulfil his promise, and banished her first to “Prince’s island,” where she had built a monastery, and afterwards to Lesbos, where she died.

We must now notice briefly the wearisome wars with the Saracens, which possess little interest, as our sources give us no details. In 781 Mahdi’s general, Abd Elkebir, led an army against Asia Minor, but, by Irene’s orders, the strength of all the themes was concentrated at the frontier, consisting of from eighty to a hundred thousand men,² under the command of Johannes, the sacellarius, and the Arabs were utterly defeated at Mèlon.

In the following year, 782, the Romans were not so successful. Harun, the son of the caliph, and Rabia Ibn Junus invaded Asia Minor with an army of a hundred thousand, which they divided into three parts. Harun marched to Chrysopolis; Ibn Junus, whom Theophanes calls Bunusus (Bonusus), laid siege to Nacolia; and Jahja the Barmecide (in Theophanes, Burniché) entered the Thracesian theme, where he fought a battle with the able general Michael Lachanodrakon at Darènon and lost fifteen thousand men. The treachery of Tatzates, the general of the Bucellarian theme, brought about a peace disadvantageous to the Roman Empire. Tatzates was jealous of the influence of Stauracius,

¹ See below, cap. xi.

² Arabic sources give 80,000, Byzantine 100,000 as the number. According to the former, Michael Lachanodrakon

and an Armenian named Taridon commanded the Romans. The troops were sent to the frontier in June (Theoph. 6273 A.M.) Cf. Weil, ii. 98.

the confidential minister of the Empress; and he received rich rewards for going over to the Saracens with his troops. Irene was forced to treat for peace—Theodore's expedition against the rebel Elpidius in Sicily had reduced the number of available fighting men—and the Roman delegates¹ foolishly entered the Saracen camp without the precaution of an interchange of hostages. The Saracens perfidiously seized them, and Irene was obliged to pay 70,000 dinars yearly for a peace which was to last for a term of three years.

Mahdi died in 785. His son Hadi enjoyed the sovereign power for a year,² and was succeeded in September 786 by his brother, the famous Harun, "undeservedly called Arraschid, the Just."³ Soon after his accession, Harun took measures for strengthening his north-western frontier. The fortresses which defended it had hitherto been part of the large province of Mesopotamia; Harun formed them into a separate government. He also strengthened the fortifications of Tarsus, and sent thither a large colony of Mohammedans. His armies invaded Romania almost every year,⁴ and in 790 his fleet endangered a Roman island, either Cyprus or Crete. On this occasion the armament of the Cibyraiots and the armament of the Aegean islands co-operated against him, and in a naval battle the general of the Cibyraiots, Theophilus, was taken prisoner. Harun would have not only granted him his life but raised him to high honours if he had consented to embrace Islam, but he refused on any terms and was executed. This incident shows that their religion really meant much to the Byzantine nobles. We are not told whether Elpidius, the recreant ex-governor of Sicily, became a Mohammedan; he is said to have taken part in an invasion of Asia Minor.

¹ Stauricius himself was one of them.

² Arab authors relate that in Hadi's reign the Greeks destroyed the fortress of Hadath, but were repelled by Mayuf, who then made depredations in Romania (Weil, ii. 123).

³ Weil, ii. 127.

⁴ The following is a list of these tedious campaigns and expeditions:—

789. Romania invaded; Romans severely defeated and their captains slain.

790. Naval expedition of Arabs against Cyprus (Theoph.) or Crete (Arab sources).

791. Campaign led by Constantine VI; he advances to Tarsus, but does nothing notable.

795. Second campaign led by Constantine VI. He gains a victory at Anusan.

796. The Arabs penetrate to Amorium, but gain no success.

797. Third campaign of Constantine; rendered ineffectual by treachery of his mother's friends. A frontier fortress (named Safssaf) taken by Arabs led by the caliph himself.

798. Romania invaded; Arabs penetrate to Ephesus. Cappadocia and Galatia devastated. The Opsikians experienced a severe defeat. Peace for four years, for which Romans pay a tribute.

801. The third son of Harun (Kasim) threatened Asia Minor.

A peace was concluded at the end of the year 798, by the terms of which the Romans were to pay a tribute, as in the peace with Mahdi ; but the cessation of hostilities was welcome to Harun himself, for he was troubled by the invasion of the Khazars, who harassed Armenia and relieved the Roman Empire by diverting and dividing the Saracen forces, just as in old days the White Huns and Turks used to divert the Sassanid monarchs from their wars on the Euphrates.

CHAPTER X

THE REACTION AGAINST ICONOCLASM

THE Empress Irene, as might be expected from her Greek origin, was devotedly attached to the worship of images, and earnestly desired its restoration. But although the supreme power centred in her on her husband's death, as her son Constantine was too young yet to be more than a nominal Emperor, she was for several years unable to accomplish her design of reversing the acts of the three latest Emperors. This delay was caused by the strong iconoclastic spirit that prevailed among the soldiers as well as the officers in the army; as the Empire was at war with the Saracens, and the tributary Slaves of Macedonia were refractory, it would have been dangerous to run the risk of exciting an intestine conflict by agitating prematurely the burning question. At the same time, there is no doubt that complete tolerance was secured to the adorers of images from the beginning of the reign of Constantine and Irene, and pictures were restored to churches by a consent that was generally understood if it was not expressly declared. When peace had been made with the Abbasids, and the Slaves had been brought back to their allegiance, the field was free for settling the ecclesiastical question; and just then a new feature was given to the situation by the resignation of the Patriarch Paul and the succession of Tarasius.

The resignation of Paul¹ was attended by circumstances advantageous to the reactionary policy. In August 784 he fell sick, and, conscience-smitten for his iconoclastic views, which he suddenly discovered to be false and impious, he

¹ Theoph. 6276 A.M.

resigned his office and exchanged the palace of the Patriarch for a cell in the monastery of Florus. When Irene, who had not anticipated such an event, learned the tidings, she visited the new monk, and heard with pleasure his acknowledgment of error. "Would," he said, "that I had not sat on the sacerdotal chair of the Church of God, for this Church is in rebellion,¹ and severed from the other Catholic chairs (of Christendom), and subject to a ban"! Then Irene sent to Paul's bedside a number of senators and nobles who were inclined to iconoclasm, in order that the influence of his repentance might induce them to mend their ways and support the official restitution of image-worship.

An assembly was convoked in the palace of Magnaura for the election of a new Patriarch, and the secretary Tarasius, a layman, was elected by a large majority. Irene, remarking that the imperial choice had already fallen on him, but that he had declined the honour, asked him to speak for himself. Tarasius, having dwelt on his own unworthiness, stated that the chief reason which caused him to hesitate was the great schism which separated the Church of Constantinople from the other Churches of Christendom, and urged the re-establishment of ecclesiastical unity.² Although dissentient voices were heard, the speech of Tarasius was received with general acclamation; and on Christmas Day 784 he was consecrated Patriarch. It is evident that the proceedings in the Magnaura were due to a prearranged plan between Tarasius and Irene.

It was almost a year later that Pope Hadrian received two communications from Constantinople, brought to him by a Byzantine priest, who was escorted by a Sicilian bishop.³ One of these was the enthronistic or inaugural manifesto of Tarasius⁴; the other was a *divalis sacra* or imperial letter from Constantine and Irene, wherein the Pope was asked to fix a time for the convocation of an Ecumenical

¹ τυραννουμενης; the word implies that the schismatic Patriarchs are really usurpers or "tyrants."

² Tarasius' speech is given at length by Theophanes. As it comes within the province of ecclesiastical rather than of political history, I have not reproduced it.

³ The bishop of Catana. It was at

first intended that the bishop of Leontini should be the bearer.

⁴ Tarasius sent copies of this to the sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, but owing to the jealousy of the Arabs they never reached the Patriarchs. Some eastern monks, however, took upon themselves to write answers to the manifesto. The *divalis sacra* is printed in Mansi, xii. 984.

Council at Constantinople to decide on the question of image-worship. This letter was dated 29th August 785,¹ and Hadrian replied to it on 27th October, so that the transmission was effected in a relatively short time. In his reply Hadrian rejoices over the imperial orthodoxy, and expresses his expectation that Constantine will be a second Constantine the Great and that Irene will prove a new Helena, while he insists that one essential condition of the realisation of such hopes is the recognition of the spiritual sovereignty of the chair of St. Peter. Having defended picture-worship at some length, he promises to send legates to an Ecumenical Council, and demands a *pia sacra* (in accordance with ancient custom) signed by the Emperor and Empress, the Senate and the Patriarch, to the effect that no pressure or constraint will be brought to bear on the representatives of Rome. Returning again to the interests of the Roman see, he demands the restoration of the *patrimonia Petri*, which the iconoclastic Emperors had confiscated; he revives the old complaint that the epithet "ecumenical" was appended to the name of the Byzantine Patriarch; and he censures the election of a layman and ex-soldier to the patriarchal chair. He concludes by promising that if the Emperor of Constantinople follow the guidance of the head of the christian Church he will be victorious over his barbarian foes, just as Charles, king of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of Rome, his son and spiritual fellow-father, *spiritualis compater*,² had conquered the barbarians of the West, because he treated the Pope with veneration. Hadrian also wrote a letter to Tarasius in which complaints about his election were judiciously balanced with expressions of joy at his orthodox opinions.³

When the delegates arrived at Constantinople for the council, in August 786, the imperial court was absent at some town in Thrace, and the interval of delay was spent by the iconoclastic bishops and their supporters in organising plots for the prevention of the intended synod. When the Emperor and Empress returned, the 17th day of August was arranged for the first session, and the church of the Apostles was

¹ The best authorities agree that *ind.* viii. should be read for *ind.* vii. in the passage of Anastasius (see Hefele).

² A reference to the fact that he had

baptized a son of Charles 781 A.D.

³ The letters of Hadrian to the Emperor and the Patriarch will be found in Mansi, xii. 1056, 1057.

selected as the place of assembly. On the 16th the imperial guards and other soldiers¹ collected in the precincts of the church and made a hostile demonstration; and on the following day, although the session was allowed to begin, the soldiers rushed into the church in the middle of the proceedings, to the delight of the iconoclastic bishops, and threatened to slay all present. The remonstrances of the ministers whom the Empress sent to pacify them did not avail, and no course was open but the dissolution of the assembly.

The triumph of the iconoclastic party, who cried "We have conquered," was not of long duration. By a dexterous stratagem Irene paralysed the military opposition. She pretended to make preparations for a campaign against the Saracens, and with her whole court proceeded to Malagina in Thrace (September 786). In the meantime Asiatic (peratic) troops occupied Constantinople; a new corps of guards was formed, and the iconoclastic regiments were obliged to give up their arms, and disbanded. In the following May a new synod was convoked, and the papal legates, who had reached Sicily, returned to New Rome. On the 24th of September the first session was held, not, however, at Constantinople, but at Nicaea, memorable as the scene of the first great council of the Church. The Emperor and Empress were not present, but were represented by Petronas, a patrician, and Johannes, imperial ostiarius and logothete.² At the first sessions several iconoclastic bishops, who had repented like Paul, stood forward and owned their errors. At the seventh sitting (5th or 6th October) the definition (*ῥπος*) of doctrine was drawn up; after a summary repetition of the chief points of theology established by previous Universal Councils, it is laid down that the figure of the holy cross and holy images, whether coloured or plain, whether consisting of stone or of any other material, may be represented on vessels, garments, walls, or tables, in houses or on public roads; especially figures of Christ, the Virgin, angels, or holy men: such representations, it is observed, stimulate spectators to think of the originals, and, while they must not

¹ *Scholarii, excubitores*, etc. (Theoph. 6278 A.M.)

² The number of those present was from 330 to 367. The eastern patriarchates were represented by monks,

but it was clearly recognised that they were not officially empowered by the Patriarchs, who appear to have been inaccessible at this time.

be adored with that worship which is only for God (λατρεία), deserve adoration (προσκύνησις). The council called down anathemas upon Theodosius the bishop of Ephesus, Sisinnius Pastillas, and Basilius Trikakabos; upon the three Byzantine Patriarchs, Anastasius, Constantine, and Nicetas; moreover, upon John of Nicomedia and Constantine of Nacolia; while the names of Germanus, John of Damascus, and George of Cyprus were greeted with acclamations as the "heralds of truth."

The eighth session was held, not at Nicaea, but in the imperial palace at Constantinople, where the acts of the council were confirmed and signed¹ by Constantine and Irene. Thus the Churches of Old Rome and New Rome were again united, and the cause of iconoclasm was defeated.² It was not dead, however; it revived and was powerful again, twenty-five years later, in the reign of Leo the Armenian. The image-worshippers were destined to prevail in the end, but at the same time they did not undo the work which their enemies had accomplished, the regeneration of the Empire. The suppression of pictures was only the superficial side of the great battle which Leo III and Constantine V had waged unflinchingly and ruthlessly against superstition; and it cannot be ignored that, though pictures were not destined to be suppressed, the general tone of education and morality in the Empire was better at the end of the eighth century than it had been at the beginning, and the vitality of the State was higher, just as its position among nations was more assured.

¹ With purple ink. There was a special officer called kanikleios, who was custodian of the imperial ink.

² At the present day the Greek Church permits the worship or veneration of pictures, but excludes statues, ἀγάλματα, from churches. Mr. Tozer (in his ed. of Finlay, ii. p. 165) has a note on this subject, and remarks that the change in the attitude of the Church to statues "seems to have been brought

about very gradually, so much so that no trace remains to us of the steps by which it came to pass." In his *Highlands of Turkey*, i. p. 187, the same scholar notices the only statue existent in the Greek Church, namely a wooden figure of St. Clement of Rome at Ochrida. He suggests an ingenious and probable theory as to the history of this statue, which he ascribes to the age of the Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius.

CHAPTER XI

THE POPES, THE LOMBARDS, AND THE FRANKS

THE dissolution of the connection subsisting between the Popes and New Rome, which went hand in hand with the formation of a close connection between Old Rome and the Frank kingdom, was a slow process, and it is hard to define at what period the Roman see ceased to be part of the Roman Empire. I must give a brief account of the Italian complications in which this tendency revealed itself and note the steps by which it gradually led up to that great event, the coronation of a Teutonic king as Roman Emperor at Old Rome.

The chief cause which induced the Popes to look to the Franks for succour against the Lombards was the simple fact that the wars with the Saracens in the East rendered the Emperors unable to protect their outlying possessions in Italy with an adequate force. The iconoclastic heresy, which had severed the sympathy between the Roman see and the Empire, made the Popes still more ready to apply to a foreign power. But at first these applications were without effect. Gregory II could not move Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace, to intervene. In 737 or 738 (seventh indiction) another and more urgent petition for help was made by Gregory III. The Pope and the duke of Rome had harboured Transmund, the duke of Spoleto who had rebelled against King Liutprand, and they refused to surrender him. Accordingly Liutprand seized four important towns¹ and threatened Rome. But

¹ Orte, Amelia, Bieda, and Bomarzo (Polimartium). See Paul, *Hist. Lang.* vi. 56; Anastasius, *Vita Zachariae*. Anastasius gives the date seventh *indic-*

tionem = 737-738 (*vulg.* 738-739). Besides Anastasius and Paul, the Continuator of Fredegarius, *apud* Bouquet, *Script. rer. Gall. et Franc.* vol. v., is important

although the Pope in his straits sent to Charles Martel rich presents and the keys of the sepulchre of St. Peter,¹ thereby making him protector of the Church, the appeal was not successful. When in the following year new hostilities were undertaken by the Lombards against the exarchate and the territory of Rome, yet another message was sent to Charles, but proved equally resultless.

These wars with Liutprand were chiefly due to the policy of the Popes in espousing the cause of the dukes of Spoletium and Beneventum, who were struggling for their independence against the king. The situation was changed by the election of the Greek Zacharias (December 740) to the papal chair. He abandoned the Lombard dukes and allied himself with the Lombard king, who restored not only the four cities which he had seized, but also confiscated domains belonging to the Roman patrimony, and made a peace for twenty years with the duke of Rome. By the intervention of the Pope, he also made peace with the exarchate.²

Liutprand died in 743, and his nephew Hildebrand's reign of a few months was followed by the reign of Rachis, who was a friend of the Roman see. Among the Lombards there prevailed a strong spirit of hostility against the Greeks, and they were impatient of a king who, yielding to papal influence, was disinclined to prosecute the war. They unanimously deposed him (748) and elected his brother Aistulf, who acted with such rigour that two years after his election he had taken Ravenna and overthrown the exarchate (750). He then turned his arms against the duchy of Rome. Zacharias had died, and Stephen, who succeeded him in 751, applied in vain for help to the Emperor Constantine V. He then turned to Pipin, who had succeeded Charles Martel as mayor of the palace in 740, and this time the appeal was successful. The Pope went in person to Gaul and met Pipin at Ponthion; he deposed Childeric, the last of the Merovingians; he anointed Pipin of Landen king of the Franks, in order that he who possessed the royal power might also have the royal name, and

for Italian history of the eighth century. L. Armbrust's tract, *Die territoriale Politik der Päpste von 500 bis 800*, has been useful to me, and also the articles in Herzog and Pflitt

on the Popes of the eighth century.

¹ *Chron. Moissiacense*, Pertz, i. 291. Anastasius, *Vit. Greg. III.*

² Hirsch, *Das Herzogthum Benevent* p. 40.

created him a Roman Patrician.¹ This was the first step towards a goal not yet visible, the foundation of a Western Roman Empire. If it is asked by what right Pope Stephen bestowed the title of *Patricius Romanorum* on Pipin, the answer is that he had no constitutional right. "Patrician" was a title of dignity, not of office, but legally the Emperor alone had the right to bestow it. The title had been given in former days to Odovacar, to Theodoric, to Chlodwig, and in the same way it might be given to Pipin; but it had no validity except as granted by the Emperor. Neither Pipin nor the Pope could reasonably expect that the Empire would recognise the Teutonic king as a Patrician. Nor is it likely that they thought of the title in very strict connection with the Empire.² What the Pope did was rather this: he took an old familiar name—a title which had always belonged to the exarch—placed it in a new combination, and gave it almost a new sense. While it still conveyed the notion of a high dignity, it came, by its union with the genitive *Romanorum*, to suggest the word *patronus* or *pater*, and indicate a relation of protection. And *Romanorum* itself is to be taken in a limited sense. The *Romani* are primarily the people of Rome and its neighbourhood; they are not the *Romanoi*.

Pipin on his part undertook to march against the Lombards, to restore to the Pope those parts of the Roman patrimony which the Lombards had seized, and place in his power the territories of the exarchate. Aistulf was soon compelled (753) to sue for peace, and he engaged to surrender to the Pope the promised lands and never aggress again. But when the Franks had returned he declined to keep his promise, and the combined forces of the northern and the Beneventan Lombards laid siege to Rome. Pipin descended a second time into Italy, and Aistulf was bound to harder conditions and constrained to pay tribute to the king of the Franks (755).

¹ As a concurrent cause in the establishment of an intimate connection between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom, we must not overlook the mission of Boniface (Winifred of England) as an apostle among the Germans. The king of the Franks was deeply interested in the lands east of the Rhine, and the foundation of a German

Church under the direct inspiration of the papacy brought him into closer contact with it, the enterprise demanding a certain amount of co-operation.

² The only Roman duke who bore the title of *patricius* was Stephen (730-750), who was probably appointed by the Pope and not by the Emperor (Armbrust, *op. cit.* p. 93).

Thus Ravenna and (partially) the territory of the exarchate,¹ having remained four years in the possession of the Lombards, passed to the papal see by what was called the donation of Pipin. As Rome was still nominally, if not more than nominally, a city of the Empire, and the Pope still a subject of the Emperor, the act of 755 might be considered theoretically the recovery of the exarchate for New Rome; but the mode of its recovery and its new position, as well as the indifference of New Rome, rendered it in point of fact an independent papal state.

In the same year Aistulf died and was succeeded by Desiderius, the duke of Tuscany, who was at first friendly² and afterwards hostile to Pope Stephen. In 757 he repeated the experiment which Liutprand had tried thirty years before, an alliance with the Greeks against Pope Paul and the Lombard dukes of southern Italy. Constantine V was asked for aid—a request which shows how utterly Old Rome and New Rome were estranged; and though he could not send it, the fleet of Sicily combined with Desiderius and took Hydrus (Otranto), which henceforward remained in the hands of the Greeks. The duchy of Beneventum was reduced to dependence on the Lombard kingdom. Desiderius maintained friendly relations both with his suzerain King Pipin³ and with Pipin's son and successor King Charles, who married the daughter of the Lombard monarch; and the Popes did not assume an attitude unfavourable to the Lombards until the accession of Hadrian in 771.

Pope Hadrian I. was a Roman of noble family and a strong antagonist of the Lombard party at Rome, which was led by Paul Afiarta. He entered into close relations with King Charles; he refused to crown the sons of Karlmann (Charles' brother), who had fled to Pavia; and he ordered the archbishop of Ravenna to imprison Afiarta. The archbishop, placing an

¹ Besides Ravenna, Cesena, Forum Livii, Forum Pompilii, Bobium, and Comiacum (Commachio) were handed over to the Pope. Aistulf retained Imola, Faventia, Bononia, Ferraria, Adria, Gabellum; he also obtained all the cities of the Pentapolis except Ancona, and six of the Decapolis (Anastasius, *Vit. Steph.*)

² The Pope supported his candidature

for the Lombard crown, and he promised to restore some of the cities (including Ancona and Osimo), which Aistulf had kept back (*Cod. Carolinus*, ed. Jaffé, *Ep.* xi.)

³ An embassy from Pipin induced Desiderius to come to a peaceable understanding with the Pope about territorial boundaries (*Cod. Carol. Ep.* xix.)

unduly severe interpretation on this command, put the man to death. In consequence of these causes of discord, Desiderius plundered the territory of Rome, and Hadrian¹ wrote to his friend King Charles for help. Charles set out in September 773 and forced Desiderius to retreat to Pavia, where he seized him, and then assumed himself the crown and title of the king of the Lombards. Thence, in the guise of a deliverer, and recognised as such, he proceeded to Rome, where he celebrated Easter (774) and renewed to Pope Hadrian the grants which his father had made to Stephen.

As to this donation of Charles the Great, diverse opinions prevail. The document itself, if such a document existed, is lost, and our only authority is Anastasius' *Life of Hadrian*, wherein it is stated that Charles made over to the chair of St. Peter, not only the exarchate, but Venice, Istria, Corsica, Beneventum, and Spoleto. Such a statement sounds incredible and almost unmeaning. Some regard it as a mere falsification,² others defend it³ and lay emphasis on the form of the expression *promissio donationis*. Another disputed question in regard to this donation is whether Charles reserved to himself the overlordship of the territory which he conceded to the Pope or not; here also various opinions prevail.⁴

On the whole, we may perhaps conclude that Charles confirmed the Pope in his rule over the Pentapolis and the exarchate; and that the question of overlordship did not arise at the time. It is not likely that contemporaries asked themselves distinctly the question, in what precise relation the Pope stood on the one hand to the Emperor and on the other hand to the Patrician of the Romans, or what precisely was the legal nature of the papal tenure of the lands which had been once governed by the exarchs. But in 781 (1st December) Hadrian took a step which was equivalent to a formal and final rupture of the thin bonds that bound East Rome to West Rome. He ceased to use the years of the Emperors as dates, and adopted the

¹ Hadrian meanwhile collected all the forces he could muster from Campania, Tuscany, the duchy of Perusia, and the Pentapolis. "Campania" of course includes Latium, and with Tuscany formed the duchy of Rome. The duchy of Perusia went with the Pentapolis.

² Muratori, Gregorovius, Sybel, Mar-

tens, Armbrust, etc.

³ Dollinger, Waitz, Sickel, etc.

⁴ Papencordt and Niehues believe that Charles gave the Pope full sovereignty; while Gregorovius, Dollinger, and others hold that Charles retained the suzerainty. See Zoepffel's article on "Hadrian I." in Herzog and Pflitt's *Encyclopædie*.

formula "Under the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer." From this time until 25th December 800 we may say that the Church of Rome held the anomalous position of not being connected with a Roman Empire.

At this period, for ten years or more (766-777), the Popes had spiritual rivals in Italy, who like themselves affected temporal dominion. These were the archbishops of Ravenna, who had always endeavoured to maintain as far as possible an independent attitude towards the Popes. Archbishop Sergius succeeded in obtaining the larger part of the exarchate, which had been nominally transferred to the Pope, and "he administered all things like an exarch," in which he was secretly encouraged by King Charles.¹ After the fall of Desiderius, Leo, the successor of Sergius, seized many new towns with impunity and attempted to extend his jurisdiction over the Pentapolis; but after his death in 777 the exarchate passed actually into papal hands.²

Charles and Hadrian, thus brought into more intimate relations, did not remain long on friendly terms. Charles could see under the pontifical robe that greed for territorial aggrandisement³ which animated so many of St. Peter's later successors, and helped to bring about both the power and the corruption of the Church. For this worldly greed in a spiritual potentate the Teutonic king must have felt a contempt. Hadrian on his part found out that, if Desiderius was overthrown, he had to do with a new and far more powerful "King of the Lombards."

In 780 the general of Sicily united with the dukes of Beneventum and Spolegium against the Pope, who was compelled to send across the Alps and summon the "Patrician of the Romani" to lend aid against the Patrician of the Romaioli. He came and set things in order, and in the following year (781) he crowned his son Pipin king of Italy and his son Ludwig king of Aquitania. The new title, "King of Italy," did not mean any fresh arrangement of practical signification, but it

¹ Agnellus, *Lib. Pont.* (Mur. S. R. I.)
reliuti exarchus omnia disponebat.

² Armbrust, *op. cit.* p. 77.

³ Thus Hadrian wished to assume the overlordship of the duchy of Spolegium, and pretended that Charles

had given it to him, *quia et ipsum Spoleatinum ducatum vos præsentialiter offeruistis protectori vestro*, etc. (Cod. Carol. Ep. lvii.) Charles, however, soon showed him that his pretension was unfounded.

marked a distinct stage in the development of the new relations into which Italy had entered. In 786 Charles appeared again in Italy to reduce to subjection Arichis, the Prince of Beneventum,—in 774 the duchy had become a principality,—and thus he became overlord of all Italy down to the borders of Calabria. But Beneventum was always practically independent of the Frank empire, and even the theoretical relation of vassaldom does not seem to have been more than transitory. On both these occasions, in 780 and in 786, new agreements advantageous to the Pope seem to have been made between Hadrian and Charles in regard to the extent of the *Patrimonium Petri*. In the last years of Hadrian's pontificate the discord which had been often manifested between him and Charles was increased, and there was a report that the latter had discussed with Offa, king of Mercia, the advisability of deposing the Pope. The ill feeling was augmented by a difference of opinion on the subject of image-worship. Pope Hadrian had thought to patronise the Emperor and Empress of New Rome; he had written them a letter in which flattery, rebuke, and concern for the patrimony of Peter were seasonably blended; and he approved of the seventh Ecumenical Council, at which his delegates were present. That council had quietly ignored the Pope's communications except so far as they bore on the matter in hand; but the Pope was not in a position to resent the rebuff. He sent a copy of its acts to the Teutonic king, who agreed with the learned men at his court in disapproving of the doctrines there set forth. The famous *libri Carolini* were composed, in which the seventh Council was spoken of with scant respect and a theory was expounded which represented a compromise between iconoclasm and image-worship. On receiving this publication the Pope threatened Charles with the ban of the Church, and the monarch replied by holding the synod of Frankfurt (794) which condemned the recent council of Nicaea. In the following year Hadrian died on Christmas Day, and was mourned by Charles, notwithstanding all their dissensions.

Immediately after his election the next Pope, Leo III, sent the keys of the sepulchre and the flag of Rome to Charles, and asked him to send some of his nobles to receive allegiance at Rome. In reply to this Charles wrote a letter full of whole-

some admonition—strange language coming from a king to a Pope—in which the following words occur: “It is ours to defend the Church of Christ everywhere on earth, outwardly against the heathen and unbelievers, inwardly by the recognition of the true faith. It is yours, most holy father, with hands raised like Moses, to support our strife, that at your intercession by God’s gracious help the christian people may triumph over the enemies of his name, and that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified.” These words breathe the spirit of a holy Roman Emperor, and are a clear recognition of the position which Pope Paul wished to assign to Pipin, a king divinely inspired to liberate the holy catholic and apostolic Church.

The friends of the deceased Hadrian agitated against the new Pope, and their attempts at violence obliged Leo to flee to France. As they preferred various charges against Leo, it was decided that he should be tried by a court. The trial was held at the end of the year 800, and Charles came to Rome for the purpose of presiding. The Pope was triumphantly acquitted.

This was the moment at which the decisive act, which had such a vast effect on European history, the coronation of Charles the Great as *Imperator Augustus*, took place. The celebrated passage in the Annals of Lauresheim, describing the event, runs thus¹:—

“And because the name of Emperor had now ceased among the Greeks, and their Empire was possessed by a woman, it then seemed both to Leo the Pope himself, and to all the holy fathers who were present in the selfsame council, as well as to the rest of the christian people, that they ought to take to be Emperor Charles king of the Franks, who held Rome herself, where the Caesars had always been wont to sit, and all the other regions which he ruled through Italy and Gaul and Germany; and inasmuch as God had given all these lands into his hand, it seemed right that with the help of God and at the prayer of the whole christian people he should have the name of Emperor also. Whose petition King Charles willed not to refuse, but submitting himself with all humility to God, and at the prayer of the priests and of the whole christian people, on the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ he took on himself the name of Emperor, being consecrated by the lord Pope Leo.”

The consecration consisted of coronation with a golden crown and unction with holy oil. The latter ceremony was not

¹ I have borrowed the translation of this passage from Bryce’s *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 53.

practised at New Rome; it was borrowed from the custom of the Visigoths of Spain. The Pope then adored the new Emperor and cried aloud: "To Charles the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great Emperor, who giveth peace, be life and victory."¹

The various theories which have been held as to the legal basis and import of this coronation have been discussed by Mr. Bryce, and I suppose that all unprejudiced readers will concur in the justness of his conclusion. "As the act was unprecedented, so was it illegal; it was a revolt of the ancient Western capital against a daughter who had become a mistress; an exercise of the sacred right of insurrection, . . . hallowed to the eyes of the world by the sanction of Christ's representative, but founded upon no law, nor competent to create any for the future."² At the same time, I am inclined to think that if a contemporary had been asked for a theory of the coronation he would have interpreted it as an election of Charles by the Romans and their Republic, the Pope as the most exalted personage at Rome being their representative. No one would have looked on it as a direct consequence of Charles' conquests or as resting on the Pope's authority alone.

The most important, and also most easily misconceived, circumstance in regard to this event is that Charles was considered the successor of Constantine VI.³ This is distinctly implied in the cause assigned by contemporary writers for Charles' coronation—"the name of Emperor had now ceased among the Greeks, and their Empire was possessed by a woman." There was an idea prevalent, which Mr. Bryce's book, it is to be hoped, has finally dispelled, that Charles posed as the successor of Romulus Augustulus, who abdicated in 476. This error was due to the false use of words. It was the habit and is still the habit to speak of the dominions ruled by Honorius and his successors as the Western Empire. This false "Western

¹ See Anastasius, *Vita Leonis*. The adoration of Charles by Leo is mentioned in the Chronicle of Moissac, published in Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* vol. i.

² *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 57. Mr. Bryce speaks of the "weakness and wickedness of the Byzantine princes"—an expression which is unjustifiable. They were weak in so far as they could no longer hold Italy. A

discussion of the question whether the coronation was a surprise to Charles or was prearranged will be found p. 58 sq.

³ "In all the annals of the time and of many succeeding centuries, the name of Constantine VI, the sixty-seventh in order from Augustus, is followed without a break by that of Charles, the sixty-eighth" (Bryce, p. 63).

Empire" was then connected in thought with the true Western Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, which was founded in 800, and whose coexistence as a rival made the name Eastern Empire for the first time applicable to the realm of the sovereigns of New Rome. Romulus Augustulus was succeeded by Zeno; and if Pope Leo had regarded Charles as the successor of Romulus he would have been obliged to regard the sovereigns whom the Popes acknowledged for three hundred years as usurpers. The fact is, that Romulus Augustulus was as much forgotten in the eighth century as any obscure name in history, and no one would have thought of making the year 476 A.D. a historical landmark.

When I call the Holy Roman Empire the true Western Empire, and the Empire of Nicephorus I. and his successors the true Eastern Empire, I use the word "true" in a sense that requires a line of explanation. The Empire whose centre was Old Rome and the Empire whose centre was New Rome claimed each to be the Roman Empire. Nicephorus and his successors logically ought not to have admitted that Charles was a Roman Emperor; and Charles and his successors ought not to have conceded the title to their rivals. From a mere legal point of view the claim of the sovereigns of New Rome was good; while that of Charles rested on a basis completely infirm. But actually the two Roman Empires coexisted, compelled to recognise each other, but quite distinct, one in the East and one in the West; so that the terms Eastern Empire and Western Empire are really applicable. It was quite otherwise, as has been already so often observed, with the Empire in the fifth century. Then there was one Roman Empire, ruled by two Emperors, who for convenience divided the territory which they governed, but at any moment this arrangement might cease and one Emperor might rule the whole. If any one speaks of a Western and an Eastern empire in the fifth century, he should write "empire" with a small initial so as to show distinctly that he uses the word in a different sense from that which it bears in the expression "Roman Empire," of which unity was an inseparable attribute.

It is hardly necessary to observe that the election of the new Roman Emperor, if it was not legally defensible, was yet as thoroughly justifiable by the actual history of the two preceding

centuries as it has been justified by the history of ten succeeding centuries. For the Popes had practically assumed in the West the functions and the position of the Emperor. It was around them and their bishops that the municipalities rallied in a series of continual struggles with the Lombards; the presence of the Emperor's delegates in Italy was becoming every year less and less effectual. It was the Popes who organised missionary enterprises to convert the heathen in the West, just as it was the Emperors who furthered similar enterprises in the East. Gregory I., in spite of the respectful tone in his letters to Maurice and Phocas, was the civil potentate in Italy. The mere fact that the Pope was the largest landed proprietor in Roman Italy concurred to give him an almost monarchical position. As the virtual sovereign then of Italy as far as it was Roman,—for even in the days of exarchs he had often been its sovereign far more truly than the exarch or the Emperor,—and as the bearer of the idea of the Roman Empire with all its traditions of civilisation, the Pope had a right, by the standard of justice, to transfer the representation of the ideas whereof he was the keeper to one who was able to realise them.

CHAPTER XII

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT OF EUROPE AT THE END OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY

SINCE the beginning of the fifth century, when the Roman Empire was still conterminous with European civilisation, the political map of Europe was never so simple as in the last few days of the eighth and during the following centuries; and it has never been so simple since. The smaller independent kingdoms of the West had disappeared, partly conquered by the Saracen, partly gathered up into the dominion of the new Emperor of the West, and thus civilised Europe was divided among three chief powers—the Empire of the East, the Empire of the West, and the emirate, which afterwards became the caliphate, of Cordova. But there was another power which, though not at this period European, formed an important element in the political situation; this was the caliphate, afterwards the eastern caliphate, which included the north of Africa. Though the Omeyyad lords of Spain at first contented themselves with the title of emir, their dominion was not even theoretically part of the caliphate, from which they had revolted; not only had the court of Bagdad as little authority at Cordova as the court of Constantinople possessed at Aachen, but the Omeyyad emirs and the Abbasid caliphs were irreconcilable foes. When the emirs at length assume the superior title, the old caliphate becomes for historians' convenience the eastern caliphate, just as the Roman Empire becomes the Roman Empire of the East. It may be added that in the ninth century the eastern caliph became a European potentate by the conquest of Sicily.

At the end of the eighth century then the political aspect of civilised Europe consisted in the existence of two christian and two mohammedan powers; a Roman Empire in the East and a Roman Empire in the West, a caliphate in the East and an independent emirate in the West. The mutual relations of these four powers were such as might be predicted, as Mr. Freeman has so often pointed out. On the one hand, rivalry existed between the two Empires, and rivalry existed between the two caliphates, if we may call the emirate a caliphate by anticipation; on the other hand, there were constant hostilities between the two eastern powers, whose frontiers coincided, and between the two western powers, whose frontiers likewise coincided. The consequence was that the Emperor of Constantinople was generally on friendly terms with the emir or caliph of Cordova, and the Emperor of Aachen was on friendly terms with the caliph of Bagdad. Two smaller and outlying states, the christian Anglo-Saxons of Britain and the heathen Bulgarians of Moesia, were independent; the former by their geographical position being more closely connected with the Western and the latter with the Eastern Empire.¹

Such being the general aspect, we may now turn to the details, and examine the historical changes which took place during the eighth century, more especially as they affected the political geography of Europe.

The first feature that strikes us is that the two greatest powers in Europe, the Roman Empire and the Franks, were then recovering from a period of decline. The Roman Empire was renovated under the Isaurian Emperors, as the Frank kingdom was renovated under the Karlings. In both cases there had been a struggle between the monarchy and the aristocracy. In the Teutonic kingdom things went so far that the Merovingian dynasty was reduced to a simulacrum of royalty and the nobles wielded the power; while in the Roman Empire the strong but unpopular Heraclian dynasty was finally overthrown by an unmanageable aristocracy, and for a moment things went almost as far as in Gaul, when the

¹ Terbel was made a Caesar by Justinian II, and this act may be regarded as bringing the Bulgarian kingdom

within the imperial system, somewhat as the Franks of the sixth century were connected with the Roman Empire.

throne was occupied by the insignificant Emperor Theodosius III, whose power was little more substantial than that of a Merovingian king.

It frequently happens that a period of internal reform or domestic prosperity for a state is ushered in by a successful defence against some dangerous invader.¹ We may regard the victories of Charles Martel over the Saracens in the south of Gaul as the signs or heralds of Karlingian greatness, while the far greater achievement of Leo III in repulsing the enormous forces of Muavia from the walls of Constantinople inaugurated the epoch of Isaurian reformation. We speak intelligibly, though perhaps not quite philosophically, if we say that, but for the Karlings in the eighth century, there would never have been Emperors crowned at Old Rome to rival the Emperors crowned at New Rome; or that, but for the Isaurian sovereigns, the old Roman Empire would not have continued to exist in the south-east beside the new Roman Empire of the West. It is hard for us to imagine that the Saracens might ever have settled permanently in Gaul and spread northwards, perhaps even to the English Channel, and that Paris, like Arles, might have been once a Saracen city; we cannot but suppose that, even had they extended their power farther than Septimania and maintained it for a longer period than forty years, they would have been driven back from Gaul many centuries sooner than they were actually driven back from Spain. But it is easy to imagine, on the other hand, that the Mohammedan Arabs might have occupied permanently the south-eastern corner of Europe seven centuries sooner than it was blighted by the presence of the Mohammedan Turks.

While the greater powers increased, the smaller powers diminished. The kingdom of the Visigoths was conquered by Tarik and Musa (711-713 A.D.), including Septimania,² or Gothia, as the portion that remained to the Visigoths of their Gallic possessions, which had once extended to the Loire,³

¹ Compare the well-known instances of the Danish invasion of England, Punic invasion of Italy, Persian invasion of Greece.

² The colonists in southern Gaul in the time of Julius Caesar were named after legions; Narbo was the colony of the Decimani, Arausio (Orange) of the Secundani, Arelate of the Sextani,

Baeterræ of the Septimani. The name Septimania survived. For these colonies, see Mommsen, *History of Rome* (Eng. Trans.), vol. iv. p. 542.

³ At this point the Goths disappear from history, but the Gothic name and tongue were preserved by the Tetraxite Goths of the Crimea, who survived till the tenth century. In 1562 a Belgian

was sometimes called. The kingdom of the Lombards, which under Liutprand had seemed likely to rise to greatness, was overthrown by the Franks and became a group of Frank provinces, destined afterwards to become a separate kingdom under the suzerainty of the Teutonic Roman Emperor.

The frontiers of the Frank power advanced in four different directions. (1) To the south they were extended by the acquisition of the Lombard territories, Austria, Neustria, Tuscia, and the duchies of Friuli and Spoleto, and by the subjection of the exarchate. (2) To the south-west the Visigothic province of Septimania was added to Frank Gaul; but it was not won directly from the Visigoths, just as the exarchate was not won directly from the Greeks. Septimania became first a Saracen and then a Frank province, just as the exarchate passed into the hands of the Lombards before it passed to the Franks. The Lombards weakened the Greeks in northern Italy as the Saracens weakened the Goths in southern Gaul, and in both cases the Franks profited. (3) To the north-east lands were conquered from the heathen waste of central Europe by the victories of Charles over the Saxons in 772 and the following years; while (4) to the south-east the kingdom of the Avars in Pannonia was conquered by the same monarch (796 A.D.), whose power also extended into the Slavonic lands of Carinthia and Istria.¹

When we speak, however, of a Cisalpine dominion of the Franks, we are not speaking quite strictly, and must make two modifications. Although the power of Charles in Italy practically amounted to a Cisalpine dominion of the Franks, Charles did not hold either his Lombard conquests or the exarchate in the capacity of king of the Franks. He assumed the title of king of the Lombards, and thus, from a theoretical aspect, the kingdom of the Lombards did not disappear in the eighth century, but continued to exist under sovereigns who were also kings beyond the Alps. As for the exarchate, it was under the direct control of the Popes, by virtue of the donation

traveller, Busbek, met at Constantinople two Gothic ambassadors from the Crimea, and wrote down words of their language which are genuine Gothic words. (See Mr. Bradley, *The Goths*, p. 363.)

¹ As a result of this Frank domination Sirmium received the name Frankochorion, and the name of the mountain, Fruška Gora = Frankenberg, still preserves the memory of the episode. See Jiriček, *op. cit.* p. 144.

of Pipin, which Charles the Great confirmed; and thus it was as Roman Emperor and not as king of the Franks, it was by right of his coronation and not by right of his conquest, that Charles could claim dominion over the patrimony of St. Peter.

The memory of the Lombard power, which endured in Italy as an independent kingdom for two hundred years, is perpetuated by the name Lombardy,¹ which is still used to designate the land which was called Neustria, and part of what was called Austria. In the same way the name Romagna still survives, a memorial of the exarchate and the rule of the Greek Romans in Italy. Perhaps no geographical appellation is more suggestive of the fortunes of the Roman name than Italian Romania—not even that of Asiatic Romania, the Seljuk kingdom of Roum. A tract of country, within a few days' march from Rome herself by the Flaminian road, receives the name of Rome, but not until that name has first travelled to Constantinople and thence returned, after two and a half centuries, to Ravenna and the adjacent districts. Thus the only part of Italy that is called by a name derived from Rome, received that name, not from Old Rome on the Tiber, but from New Rome on the Bosphorus.

The overthrow of the Lombard kingdom did not carry with it the extinction of all independent Lombard power in the peninsula. The duchy of Beneventum, which since its foundation had been practically independent of the royal government at Pavia, until the energetic action of Liutprand in the eighth century brought for a moment the dukes of Beneventum and Spoletium into nominal subjection, was never incorporated in the dominions of the Karlings, although at first its lords were compelled to recognise the conqueror of Lombardy as their suzerain (786 A.D.) But the immediate consequences of the Frank conquests were agreeable to the duke. He at once assumed the title of prince, and henceforward we must speak of the principality, instead of the duchy, of Beneventum. He might reasonably anticipate that there would be less danger of interference with his independence from the new Transalpine than from the old Cisalpine lords of northern Italy.

¹ The name Garda for Lake Benacus is perhaps another reminiscence of the Lombard dominion.

One state in northern Italy, which was theoretically part of the exarchate though before the end of the seventh century it was practically independent, never passed under Frankish rule, the duchy of Venice. Venice continued to be nominally subject to the Emperor of Constantinople, and, for some centuries to come, must be considered as an outlying post of the Eastern Empire in northern Italy. The policy of the city of St. Mark was to maintain her independence by playing off the Emperor of the East against the Emperor of the West, and thus she carved out a peculiar history of her own. The republic of the lagoons was quite distinct in character from all other Italian cities; there was not much occidental flavour about it, and yet it cannot be quite called a Byzantine city. Its spirit, well symbolised in the church of St. Mark, was so unique that it can only be designated by the word "Venetian"; nevertheless, of the elements which composed the Venetian type the Byzantine element preponderated. We may say that the Venetians formed an intermediate stage between the western European nations and the Byzantines, just as the Byzantine world itself formed an intermediate stage between the Orient and the Occident. It was the Byzantine character of Venice that determined the peculiar part she played at the time of the Fourth Crusade and under the dynasty of the Palaeologi.

While in the West it was the tendency of smaller kingdoms to disappear, because the power of Francia increased, in the south-east a new kingdom had been established before the Isaurian sovereigns regenerated the Empire. There would be little use in considering whether, supposing the Bulgarians had not crossed the Danube in the reign of Constantine IV, but had waited until the eighth century to press southwards, Leo III or Constantine V would have been strong enough to prevent them. It is certain that these Emperors did not consider it feasible to drive the intruders out; they contented themselves with hindering further aggression and preserving the frontier of Mount Haemus. The expeditions of Constantine V aimed at weakening the power rather than at effecting the conquest of the Bulgarian kingdom.¹

¹ It was mentioned before that the population of the Thracian-Illyrian peninsula was Latin-speaking in the fifth and sixth centuries. From this

population are descended the Vlachs in their various homes both north and south of the Danube. North of the Danube indeed there probably

We have already considered at length the import of the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire and the new attitude assumed by the papacy in the eighth century, and it has been observed that without a comprehension of these events modern history is unintelligible. It is interesting to compare the offices which the new Empire in the north-west and the old Empire in the south-east respectively performed. In many respects their functions were similar. They were both forced to play a part in the decision of the "eternal question"; while the eastern Emperor defended Mount Taurus against the eastern caliphate, the western Emperor held the Pyrenees against the western caliphate; and it devolved upon both Emperors to keep the heathen of central Europe at bay, the Magyars (before they became Christians) and the Patzinaks. Both Emperors ruled over Slaves; the western Emperor over the Slaves in Pannonia, the eastern Emperor over the Slaves in Macedonia and Greece; and in both cases the Slaves proved an alien and troublesome element.¹

Both Empires were the champions of order in Europe; both Old and New Rome were ranged for civilisation against barbarism. But there is a broad contrast between them. The part played by the Eastern Empire may be described as negative, while the part played by the Western Empire was positive. The Eastern Empire protected Europe against the inroads of Asiatic barbarism, while the Western Empire extended Christianity and order in central Europe. The Eastern Empire conserved and in many respects refined ancient civilisation; the Western Empire learned of the Eastern, and

survived in Walachia and Moldavia a layer of Roman population, though Roesler would have it that when Aurelian abandoned Trajan's Dacia, it was entirely evacuated by the Romans; but this layer cannot have been large, and Pié has not disproved that it was a medieval immigration of cis-Danubian Vlachs that rendered a "Roumania" possible. "Great Walachia" in Thessaly was formed by a southward movement of these Illyrian Romans, who were probably pressed into the highlands of Pindus and the promontories of Acarnania by the Slaves. But there remained for many centuries a considerable Vlachian popula-

tion in Bulgaria itself.

¹ The absence of royalty is a feature of primitive Slavonic societies, and it is interesting to observe that the Slaves derived their names for emperor and king from the Eastern and Western Roman Empires respectively. *Kaisar*, *Caesar*, became (perhaps through a Frank medium) *Tsesar*, and then, by the omission of one of two similar syllables, *Tsar*; while *korol*, *kral*, "king," perpetuates the christian name of the founder of the Western Empire, Karl the Great. Doubts have been thrown on this derivation of *Tsar* (*Czar*), but *tsesarstvo*, "kingdom," in Matthew xiii. 24 establishes it.

developed what it learned in new directions. In Russia indeed New Rome played a more positive part than elsewhere, but its influence there was spiritual rather than political. Thus the Holy Roman Empire has in some respects more resemblance than the Eastern Empire to the old pagan Roman Empire. I do not mean the more superficial circumstances that the centre of both was Italian Rome, and that in both Latin was the official language; I mean the essential circumstance that they performed similar offices for Europe; for just as the pagan Roman Empire civilised Gaul, the Holy Roman Empire civilised central Europe. The Eastern Empire, on the other hand, had the function of the ancient Greeks rather than that of the ancient Romans—spiritual rather than temporal dominion; it was the great permanent fixture which remained until western Europe was prepared to take the torch for ever and march with certain footsteps in new paths of development.

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

THE endeavours of the Isaurian monarchs to renovate the Empire bore such fruits as were possible at a period when the horizon of the human spirit was determined by a series of ecclesiastical formulae. Whereas at the beginning of the century there was no distinguished writer, no man of pre-eminent learning within the limits of the Empire, there was at the close of the century quite a large group of literary men, who had studied a great many subjects and could write very good Greek. There was George the Syncellus, who wrote a history or chronicle of the world and carried it down as far as Diocletian; there was his friend Theophanes¹ the monk, who continued the chronicle where George ended and carried it down to his own times; there was Theodore the abbot of Studion, who has left works which form a good-sized volume²; there was the learned Nicephorus, who, at first a secretary, afterwards became Patriarch and wrote a short history of the Empire from the accession of Heraclius to the middle of the reign of Constantine V³; there was Tarasius, who enjoyed also

¹ The reader may have formed some notion of the language of Theophanes, who wrote in the vulgar tongue, from the short quotations from him interspersed in the notes of this volume. His chronicle, however, is written in better Greek than that of John Malalas; Theophanes would not have used such a form as *ἐβαλα* from *βάλλω*, although he has the isolated aorist *ἀνέραν* ("he died"), formed from *ἀναρᾶω*, just as classical *ἐκάνη* is formed from *καύω* (*καύσω*, pres. *καίω*). The recent edition

of Theophanes by C. de Boor is admirable.

² Edited by Migne in the *Patrol. Graec.* vol. 99.

³ Also a short *Χρονογραφικόν* (lists of emperors, empresses, patriarchs, popes, etc.) His anti-iconoclastic works have been mentioned. His style, like that of Theodore Studita, forms a contrast to that of Theophanes; he avoids all colloquial expressions, introduces such words as *δομηρῆτις* with an explanation (p. 49, ed. de Boor),

a secular education and was suddenly promoted to the highest ecclesiastical dignity; and there was the abbot Plato, who, though he did not write himself, perhaps exercised to some extent a literary as well as a monastic influence. Besides these, John Lekanomantis, a learned man of science, who had an evil repute for occult lore in the days of Leo the Armenian, must at this time have been receiving his education.

A few glimpses of the usual course of education are afforded to us in the lives of certain of the famous ecclesiastics just mentioned, which were in some cases written by eminent contemporaries.¹ Children were sent at an early age to an elementary teacher or *grammatistes*, who gave them what was called an "eisagogic" or "propaedeutic" training. Theodore of Studion was taught by a *grammatistes* for no less than seven years. It probably often happened that parents who had the requisite leisure and knowledge taught their children at home; and from the fact that Theoctiste, Theodore's mother, was uneducated *because she was an orphan*, and was obliged to teach herself after her marriage, it might be inferred that women received only home instruction. The elementary training was followed by a higher or university course² in philology ("grammar"), dialectic, and rhetoric; some also studied mathematics and music.³ The study of philology doubtless consisted in a careful reading of literary works and perhaps the practice of composition in Hellenistic style,⁴ which was so different from the spoken language that for writing in it—as well (for example) as Theodore of Studion could write—a diligent course of study was necessary. We are told that Theodore objected to the elegance and emptiness of the rhetors,—but it is not

etc. When Mr. Freeman marked a period of writers, like Theophanes and Constantine VII, intervening between the earlier period of stylists, like Procopius and Agathias, and the later period of stylists, like (Psellus and) Anna Comnena, he should have added that throughout the middle period there were some writers who were careful to avoid colloquialisms; see his most interesting article, "Some Points in the History of later Greek," *Hellenic Journal*, vol. iiii.

¹ The Life of Theophanes was written by Theodore of Studion; the Life of

Nicephorus by Ignatius the Patriarch. These lives have been recently published by M. de Boor in his editions of Theophanes and Nicephorus.

² This course was generally called *ἡ θύραθεν παιδεία*, "secular education"; esoteric studies were no longer philosophical, but theological.

³ For example, Nicephorus. An interesting account of studies in logic and philosophy as prosecuted at the period will be found in the *Vita Nicephori*, ed. de Boor, p. 150.

⁴ ἐξελληνίζειν γλῶσσαν καὶ γραμματικὴν.

quite clear whether the rhetors of the past or rhetors of his own day are referred to.

Theodore had studied poetry, and composed sacred poems which were popular and widely circulated. A curious story is told which indicates their wide diffusion. There was a certain man in Sardinia who was very fond of these verses, especially of the Triodia composed for the season of Lent. One day he entertained in his house some monks who were pupils of Gregory of Syracuse, and when he began to descant on his favourite literature they turned the poems into ridicule as provincial and bad. The easily impressed host veered round to the opinion of his guests; but that night Theodore himself appeared, to take vengeance on his admirer for his faithlessness, and caused him to be whipped. This is only one of many miracles which were connected with St. Theodore.¹

We must notice here a celebrated Greek writer of the eighth century, who was not, however, a subject of the Empire, the Syrian John of Damascus.² His father held an administrative post under the Omeyyad caliphs, and possessed considerable landed property in Palestine and Judaea. He spent a large amount of his money in redeeming christian captives, and if any of them wished to remain in the country he bestowed on them small farms on his own estates. On one occasion he had the good fortune to purchase a monk of Italy, probably of Calabria, named Cosmas, whom the Arab pirates had brought from over seas to the slave market of Damascus, and he installed him as teacher of his son Johannes. Cosmas was learned in philosophy as well as in theology, and intimately acquainted with the writings of both Aristotle and Plato. The pupil profited by this instruction, and was considered in his day such a master of style that he was called Chrysorroas. He is chiefly known to the historians by his essays against the iconoclastic

¹ The author of the first *Vita Theodori* says that the tales of the miracles were told (1) by Theodore's friend Leo, (2) by Sophronius.

² The Life of John Damascenus was written by Johannes, bishop of Jerusalem, probably him who lived in the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, and was burned by the Saracens. For the views on ethics held by the scholar of Damascus I may refer the curious to the

first vol. of W. Gass's *Geschichte der christlichen Ethik*, p. 218 *sqq.*, and there is an important work by J. Langen entitled *Johannes von Damaskus* (1879). One of John's most important works is the *πηγή γνώσεως* (*Fons Scientiæ*), in which he professes to cull and present to the reader the best things in Greek philosophy, and, moreover, discusses heresies and gives an exposition of the orthodox faith (ed. Migne, vol. i. pp. 5, 21 *sqq.*)

movement, which, however, are a very small portion of his works.

With the exception of the iconoclastic movement itself, which, although suggested by the Mohammedan doctrine, had many points of originality, there were no new ideas in the eighth century. The only eccentricity that I can find is the theory of Virgilius (condemned by Pope Zacharias), who not only believed in the existence of the Antipodes, but held that a race of men dwelled there who were not descended from Adam and for whom no Redeemer had died.

All that Leo and Constantine had done against superstition and monasticism did not touch the foundations of religious belief; their policy affected only the accidents of Christianity. They could not rouse up thought from the dead level and monotony to which it is condemned when its envelope is a stereotyped creed, anything different therefrom being incredible, almost unimaginable. They could not even remove the blight of superstition from the more educated classes, though their efforts were attended with some success. It was seriously believed that Leo IV died from boils on his head, a direct visitation from heaven because he had worn a crown which had been dedicated in St. Sophia. It was gravely asserted that the eyes of Constantine VI were put out on the 15th August because five years before he had put out the eyes of his uncles on that day, the coincidence of date indicating the retributive justice. It might be conjectured that the enemies who blinded him chose that very day on purpose, in order that the general public might look upon the crime as a punishment ordered by heaven, but in any case it is an example of superstition.¹

The discord in Church and State created by the marriage of Constantine VI with Theodote, the maid of honour, is instructive. It disclosed the difference between monks like Plato and Theodore, and men of the world like Tarasius and Nicephorus, who had led a secular life at first and entered the

¹ The mention of superstition reminds me of the story told in the "Vita Tarasii" (*Acta Sanct.* Feb. xxiii.) of a case which came before George, Tarasius' father, who was a judge. Poor women were accused of killing sucking infants by penetrating through windows or

even shut doors. Here we have the survival of the very ancient belief in the hobgoblin Gello, who is mentioned in a fragment of Sappho. George acquitted the accused, and the Emperor Constantine V, the enemy of all superstition, approved.

Church almost by accident. The austerity of the former was thoroughly honest, and justified by the letter and spirit of the religious canons; and Theodore alleges, in proof of the gravity of the Emperor's transgression, that the imperial example was infectious, and that governors of provinces—the Gothic governor of Bosphorus is especially mentioned—began to imitate it securely. On the other hand, the tolerance of Tarasius, who, though he did not venture to perform the matrimonial ceremony, gave a tacit consent, is characteristic; and, I venture to say, it was an unconscious result of the rationalistic and anti-monastic spirit diffused by the two great Isaurian Emperors. In fact, I believe that the very election of Tarasius, a layman and at one time a military officer, to the patriarchal chair would never have been possible but for the views disseminated by those two Emperors, who deprecated over-strictness and condemned the superlative punctiliousness of monks. In the eyes of the Pope the election of such a Patriarch was doubtless a clear indication of the general demoralisation of the Empire.

The lenient manner in which the orthodox treat the Empress Irene is also worthy of note. They never forget that she led the reaction against iconoclasm and brought about the seventh Ecumenical Synod; and if her son after his questionable marriage is no longer a new Constantine the Great, Irene, in spite of all her questionable conduct towards her son, is always a new Helena.¹ The ethical judgment of the contemporary historians is perverted by a prejudice; the virtue of orthodoxy covers a multitude of vices; and the fact that Irene took the part of the monks against her son, although her motive was clearly to serve her own worldly ends, is imputed to her credit. She was a beautiful and accomplished woman who could beguile hearts, and we certainly do not expect writers to enlarge on the thesis that she was an unnatural mother; but it is amusing that the struggle between her and her son should be set down altogether to the account of the devil.

¹ I select at hazard Ignatius' words of laudation (*V. Nicéph.* p. 146), τὸ κραταίφρων ἐκείνο καὶ θεοφόρητον γύναιον: where γύναιον has somewhat the same nuance as our "creature." In the second vol. of Migne's ed. of the works of John of Damascus there is a

certain *Letter to Theophilus* (falsely ascribed to John), probably written by the bishops of the East, and giving a short sketch of the history of iconoclasm. In it Irene is spoken of as a new Helena; she and her son are called a rose and lily among thorns.

The great attraction which monastic life possessed for men of the highest rank in the eighth century—the tendency, which Constantine V so vigorously combated, to found monasteries and retire from a public career—has been already noticed. Women as well as men were sometimes carried away by this desire; for example, Theoctiste, the mother of Theodore Studita, became a nun in middle life, to the surprise and consternation of her friends and of the Empress herself, who wondered that a lady in such a good social position¹ should abandon the world. She was, however, an impulsive woman, and I think we may conclude that it was not fashionable among ladies of rank to get them to a nunnery.

The parents of Theoctiste and Plato were victims of the great plague, and the children were left orphans at an early age. Plato was trained to be a notary and was employed as a secretary by a relation who held the important office of general logothete. But he soon embraced monastic life, and became the abbot or hegumenos of the monastery of Saccudion, situated beside Mount Olympus on the coast of Bithynia.² At the time of the general synod of Nicaea he visited Constantinople and stayed with his sister Theoctiste, who had married Photinus, a minister of rank. The spiritual personality of Plato influenced so profoundly not only his nephews but his brother-in-law and sister, that they all determined to enter immediately upon the more excellent way of life. So Photinus and Theoctiste (to the surprise of her fashionable friends), along with their family, including a girl and three boys, of whom one was the famous Theodore, left Constantinople together and settled in a country retreat which belonged to them, named Boskytion. This domain, not far from the monastery of Saccudion, was enclosed at one end by a crescent of trees, and overlooked a pleasant breezy plain which stretched below; an expanse of transparent water enhanced its delights. But, best of all in the eyes of its inhabitants, it afforded “quiet to those who dwelled in it, to be alone with God and at rest from the senses.” Here Theodore became a monk and engaged in hard agricultural work, like a common farm labourer, not,

¹ Her niece Theodote was the maid of honour whom Constantine married.

² It is related that Plato not

only excluded women from his monastery, but banished even female animals.

however, neglecting his studies.¹ We are told that he was very zealous to reform monastic corruption, and this desire was doubtless felt by many men of his rank,² who became monks from purely disinterested motives, and led blameless lives. Such men, of high breeding and good education, must have produced incalculable effects by their example and influence in keeping personal morality at a relatively high point; and it cannot be denied that in this way the political decay involved in the monastic system was to some extent neutralised. When Theodore in later years was appointed abbot of the monastery of Studion (whence he derived his distinctive name Studites), he introduced the practice of mechanical work among the brethren; every one learned a trade; some were builders, some weavers, some bronzesmiths, some ropemakers, others shoemakers. Many new houses, organised on a similar system, were founded throughout the Empire by Studite monks.

Perhaps no one was more austere, no one more uncompromisingly militant against the instincts of the senses, than the monk and historian Theophanes,³ who, while the other ecclesiastics proceeded to the council of Nicaea on splendid horses and in fine array, rode thither on an ass, clothed in a hair garment. He was one of those divine men, says his friend and biographer Theodore, the example of whose lives, like stars appearing after a storm to sea-tossed merchants, bring men safe to port. He had a considerable fortune, which he spent on charitable works, and a kinsman who did not wish that the property should leave the family complained of the matter to Leo IV. The Emperor threatened Theophanes with the loss

¹ His favourite author was St. Basil, and he especially delighted in Basil's book on monasticism.

² The senate in the eighth century had much the same functions as in the fifth. Its activities, like those of the Anglo-Saxon witenagemot, depended much on the character of the Emperor. They were generally limited to formalities, attending ceremonies, etc.; but in crises the senate had a constitutional right to act, as in the case of the deposition of Heraclonas and Martina. It is uncertain whether the judicial functions assigned to the senate by Justinian were still

exercised by it in the eighth century. M. Lécivain writes (*Le Sénat Romain depuis Dioclétien*, 1888, p. 224), "Ici, comme à Rome on devine plutôt qu'on ne saisit sur le fait l'action du sénat; les textes ne la montrent guère que pour les élections impériales et les affaires religieuses." To what extent the Emperors, e.g. Leo III and his son, were wont to consult the senate we cannot even guess.

³ Son of Isaac and Theodote. When he was three years old his father died. He was a member of the corps of *stratores* in the reign of Leo IV, and afterwards received the dignity of *spathar*.

of his eyes if he persisted in his irrational unworldliness, and sent him on business to Cyzicus, in order to entangle him if possible in the things of this life. But the deaths of both the Emperor and the dissatisfied relation soon relieved Theophanes from such vexatious constraint, and he retired with his wife to the island Kalonnesos, where he built a monastery. The wife of this saint was wife only in name, and the description of the wedding night is curious and edifying. He treated his bride to a discourse on the spiritual necessity of unsullied purity; they agreed that they would never contaminate themselves by physical union; and the lady remained for ever a maiden, *νύμφη τ' ἀννυμφος παρθένος τ' ἀπάρθενος*. At the moment when they undertook the chaste engagement they were aware of a savour of sweet spices which filled the whole house, a miraculous token vouchsafed of celestial approval; this touch reminds us of the mystic odours in the legend of the Holy Grail.

It has been already remarked that Constantinople was becoming ever more and more a Greek city, and that its Greek character was greatly increased by the consequences of the plague. At the same time, its streets swarmed with numbers of wholly Graecised, half Graecised, or utterly barbarous foreigners, especially Armenians and Slavonians.¹ The importance of the Armenian element is indicated by the number of Armenians who held governorships in the Empire; for example, Artavasdos, the son-in-law of Leo III, was an Armenian.² A Slavonic clergyman, Nicetas, was made Patriarch, and in the early part of the ninth century Thomas the Slavonian was one of the most powerful men of the time and wellnigh ascended the throne. A story is told, by a late writer, of the Patriarch Nicetas, that when reading a chapter of the New Testament he pronounced the name *Ματθαῖον* as if it were a quadrisyllable, *Ματθάϊον*. When some one present corrected

¹ There were also doubtless a good many Jews, but by the law (cf. *Ecloga*, title 9) Hellenes, Jews, and heretics were disqualified from civil and military service.

² The Emperor Philippicus was an Armenian, and at the beginning of the ninth century an Armenian, Leo V, ascended the throne. See above, p. 452.

There seem to have been many Armenian colonies in Thrace, as is proved by numerous Armenian inscriptions discovered there by M. A. Dumont, cf. Rambaud, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle*, p. 147 (also Mr. Tozer's note on Finlay, ii. 228). Armenian origin has been claimed for Basil I., but it seems more likely that he was a Slave.

him he indignantly cried, "Don't be silly; my soul utterly abhors diphthongs and triphthongs."¹

If newspapers had been published at Constantinople in the eighth century, columns of court news and columns of church news would have occupied most space. Almost every week, and often more than once a week, there would have been a description of some elaborate ceremonial procession. It would be tedious to go into the details of these ceremonies,² which come within the scope of archaeology rather than of history, and we may go on to glance at the functions of the prefect of the city and the quaestor,³ the two officials who had most to do with the police control and maintenance of order in Constantinople, and whose names remind us of the continuity of Roman history.

Next to the Emperor himself, the prefect of the city was the greatest man in Byzantium. He was the supreme judge, not only inside the walls, but for one hundred miles beyond them. Let us enter his court and see what sort of cases used to come before him. At one time it was a slave—it must not be thought that Christianity had entirely blotted out slavery⁴—who had taken refuge in a church and pleaded that he had paid the money for his freedom and had not been emancipated; at another time it was a poor patron who claimed to receive support from his former slaves, who had been manumitted. The prefect was often obliged to "teach" (*σωφρονίζειν*) by threats or flogging freedmen who ventured to treat with contumely or scant courtesy their patrons, or patrons' wives or children; if a freedman went to the length of informing or conspiring against his old master, he was beaten with clubs and tansured, his freedom was cancelled, and he was handed over to his patron. Probably one of the commonest misdemeanours was the malversation by guardians of their wards' property.

¹ Glycas, p. 284.

² Our main source for the court ceremonies is the treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *de Caerimoniis*.

³ Their duties are described in the *Ecloga*.

⁴ The *Ecloga* proves that slaves were still numerous and slavery a recognised institution, although tending to disappear, cf. Finlay, ii. 220, 221. Finlay quotes a passage from Theodore Stu-

dita, "as a proof of the improved philanthropy of enlightened men during the iconoclast period": "A monk ought not to possess a slave, neither for his own service, nor for the culture of his monastery, nor for the culture of its lands; for a slave is a man made after the image of God." Theodore adds, however, "and this, like marriage, is only allowable to those living a secular life."

It was considered a crime to hire out a slave for prostitution, on the principle apparently of preventing, not cruelty to animals, but the corruption of human souls; and the prefect was supposed to interfere. It devolved upon the prefect to provide for fair dealings in the exchange and for fair prices in the meat market; and it was his duty also to preserve discipline in the streets and at the public games, for which purpose he had soldiers under him. He possessed the power of excluding any individual from the city or from any part of it, from trading in it or from attending a show, from practising a profession in it, and he could impose all these disabilities either temporarily or permanently. Thus the office of prefect still combined judicial with executive functions.

Some, however, of the duties which in a modern state, where there is a strict police control, would be discharged by that department, devolved, not upon the prefect, but upon the quaestor. For the quaestor had power over all strangers sojourning in the city, whencesoever they came and of whatsoever sex or profession they were,—even over clerks, monks, and nuns. It was his business to inquire who each was, whence he came, and what he wanted, and to take care that if he sought redress he should obtain it, in order that he might return as soon as possible to his home. For provincials were not allowed to stay in the capital or visit it whenever they liked; they were only tolerated there when they sought redress for injury or had a petition to present to the Emperor.¹

The general law laid down by Justinian² was that if the quaestor found any one within the walls of Byzantium who was neither gaining his livelihood by a trade or profession nor concerned in a lawsuit, he was to be sent out of the city, if he were not a native; if he were a native and an able-bodied

¹ Farmers were especially discouraged from leaving their farms and coming to the city; yet they were often obliged to come when their lords refused to pay what they owed them for produce. Whenever the unjust lords tried to take advantage of the law's delays and thereby detain the plaintiffs in the capital, the quaestor was entitled to use short and severe measures, and dispense with legal formalities. The position of the farmers, γεωργοί, in the eighth century has been described above, p. 419. The

following law from the Νόμος Γεωργικός (Leunclavius, ii. p. 257) will show how free they were from anything like serfdom; it presents an instructive contrast to the laws about the *Colonatus* in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian. *ἐὰν ἀπορήσας γεωργὸς πρὸς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρὸν καὶ ξενιτεύσῃ καὶ διαφύγῃ, οἱ τὰ δημόσια ἀπαιτούμενοι (the officers of the fisc) πρυγελήσωσιν τὸν ἀγρὸν, μὴ ἔχοντες ἀδειαν ἐπανερχομένου τοῦ γεωργοῦ ζημιῶν ἢ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ αἰοοῦν.*

² Novel xcix. (ed. Zachariä).

man, he was to be enrolled among the public workmen, or placed in a bakery, or employed as a garden labourer, or have some other occupation assigned to him; in case he declined to work, he was to be expelled from the city. On the other hand, such as were maimed or old were to be gently dealt with. Besides these functions the quaestor had a judicial office of small scope; a certain kind of cases came before him, namely those of forgery and false coinage.

It is interesting to notice the two reasons assigned, in the eighth-century handbook of law, for the strict prevention of idleness in Constantinople. The first is that idleness leads to crime, and hence for self-protection the State is justified in discountenancing it. The second is that it is unfair that strong men should live by the consumption of the superfluity of the labour of others, because that superfluity is owed to the weak. The duty of supporting the weak is one of the christian ideas that had long since been recognised by custom, and had already penetrated into civil law.

The employments specially instanced as open to a man who wanted work are worth noting.¹ We are reminded that, besides the inevitable staff of public workmen, who, in a city like Byzantium, where fires were frequent and earthquakes not uncommon, had much to do beyond the repairs necessitated by the wear and tear of time, the State also supported multitudes of bakers, as the *panis et circenses* were a survival of antiquity that lasted long into the Middle Ages; and we are taught that the gardens, to which we sometimes meet casual references in the historians, were not the property of private citizens, but were parks for the people, kept up at the State's expense.

Little can be gleaned from our sources as to the details of the daily life of the educated lay classes. We get no glimpses into the drawing-rooms of the countesses, archontesses, or hypatesses²; all we can say with confidence is that religion filled a relatively large portion of daily life, and, as at all other periods, this applies especially to women. We might have

¹ Novel xcix. (ed. Zacharia).

² The wives of the officials received their husbands' titles with feminine terminations (as in Germany—Generalin, Majorin, Professorin, etc.) Letter 145 of Theodore of Studion is addressed

to the "turmarshess of Hellas," to console her for the death of a son killed in war. In letter 195 we meet Eudocia, a candidatess, and in 217 the wife of the hypatos Demetrius is called hypatess (*ὑπάτισσα*).

conjectured with subjective certainty that the monks in their resistance to iconoclasm found firm allies in the female sex, even if we did not possess direct confirmatory evidence. Nor is it insignificant that a woman headed the reaction. But although the women, like the monks, had much to answer for in fostering and transmitting superstition, there were doubtless many enlightened mothers who could educate without tainting their children's minds.

There is evidence that weddings had still a Fescennine flavour, and the customs of licentious antiquity¹ had not been entirely abolished. But it is highly probable that there was not at this period more of that which might reasonably offend a delicate or seriously religious nature than there was at marriage festivities in the days of our ancestors not so long ago.

A few interesting traits are related about the domestic life of Theoctiste, whose acquaintance the reader has already made, by her son Theodore.² She was a considerate mistress to her servants; she allowed them not only bread, wine, and lard, but on feast days treated them to fresh meat, condiments, and fowl.³ But nature had given her a quick temper, and being an orphan she had not been taught to keep it under control. Consequently she used often to fly into a passion and box the ears of her maids; but when she became cool again she would retire to her bedroom and strike her own cheeks to punish herself for her want of self-restraint. She used then to call the injured maid and ask her pardon.

The material splendours and the literary and scientific culture which had begun to distinguish the court of the Abbasid caliphs in their new city on the Tigris were well known and reported with exaggerations at Byzantium, but there is no evidence that they produced any visible influence on Byzantine life until the reign of Theophilus. Abu Djafar Manssur, the founder of Bagdad, had intended the place rather as a strong military fortress—to control Kufa on the one side and Chorasman on the other—than as a rich and luxurious capital. This caliph was miserly, even mean, in his habits, dressed

¹ Alluded to by Theodore Stud. in his *Funeral Oration on his Mother*; Migne, vol. 99, p. 885, μηδὲ τὸ δῆμα

VOL. II

ἀλρουσα εἰς τὰ θυμελικὰ παλγνια.

² In the *Funeral Oration*, Migne, 99, 884 sqq.

³ *Ib.* p. 888.

2 M

shabbily, and was disinclined to pageantry and pomp. He did not encourage poetry and he abhorred music; a story is told that on one occasion, hearing a slave playing a tambourine, he ordered the instrument to be broken on the player's head. But he encouraged all positive sciences, history, law, grammar, and natural science; under him flourished Chalil the great student of literature, and Mohammed Ibn Ishak the father of Arabic history. It is remarkable, however, that most of the learned men were of Persian nationality, and Chalid, the architect of Bagdad, was a Persian. The elevation of the Abbasid dynasty and the translation of the centre of the empire to the Tigris were accompanied by the rise of Persian influence, which may perhaps be compared to the growth of Armenian influence in the Roman Empire.

It was Manssur's son Mahdi, whose character in all respects contrasted with that of his father, that originated the splendour and luxury for which Bagdad soon became famous throughout the world. The care for luxurious comfort may be illustrated by the incident that ice was sent to Mecca in September when the caliph was visiting the holy city. "The capital, continually increasing in size," writes Weil, "soon became a centre for all the rich and noble men of the realm; music and song, which in the reign of Manssur were condemned to silence, resounded in the streets; scholars and poets were drawn to the court and rewarded with royal bounty; everything was done to support commerce and industry; postal arrangements connected the capital with all parts of the empire; and great pilgrimages were organised, with a luxury and lavish munificence of which all the poor from Bagdad to Mecca profited; a special divan was made for the support of the blind." Thus the reign of Mahdi was marked by a great reaction against the stern parsimony of his father; and the cruel Harun, the famous hero of flattering romances, followed the example of Mahdi in beautifying Bagdad and making his court attractive by luxury and culture.¹

The court of New Rome, from its foundation by Constantine, was characterised by many oriental features derived from Persia.

¹ A picturesque account of Bagdad has been written by M. A. Marrast. This study is entitled "Bagdad sous les Khalifes," and is published in the same

volume as "*La vie byzantine au vi^e siècle.*" He notices that the dancing-girls at Bagdad corresponded to the hetairai of Byzantium.

In dress, for example, the tiara and the skaramangion (state robe), the profuse use of ornaments, were imitated from Persian customs. In each succeeding century there was doubtless a marked increase in the distance of Byzantine life from old Greek and early christian simplicity, and in approximation to oriental richness. The rich men of Constantinople wore gold and jewels on their shoes¹; the floors of their houses shone with glazed tiles. For the vessels of domestic use a simple and beautiful form no longer sufficed, they were overlaid with heavy gold leaf. This delight in rich and showy material naturally travelled to western Europe, which in all such matters revered Constantinople from afar, and relics at Aachen show how Byzantine ornamentation influenced art at the court of Charles. We must not think of comparing the luxury and opulence that marked daily life at Byzantium with the magnificence of old Romans, like Lucullus or the rich men described by Horace and Martial. Such colossal splendour is a thing quite distinct from the diffusion of oriental luxury on a small scale; and the houses of rich men at Constantinople in the eighth century resembled in point of opulence the mansions of wealthy merchants nowadays rather than the palaces of the old Roman aristocrats and bankers. In the first place, people were not so enormously rich; and in the second place, the spirit of the established religion seems to have had the effect of suppressing tendencies to extravagant display. Men did not think of lavishing fortunes on banquets of inordinate costliness; voluptuous carouses, celebrated in a showy and expensive manner, would have been considered a scandal and regarded as an insult to society.² Many unkind things were said of Constantine V because he kept a merry table, and yet we never hear it hinted that he wasted money on luxury or display.

The East was a country of fables and romances as well as

¹ We learn from the "Vita Tarasii" (*Acta. Sanct.* Feb. xxiii., p. 579) that Tarasius was obliged to correct and confine within decent limits the luxury displayed by the clergy in their dress. Garments of silk and girdles of gold seemed unseemly extravagance to a Patriarch who used to distribute clothes to the poor in a cold winter (p. 580).

² The reader may remember how in

the reign of Philippicus the Bulgarians surprised on the shore of the Bosphorus a wedding party, provided with rich paraphernalia for feasting, γάμους τε ἐνουςίους καὶ δαψιλεστάτους ἀρίστους (wedding breakfast) μετὰ ποικίλου καὶ λοιπῆς ἀποσκευῆς (Theoph. 6204 A.M.) ἀργυρον ὡς πλείστον καὶ σκεύη οὐκ ὀλίγα (Niceph. p. 48). Here there was nothing extraordinary.

of material splendour, and here we come to an important field in which it influenced Europe. Novels and stories composed by individuals are in their nature an ephemeral branch of literature; and of the numbers that were disseminated in the Middle Ages comparatively few have survived. We have many tales in Italian or French, which came from Byzantine and ultimately from oriental sources, but of which neither the oriental original nor the Byzantine intermediate form remain. These stories reached the West in various ways, by southern Italy, by the exarchate while it lasted, and by Venice. The caliphate of Cordova in later times was a centre for their diffusion. But in this place we need not pursue a subject on which we have no direct evidence at such an early date, and I shall merely speak of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, which doubtless reached Europe in the eighth century, even if it was not written in Greek by John of Damascus, as is usually stated. The tale underwent four translations or adaptations. The Indian original was rendered into Pehlevi, the Pehlevi into Syriac, the Syriac into Greek, and the Greek into Latin; whence German and French versions of the story were composed.

No one can read *Barlaam and Josaphat* without being struck by the resemblance which it bears to the life of Buddha. The heathen father of Josaphat in vain takes every precaution to hinder the decree of destiny or providence that his son was to become a Christian, and Barlaam converts the young prince, whose soul, being "naturally christian," was easily determined to abjure the things of this world and aspire to the ideal of monasticism. The discourses of Barlaam, which convince the prince of the new doctrine, are rich in oriental similes and metaphors, but the exposition seems to have been worked up anew and adapted for the Byzantine world by the Greek monk John, of the monastery of St. Saba, who brought the "edifying story" (*ἱστορία ψυχοφελής*) from India to the Holy City.¹ The note of the whole tale is the contrast between the

¹ The heading is: ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν χώρας τῆς Ἰνδῶν λεγομένης πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν μετενεχθεῖσα διὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ ἀνδρὸς τιμίου καὶ ἐναρέτου μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα· ἐν ᾗ ὁ βίος Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἰωσάφ τῶν δοιδίμων

μακαρίων. In an article in the *Contemporary Review*, July 1870, Max Müller pointed out the resemblances of this story with the life of Buddha, as told in the *Lalitā Vistara*.

world and the spirit,—the transitory and the abiding. The world is as a city where a new king is elected every year, and at the end of that term, when he is at the height of enjoyment and expects to reign for ever, the citizens dethrone him and banish him naked to a distant island. The wise man will follow the example of that rare king, who prudently thought of the future, and during his year's reign caused the treasures of the palace to be conveyed to the island of exile, so that when he was sent thither his wants were well supplied. But nothing in this vein is so striking as the allegory of the man suspended in the pit—a picture of medieval grotesqueness that might have been painted by Albrecht Dürer. A man fleeing from an unicorn which pursues him, stumbles into a pit, but rescues himself from falling into its depths by grasping a tree, which grew on the margin, and supporting his feet on a jutting ledge. But when he looked downward he saw a fiery terror in the shape of a dragon, eager to devour him; and at the roots of the tree he saw a black and a white mouse gnawing, whence he knew that his support must soon give way and precipitate him into the jaws of the monster. And from the ledge on which his feet rested he saw the heads of four asps peeping forth. Then turning his face from these horrors and looking upwards he saw a drop of sweet honey distilling from the tree, and a longing for the sweetness so possessed him that the things below were soon clean out of mind. The unicorn from which the man runs is death; the pit is the world; and the tree is the space of man's life. The white and black mouse which nibble at the roots of the tree are day and night; while the four asps represent the four unstable elements of which the human organism is built. The drop of honey is the pleasantness of the sweets of this world; the fiery dragon is the fearful belly of hell.¹

An attempt was made, at the suggestion of the idolater Theudas (who afterwards burned his magic books, like Cyprian), to turn away Josaphat from his ascetic unworldliness by the temptation of beautiful and alluring women. As with Buddha, this stratagem was ineffectual; Josaphat was forearmed by a dream, which transported his imagination to a pleasant plain and a city, where he saw all the fascinations of beauty

¹ John of Damascus, vol. iii. ed. Migne (*Patrologia*), p. 976.

and pleasure, and, as his spirit was yielding to the seductions, he was removed thence to dark and dolorous places, where the young women seemed fouler than corruption.¹ In contrast with the asceticism of Barlaam and Josaphat is the temperament of the king, Josaphat's father, who held the bright pagan view of life, which accepts cheerfully and securely "this sweet light and the pleasant things which the gods gave to delight us."²

¹ John of Damascus, vol. iii. ed. Migne (*Patrologia*), p. 1149.

² *Ib.* pp. 1089, 1091.

CHAPTER XIV ,

CONCLUSION

AT the beginning of the period treated in this work the universal dominion of Rome was passing away. We have seen the Empire dismembered ; we have seen how it came to pass that the West was taken and the East was left ; and we have traced the history of nearly four centuries in which the Roman Empire, no longer a universal mistress, was administered by great legislators, great warriors, and great reformers, who ruled in the New Rome on the Bosphorus and were called by the same title as Octavian and Trajan.

If the idea of the Roman Empire before it was dismembered was universal dominion, if its function was to rule the peoples, *regere imperio populos*, what was its function, it may be asked, when it no longer represented that idea of universal dominion ?

The answer is that the Roman Empire was the material and moral support, the political and spiritual bulwark of European Christendom ; it represented the principle of cosmos. It was not enough, as some have thought,—as M. Guizot seems to have thought,—for the Roman Empire at the height of its greatness to give once for all a principle of order to the “wild nations.” The author and giver of the principle could not be discarded ; like the God of Descartes, the Roman Empire was the preserver as well as the initiator of civilisation. The view of the historical Anaxagoras, who attempts to explain European development by a prime impulse communicated once for all by the Roman Empire ere it retreated from the shores of western Europe, and who regards the “Romaic” Empire (if he does not call it by some more disparaging name)

as a superannuated and decrepit survival, is a view which can as little satisfy the true student of history as the view, which represented Nous as the prime arranger of the elements of the world and then laid it aside as unnecessary, could satisfy the true philosopher. The Roman Empire was not, as many would have it, discarded as superannuated when its western provinces were lost; its existence could not have been dispensed with; its obliteration would have been fatal to the cause of civilisation. The "wild nations" had not yet learned more than the alphabet of their lesson; and if they disdained a mistress in the sense of a queen, *domina*, they required a mistress in the sense of a teacher, *magistra*, for a long time yet.

In the first place, the later Roman Empire was the bulwark of Europe against the oriental danger; Maurice and Heraclius,¹ Constantine IV and Leo the Isaurian were the successors of Themistocles and Africanus. The idea of European Christendom, at once Teutonic and Roman, making common cause against the peoples of Asia, who, if their progress had been unresisted, would have made the world stand still, first appeared clearly when Aetius and Theodoric fought together against the champion of desolation on the Mauriac Plain. But from that time forward it was destined that the Romans should perform alone the work of defending Europe; and until the days of the crusades, the German nations did not combine with the Empire against the common foe. Nor did the Teutons, by themselves, achieve any success of ecumenical importance against non-Aryan races. I may be reminded that Charles the Great exterminated the Avars; but that was after they had ceased to be really dangerous. When there existed a truly formidable Avar monarchy it was the Roman Empire that bore the brunt; and yet while most people who read history know of the Avar war of Charles, how few there are who have ever heard of Priscus, the general who so bravely warred against the Avars in the reign of Maurice. I may be reminded that Charles Martel won a great name by victories

¹ We do not associate the name of Justinian, like that of Heraclius, with the defence of Christendom against the Persians; for Justinian was not a hero, a warrior, or a deliverer. But we must not undervalue what Justinian did. While he was carrying out his great

projects in the West, he successfully defended, both by arms and by diplomacy, the eastern frontier against the greatest monarch who ever sat on the throne of the Sassanids. I think this great historical fact is often lost sight of.

in southern Gaul over the Saracens; yet those successes sink into insignificance by the side of the achievement of his contemporary, the third Leo, who held the gate of eastern Europe against all the forces which the Saracen power, then at its height, could muster. Every one knows about the exploits of the Frank; it is almost incredible how little is known of the Roman Emperor's defence of the greatest city of christian Europe, in the quarter where the real danger lay. What should we say of the knowledge of one who was acquainted with the victory of the western Greeks over the Punic invaders of Sicily, and had never heard of the battle which was fought by the eastern Greeks at Salamis? The same remarks might be made of the earlier siege of New Rome in the days of Constantine IV, when the armies and the armaments of Muavia were driven back and the nations of the West acknowledged the greatness of the Roman Emperor.

In later centuries the chivalry of western Europe went forth against the Moslem; but the crusades whose name is so familiar were of far less moment than that crusade against the fire-worshippers which was fought and won long before by the Emperor Heraclius, when the work was not merely to rescue the sanctuary of christian sentiment but to save the centre and bulwark of the christian world. For in the days of Heraclius Constantinople was in far greater peril than in the days of the Comneni, and its fall in the seventh century would have been a far more serious blow to the cause of European civilisation than its fall in the eleventh or the twelfth.

But, in the second place, the Empire was much more than the military guard of the Asiatic frontier; it not only defended but also kept alive the traditions of Greek and Roman culture. We cannot over-estimate the importance of the presence of a highly civilised state for a system of nations which were as yet only beginning to be civilised. The constant intercourse of the Empire with Italy, which until the eleventh century was partly imperial, and with southern Gaul and Spain, had an incalculable influence on the development of the West. Venice, which contributed so much to the growth of western culture,¹

¹ It may be noticed especially that the art of enamelling was carried from Byzantium to Limoges through Venice; Labarte, *Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Age and Renaissance* (Eng. Trans.), p. 142.

was for a long time actually, and for a much longer time nominally, a city of the Roman Empire, and learned what it taught from Byzantium. The Byzantine was the mother of the Italian school of painting, as Greece in old days had been the mistress of Rome in the fine arts; and the Byzantine style of architecture has had perhaps a wider influence than any other. It was to New Rome that Teutonic kings applied when they needed men of learning, and thither students from western countries, who desired a university education, repaired. Nor should Englishmen forget that the man who contributed more than any other individual to the making of the English Church, both by ecclesiastical organisation and by the training of the clergy, was one born in Cilicia and educated at Athens, one who in his youth had rejoiced in the glories of Heraclius and lamented over the first conquests of the Saracen invaders,—the great Theodore of Tarsus. It was, moreover, in the lands ruled by New Rome that old Hellenic culture and the monuments of Hellenic literature were preserved, as in a secure storehouse, to be given at length to the “wild nations” when they had been sufficiently tamed. And in their taming New Rome herself played an indispensable part. The Justinianean law, which still interpenetrates European civilisation, was a product of New Rome.

In the third place, the Roman Empire for many centuries entirely maintained European commerce. This was a circumstance of the greatest importance; but unfortunately it is one of those facts concerning which contemporary historians did not think of leaving records to posterity. The fact that the coins of the Roman Emperors were used throughout Europe in the Middle Ages speaks for itself. To Finlay belongs the credit of having pointed out the extent of the commercial activity of Greeks in the Middle Ages; yet even still the old error is prevalent which regards the Saracens as commanding the commerce of the Mediterranean.¹ The mere circumstance that the law of the Mohammedans forbade the lending of money on interest gave the Greeks a considerable advantage.²

¹ For example, in a lecture of Dr. R. von Scala, *über die wichtigsten Beziehungen des Orients zum Occidente in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Wien, 1887).

² Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 212. We may say with Finlay that in

the seventh, eighth, and following centuries “Constantinople was as much superior to every city in the civilised world, in wealth and commerce, as London now is to other European capitals” (*ib.*)

In the fourth place, the Roman Empire preserved a great idea which influenced the whole course of western European history down to the present day—the idea of the Roman Empire itself. If we look at the ecumenical event of 800 A.D. from a wide point of view, it really resolves itself into this: New Rome bestowed upon the western nations a great idea, which moulded and ordered their future history; she gave back to Old Rome the idea which Old Rome had bestowed upon her five centuries before. In point of actual fact, of course, the title of Emperor was usurped; but the immediate accidents of the transaction do not alter the general truth, that but for the preservation of the Roman Empire and the integrity of New Rome there would have been no Western Roman Empire; if Constantinople and the Empire had fallen, the imperial idea would have been lost in the whirl of the “wild nations.” It is to New Rome that Europeans really owe thanks for the establishment of the principle and the system which brought law and order into the political relations of the West.

Of the incalculable services which the Roman Empire continued to perform for Europe and Christendom after the year 800 A.D. it does not devolve upon me to speak here; the diffusion of culture and Christianity among the southern and eastern Slaves, the missions of St. Methodius and St. Cyril, all that Russia owes to New Rome, belong to the history of the “Eastern Roman Empire,” as it may fairly be called.

From the fifth century, when Rome on the Tiber ceased to be an imperial capital, until the fifteenth, when Rome on the Bosphorus fell, the Empire continued to represent the principle of civilisation; for a great part of that time it was the bulwark of Europe. Philosophers know that change is inconceivable without a principle of permanence, and cosmos impossible without an idea; and historians must recognise that the development of the German nations in the West, by which from a state of almost primitive barbarity they attained so soon to a highly complex civilisation, was rendered possible by the presence of the Roman Empire in their midst. Such was the function of the Roman Empire in Europe; it represented the principle of stability, and was a perpetual link between the present and the past—a permanent background, we might say, in a theatre of changes and commotions. With the name of

Rome, whether borne by Romani or by Romaioi, were indissolubly joined the ideas of law and culture (*civilitas*), and in the days of the Othos or of the Karlings, as in the days of Alaric, the true Roman Empire deserved and commanded the respect of the wild peoples ;

discite vesanae Romam non temnere gentes.

INDEX

- AACHEN, cathedral of, ii. 45 ; 483, 510, 531
- Abactis*, i. 46
- Abandanes, i. 433
- Abasgi, in reign of Justinian I., i. 444 *sqq.* ; ii. 55, 234, 330, 374 *sqq.*
- Abbas, ii. 407
- Abbasid dynasty, ii. 409
- Abd Allah Ibn Kais, ii. 310
- Abd Allah Ibn Zubeir, ii. 314
- Abd Allah Al Saffah, ii. 407
- Abd Almalik, caliph, ii. 314, 320-322, 353, 362
- Abd Elkebir, ii. 491
- Abd Errahman, ii. 306, 310, 311
- Abib, general of Muaviah, ii. 289
- Abrasax, ii. 54
- Absolutism, i. 351, 352
- Abu Bekr, ii. 262, 263, 267
- Abu Djafar Manssur, *see* Manssur
- Abu Mûsa, ii. 291
- Abu Sarh, ii. 288
- Abu Ubeida, ii. 263, 267, 268
- Abundantius, i. 70, 73
of Palermo, ii. 316
- Abydos, i. 89, 478 ; count of, ii. 205, 345 ; theme, 401
- Abyssinia, ii. 96, 261
- Acacius, bishop of Amida, i. 305
of Beroea, i. 96
general of Justin II., ii. 100
- Patriarch, i. 192, 193, 251
- Acatiri, i. 220
- Acerenza, ii. 146
- Achilles Tatius, i. 322, 324
- Acris, i. 299
- Acroinon, ii. 382, 406
- Actresses, ii. 59
- Ad Decimum, battle of, i. 386
- Adad, i. 470
- Addaeus, *pr. pr.*, i. 346
senator, ii. 71
- Addua, battle of, i. 281
- Adeodatus, Pope, ii. 315
- Adiabene, ii. 112
- Adjnadein, battle of, ii. 263
- Adornahun (Adarmanes), ii. 99, 104, 105
- Adramyttium, ii. 372
- Aegean*, theme of the, ii. 344, 351
- Aegidius, defends Arelate, i. 239 ; victorious at Orleans, 242 ; death, 242, 243 ; opposes Childeric, 282, 283
- Aelia Capitolina, i. 132
- Aelia Flaccilla, i. 62, 76
- Aemilia, the, i. 120 ; ii. 146, 148, 303
- Aemilius of Beneventum, i. 105
- Aenus, i. 481 ; ii. 23
- Aerarium*, i. 44
- Aerikon*, i. 336
- Aesis, ii. 146
- Aetherius, ii. 71
- Aetius, general of Valentinian III., i. 33 ; supports John, 159, 160 ; parents, 160 ; at war with Boniface, 169 ; wars in Gaul, 171, 172 ; position and character, 172, 173 ; leader against the Huns, 175 *sqq.* ; alleged inactivity, 179 ; death, 181 ; 216, 235, 279, 329, 330
- Aetius, eunuch, ii. 482, 488, 489, 490
- Africa, revolt of, under Gildo, i. 76, 77 ; Heraclian in, 118, 119, 146 ; Vandals in, 162, 167 ; conquest of, 169, 170 ; unique position, 170, 171 ; schisms in, 193, 194 ; pirates in, 244 ; persecution, 245 ; reconquered by Romans, 385 *sqq.* ; Church of, ii. 5, 31 ; administration under Romans, 34, 35 ; fortunes of, 36 ; 37, 152, 153, 194, 212 ; Heraclius designs to migrate to, 218, 219 ; government of, 345, 347 ; Saracen conquest, 353, 354
- Africa, province, i. 170
vicariate of, ii. 34
- Agallianus, ii. 351, 438
- Agapetus, Pope, ii. 3, 5
- Agapius, ii. 183

- Agatha, ii. 160
 Agathias, criticises Procopius, i. 305 ;
 on Justinian, 352 ; dates, 454 ; 471,
 473, 474, 478 ; ii. 48 ; on Chosroes,
 113 ; style, 169, 177 ; notice of,
 179-181 ; poetry, 185
 Agatho, Pope, ii. 309, 315 *sqq.*, 391
Agentes in rebus, i. 45, 46
 Agila, i. 415
 Agilulf, ii. 146, 148, 151, 152
 Agintheus, *mag. mil.*, i. 213
 Agnellus, ii. 45, 46, 301, 366
 Aidoing, i. 267 (= Edwin)
 Aietes (*persona ficta*), i. 352, 455
 Aigan, i. 375, 376
 Aimoin, i. 482
 Aistulf, ii. 500-502
 Akamer, ii. 483
ἀκάτωρος ὕμνος, ii. 241
ἀκίαι, ii. 172
 Akys, ii. 120, 131
 Al Wakidi, ii. 263, 265, 270
 Alamundar, or Mondir (529 A.D.), i.
 373, 377, 419, 432
 Alamundar, or Al Mundar (632 A.D.), ii.
 262
 Alans, i. 31, 118 ; cross Rhine, 138-
 140, 142, 149, 151, 160 ; ethnical
 position, 167 ; on Loire, *ib.* ; mercen-
 aries, 172 ; Caucasian, 462 ; ii. 20 ;
 entertain Leo the Isaurian, 375 *sqq.*
 Alaric I., in Greece, i. 64-69 ; in Italy,
 108 *sqq.* ; death, 121, 140-143, 163
 Alaric II, i. 284
 Albania, ii. 110, 232 ; Heraclius in, 232
 sqq. ; Leontius in, 321
 Albanians, ii. 15, 331
 Alboin, ii. 115, 145-147
 Aldhelm, St., ii. 392
 Alemanni (Alamanni), settled in Italy, i.
 32, 138 ; on the Rhine, 171 ; 240 ;
 subdued by Franks, 284 ; 286 ; invade
 Italy, 414
 Alemannus, i. 357, 359
 Aleppo (Beroea), ii. 266
 Alexander the Great, i. 30, 36, 322 ; his
 empire, a warning, ii. 111 ; Heraclius
 compared to, 273
 Alexander, "Scissors" (*Psalis*), i. 405
 Alexander Severus, law of, i. 29, 44, 48 ;
 eclecticism, 315
 Alexander, officer of Priscus, ii. 129,
 131, 132
 Alexander, supporter of Phocas, ii. 91,
 92, 200
 Alexandria, corn supplies from, i. 127 ;
 description of, 207 ; life at, 208 *sqq.* ;
 culture in, 317 ; 473 ; ii. 6 ; revolt in,
 201 ; taken by Saracens, 271 ; popula-
 tion of, 272, 288, 308
 Alexius I. (Comnenus), i. 301
 Alexius Mouselé, ii. 484, 486
 Alfred, king, ii. 189
 Ali, caliph, ii. 291
 Aligern, i. 414
Allectio, i. 46
 Allobich, *com. domest.*, i. 115, 141
ἄλογος, ii. 366
 Altinum, Alaric at, i. 115
 Altruism, i. 22
 Alypia, i. 247, 329
 Alzeco, ii. 333
 Amadi (*Storia di Cipro*), ii. 356
 Amalaberga, i. 382
 Amalafrida, i. 382
 Amalasuntha, murder of, i. 359 ; 382-
 384, 386, 388, 389, 391 ; ii. 186
 Amalfi, ii. 148, 439
 Amari, ii. 297, 310, 353, 406
 Amasea, ii. 368
 Amasaspes, i. 419
Ambo, ii. 50
 Ambrosius, St., quoted, i. 61, 185, 187 ;
 hymns, 330 ; ii. 136 ; music, 156
 Amelia, ii. 499
 Amida, i. 305 ; taken by Persians, 307,
 308 ; retaken, 309, 373 ; ii. 104, 106,
 108 ; taken by Persians, 200 ; re-
 covered, 235, 268
 Ammatas, i. 386
 Ammianus Marcellinus, quoted, i. 32 ;
 on Isaurians, 70 ; style, 314
Ammissionum officium, i. 45
 Ammonius, author of a poem on Gainas,
 i. 90
 Amorium, ii. 306, 307, 378 *sqq.*, 451,
 492
 Amorkesos, i. 231, 232
 Ampelios, palace, ii. 91
 Ampelius, son of Attalus, i. 120
 Amru, conqueror of Egypt, ii. 263, 269-
 272, 288, 291
 Anargyri, church of the, ii. 41
ἀνασκάπτω, ii. 59
 Anastasia (Ino), ii. 79, 165
 sister of Theodora, i. 363
 wife of Constantine IV, ii. 309, 325,
 365
 Anastasiopolis, i. 309, 482 ; ii. 23
 Anastasius I., Emperor, i. 136, 161,
 187 ; religious attitude, 192, 193,
 253 ; relations to Theodoric, 282 ;
 to Chlodwig, 284 ; reign, 290
 sqq. ; Persian war, 307 *sqq.*, 334,
 335 ; reserve fund, 360, 384 ; ii. 81 ;
 1, 2, 3, 22 ; austerity, 56, 57, 324
 Anastasius II, Emperor, ii. 351, 352 ;
 reign, 370 *sqq.* ; length of reign, 383 ;
 401, 408, 409
 Anastasius, chancellor of St. Sophia, ii.
 216
 Pope, i. 193
 Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 436,
 451, 463

- Anastasius, grandson of Empress Theodora, i. 407
 bearer of letter to Chosroes, i. 420, 422
 quaestor, ii. 69
 Patriarch of Antioch, ii. 200
 author of *Lib. Pontif.*, ii. 207, 498, etc.
 anti-monothelete (two), ii. 298
Anatolic district (theme), ii. 308, 321, 342-346; origin of, 347, 348, 350, 351, 378, 381, 406
 Anatolius, *curator*, i. 474
 general, i. 163; Peace of, 165
mag. mil., ii. 158
 Patriarch, i. 228
 Anaxagoras, i. 5
 Anaxilla, i. 162
 Anchialus, ii. 120, 124, 125, 127, 361, 474
 Ancona, i. 394, 412; ii. 146, 442, 502
 Ancyra, resort of Arcadius, i. 82, 91
 Andalusia, ii. 35
 Andreas, a Saracen interpreter, ii. 108
 bishop of Crete, ii. 368
 chamberlain, ii. 305, 307
 of Crete, life of St., ii. 460, 464
 slays Constans II, ii. 302
ἀνερῶν, ii. 518
 Angilas, i. 458, 461
 Angles, the, ii. 32, 33
 Anglon, i. 436, 437
 Anicia, daughter of Olybrius, ii. 52
 Anician house, i. 118, 242
 Anna Comnena, ii. 170
 Anna, daughter of Leo III, ii. 409
Annona, i. 49
Anonymus Valesii (chronicle of), quoted, i. 252, etc.; who? 253; extracts from, 280, 281
 Ansimuth, ii. 122
 Ansinon, ii. 119
 Antai (Wends), ii. 21, 22, 115, 116, 142
ἀντελῖνος, ii. 172
 Anthemius, Emperor, education, etc., i. 206, 207, 247; elevation, 243; marriage, 244; unpopular, 247; hostile to Ricimer, 247; fell, 248, 274, 329
pr. pr. Or., i. 119, 123; administration, 126, 127; 135, 165, 244
 of Tralles, i. 473; ii. 40, 48, 49, 52, 194
 Anthimus, *nobilissimus*, ii. 458, 459, 478, 481, 482
 Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 3, 5
 physician, i. 264
ἀνθύπατος, ii. 172
 Anthusa, ii. 458, 459
 nun, ii. 458
ἀντικένσωpes, ii. 172
Antimission, ii. 478
 Antioch (in Syria), i. 50; besieged by Huns, 70; Eudocia at, 131; description of, 211, 212; earthquakes, 231; Chosroes at, 423 *sqq.*, 473; ii. 98, 99, 168; revolt of Jews in. 200; taken by Saracens, 267
 Antioch (Pisidian), ii. 368
 Antiochus, consul, i. 130
 keeper of State papers, ii. 369
proc. of Achaia, i. 67
log. cursus, ii. 468
 Antipatra, ii. 76
Antiphonetes, ii. 432, 441
 Antivari, ii. 278
 Antonina, wife of Belisarius, i. 347, 360, 364, 385, 407, 408, 410, 482; ii. 61
 Antoninus, bishop of Ephesus, i. 96
 Antonius, Russian monk, i. 55
 Anusan, ii. 492
 Apamea, i. 425; ii. 99, 306
ἀπελάται and *ἀπελατικόν*, ii. 312, 356
 Apelles, professor, i. 128
 Apetiani, i. 420
 Aphraates, ii. 106, 110
 Aphrodisias, i. 478
 Aphthartodocetism, ii. 6, 7
 Aphumon, fortress, ii. 108
ἀπλκεύω, ii. 173
 Apollinaris of Laodicea, i. 189
 Apollodorus, *spectabilis*, i. 131
 Apollonias, in Thrace, ii. 360
 Appian, ii. 178
 Appiaria, ii. 123
ἀπρόβιρος, ii. 484
 Apsarus, i. 455
 Apsich, ii. 142
 Apsikal, i. 292, 378
 Apsilians, i. 444, 446, 463, 465, 469; ii. 377
 Apsimar, ii. 351, 352, 354, *see* Tiberius III
 Apulia, i. 405; ii. 439, 440
 Aqua Virgo, i. 393
 Aqueduct of Valens restored, ii. 457
 Aquileia, i. 51, 115, 159, 179; ii. 6, 146
 Aquitaine, Goths in, i. 147 *sqq.*, 167; Franks in, 397; ii. 159, 504
 Aquitania Secunda, i. 152
 Arabia, before Mohammed, ii. 258, 259
Arabia, duke of, ii. 26; moderator of, 27
 Arabia, daughter of Justin II, i. 54; ii. 71
 Arabissus, ii. 29, 82; buildings at, 84
 Arabs, Scenite, i. 295; ii. 77; movements of, 247
 Aradus, ii. 289, 290
 Ararat, Mount, ii. 235
 Aratius, i. 477
 Arausio, ii. 512

- Araxes, river, ii. 110, 232, 233; battle of, 233
- Arba, river, ii. 242
- Arbe, island, ii. 277
- Arbela, ii. 242
- Arbogast, i. 61, 117
- Arca, ii. 29
- Arcadia, princess, i. 123; death, 135
wife of Zeno, i. 250, 259
- Arcadiopolis, i. 164, 263; ii. 475
- Arcadius, Emperor, i. 61 *sqq.*, 68, 70, 75, 76, 83, 86, 90, 100, 101, 105; death, 106, 112, 123, 200, 202 *sqq.*, 304; pillar of, ii. 52; 223, 423
bishop of Cyprus, ii. 250
pr. pr., i. 259
- Archaeopolis, in Colchia, i. 446; siege of, 460 *sqq.*; ii. 376
- Archelaus, *pr. pr. Africae*, ii. 34
- Architecture, ii. 41 *sqq.*
- Arculphus, St., ii. 393
- Ardaburius, father of Aspar, i. 158, 159, 228, 305
son of Aspar, i. 230, 248
- Ardagast, ii. 119, 128, 129, 144
- Ardalio, battle of, i. 77
- Ardaric, king of Gepids, i. 261
- Ardazanes, i. 305
- Ardica*, ii. 46
- Arelate, i. 140; siege of, 411 A.D., 142, 144, 148, 153; fortunate site and opulence, 154; attacked by Visigoths, 172, 176; Avitus proclaimed at, 236, 237; games at, 240; defended by Aegidius, 239; attacked by Chlodwig, 284, 398; ii. 153; a Saracen city, 512
- Arendt, i. 177
- Areobindus, general of Theodosius II, i. 162, 163, 165
great-grandson of Aspar, i. 308
Gothic champion, i. 305
pr. Africae, i. 388; ii. 35
pr. pr., i. 346
- Arethas, i. 430, 431, 432
- Argek, i. 437
- Argos, taken by Alaric, i. 67
- Argosy*, derivation of, ii. 277
- Ariadne, wife of Zeno, i. 230, 233, 251, 252; hostile to Illus, 256, 258, 290, 302
- Arianism, i. 15; among the Germans, 34, 79; in Byzantium, 87, 229; laws against, 117, 185; controversy, 187, 188; in Africa, 245; 283, 382, 384, 406, 416; persecuted by Tiberius II, ii. 81, 153, 165
- Ariarathea, ii. 29
- Arichis, ii. 147
prince of Beneventum, ii. 505
- Ariminum, Alaric at, i. 115, 116;
Attalus discrowned at, 120; battle of
- Aetius and Boniface at, 169; John at, 393, 394; ii. 146, 442
- Arintheus, i. 162
- Aristobulus, officer of Maurice, ii. 109
- Aristophanes, ii. 185
- Aristotelianism, medieval, ii. 190
- Arius, i. 198
- Armati* (*dῆδροι*), ii. 344
- Armatoli*, ii. 312
- Armbrust, L., ii. 37, 146, 158, 500, 501, 504
- Armenia, monophysitism in, i. 191; *causa belli*, 304 *sqq.*, 377; history after 532 A.D., 419 *sqq.*, 441; Church of, ii. 6; wars in, 101 *sqq.*; Heraclius in, 232 *sqq.*; monophysitism, 250; Saracens in, 288; tributary to Saracens, 289; tribute divided, 320, 322; invaded, 376
- Armenia, Fourth*, ii. 321, 355
- Armeniac provinces, arranged by Justinian, ii. 28, 29
- Armeniac Theme*, ii. 340, 342-344; origin of, 346, 347, 350, 351
- 'Αρμενιακοί*, ii. 306, 340, 342, 348, 407, 409, 485
- Armenians, in Cyprus, ii. 251; influence of, in the Empire, 452; in Thrace, 525
- Armorica, i. 177, 242
- Army, decline in sixth century, i. 471, 479; ii. 73; reform by Maurice, 104; decline under Phocas, 212, 420
- Arnegisclus, i. 165
- Arsaber, ii. 452
- Arsaces, conspirator, i. 476
- Art, Byzantine, ii. 40 *sqq.*
- Artabanes, i. 356, 388, 475, 476
Persian deserter, i. 443
- Artana, river, Slavic settlement near, ii. 471
- Artavasdos, ii. 378, 409; revolt of, 450 *sqq.*
general of Anatolics, ii. 479
- Artaxata, i. 126
- Artemidorus, delegate of Zeno, i. 267
- Artemisium, near Salonica, ii. 23
- Artemius, ii. 352, 370, *see* Anastasius II
- Arverni, i. 275, 397; ii. 159, 160
- Arzamōn (fortress),¹ river of, ii. 106, 199
- Arzamon, river, ii. 106
- Arzanene, i. 304, 308, 309; ii. 98, 100, 104, 107, 235
- Asclepigeneia, daughter of the philosopher Plutarch, i. 12, 13

¹ τὸ 'Αρζάμων (Theophylactus), τὸ 'Αρζάμων (Theophanes). The defeat of Leontius (*see* vol. ii. p. 199) took place at Arzamōn according to our texts of Theophanes, but one MS. gives 'Αρζάμων and Anastasius has Ardamum. There can be no doubt that the scene of Leontius' defeat was close to the scene of Philippicus' victory.

- Ascripticii*, i. 28; ii. 419
Asdingi, i. 151, 152
Asémús, in Lower Moesia, i. 164; ii. 132, 133
A secretis (ἀσηκρήτης), ii. 173
Asia, ii. 382
Askani, i. 375, 376
ἀσπάλανθον, ii. 277
Aspalius, i. 256
Aspar, general, i. 135, 158, 159; in East, 163, 165; in Africa, 168, 169, 176; as emperor-maker, 228; character, 229; fall, 230, 244; compared to Ricimer, 245, 247, 263
Asperuch, ii. 332
Assidonia, i. 415, 416
Assyria, i. 431; Heraclius' campaign in, ii. 241 *sqq.*
Astacus, i. 301
Asterius, *com. Hisp.*, i. 155, 236
Astica, region of, ii. 119, 120, 122
Astura, i. 287
Athalaric, illegitimate son of Heraclius, ii. 223, 266
 grandson of Theodoric, i. 383, 384, 389
Athanagild, i. 415; ii. 165
Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, i. 185, 187
 Patriarch of Antioch, ii. 251
 senator, sent to Colchis, i. 455, 456
Athaulf, count of domestics, i. 117, 121; king, 137; reign, 144-149
Athenaeum (at Rome), i. 47
Athenais, *see* Eudocia
Athene, of Lindos, the, i. 252; temples of, ii. 41
Athenodorus, Isaurian, i. 292, 293
Athens, i. 3; schools at, 9; Alaric at, 67, 105, 124, 128; in fifth century, 316; schools closed, 352; ii. 1, 175; walls renewed, 24; marbles obtained from, 49; churches at, 42, 185, 186; in seventh century, 280; visited by Constans, 300, 392
Athingani, ii. 397
Athos, book of Mount, on painting, ii. 53
Athyras, fort, i. 164
 river, i. 479
Atmeidan, i. 56
Atrôa, ii. 485
Atropatene, *see* Azerbiyan
Attalia, ii. 350, 356
Attalus, created tyrant by Alaric, i. 117, 118 *sqq.*; deposed, 120, 147, 148; elevated by Athaulf, 148; fate, 150
Atticus, Patriarch, i. 123, 124, 189
Attila, i. 125, 126; Marcan's attitude to, 136, 160; in Illyricum, 162 *sqq.*; empire of, 166, 173; relations with the West, 174 *sqq.*; invades Gaul, 175 *sqq.*; defeated, 177 *sqq.*; death, 180, 213 *sqq.*; at home, 221-223; manners, 222, 223
Augofleda, i. 382
Augustatica, ii. 80
Augusteum (Augustaiôn), i. 54, 342 *sqq.*; ii. 328
Augusteus, triklinos of, ii. 409
Augustina, ii. 286
Augustine, St., i. 3; *de civitate Dei*, 8, 312; attitude to art, 10, 12; passage quoted, 18; 121, 168, 192-195; spirit, 311, 312, 330; ii. 150, 156
Augustine, missionary, ii. 153
Augustus (Αὐγουστος) and *Augusta*, ii. 174
Aurelian, monastic reformer, i. 398
 Emperor, i. 29; ii. 51
 (*pr. pr.*), i. 74, 80-83, 86, 87
Aureliani (Orleans), i. 177; battle of, 242; under Franks, 397
Aurelius, Marcus, reign of, i. 4, 6, 25, 31, 47
Aurum coronarium, i. 41
 oblaticium, i. 41
Ausonius, poet, i. 147, 154
Austrasia, i. 397; ii. 159, 160, 163
Austria (Lombard), ii. 513, 514
Autharis, ii. 147, 148, 151, 164
αὐτοκράτωρ, ii. 173
Autonomos, martyr, church of, ii. 89
Auxentius, Mount, ii. 464
Auximum (Osimo), i. 394-396, 407; ii. 147, 442
Avars, ii. 22, 23; embassy to Justin II, 72, 77, 84, 86, 97, 100, 105, 112; history of, 114; come to Europe, 115; relations to Lombards, *ib.*; relations with the Empire, and wars, etc., 116 *sqq.*, 146, 149; Heraclius' relations with, 222, 223, 237; besiege Constantinople, 239 *sqq.*, 278; called Ὀμβροί, 279, 331; revolt of Bulgarians against, 333, 450-452, 513, 536
Aventia, ii. 300
Avienus, i. 179
Avignon, ii. 163
Avitochol, ii. 332
Avitus, Emperor, i. 176; elevation, 236; fall, 237; political position, 239, 329; on Suevian coins, 405
Axum, kingdom of, i. 469, 470
Azerbiyan, i. 434; ii. 110; Heraclius in, 231 *sqq.*; Heraclius harries, 238, 241
BAALBEC, *see* Heliopolis
Baanes (Vartan), ii. 264
 (*Seven Devils*), ii. 355
Babas, i. 444, 446, 450
Babylonia invaded by Romans, ii. 102, 103

- Baduarius, ii. 71
 Baduila, *see* Totila
 Baeterrae, ii. 512
 Baetica, i. 151, 152, 155
 Bagdad founded, ii. 529, 530
 Bagradas, river, i. 388
 Baian, ii. 115, 118, 119, 276, 332
 (Paganos), ii. 472, 473
 Bajunètes, ii. 280
 Bakers in Constantinople, ii. 528
 Balas, Persian king 483 A.D., i. 306
 Balearic islands, ii. 32
 Balgitzis, ii. 359
 Ballomer, ii. 161, 163
 Ballurus, ii. 23
 βάνδον, ii. 168, 171, 172
 Barasbakurios, ii. 365
 βάρβαρος, name, ii. 174
 Barca, ii. 288
 Barcelona (Barcino), i. 149
 Bardanes, ii. 351, *see* Philippicus
 rebels against Nicephorus, ii. 452, 487
 Bardas, patrician, ii. 475
 Baresmanas, i. 375, 376
 Bargus, i. 73
 Barium (Bari), ii. 447, 448
 Barkaine, ii. 288
 Barlaam and Josaphat, ii. 532 *sqq.*
 Barletta, ii. 273, 448
 Baronius, i. 357; ii. 318
 Basil I., Emperor, i. 199; ii. 31, 525
 Basil, St., ii. 524
 duke of Rome, ii. 441
 of Gortyn, ii. 317
 Trikakkabos, ii. 498
 βασιλεύς, ii. 173
 Basilica (code), ii. 324, 416, 417
 Basilicas, ii. 41, 42, 44, 46
 Basilides, gnostic, ii. 54
 quaestor, i. 342
 Basiliscus, Emperor, i. 191; commander
 against Vandals, 244 *sqq.*; usurpation
 and fall, 251; fate, 252, 254, 263,
 265; ii. 4
 Basilius, count, i. 373
 Bassra, ii. 269
 Bassus, *pr. pr.*, i. 346
 Bastarnae, i. 31, 32, 62; ii. 17
 Batbaian, ii. 332
 Bauto, i. 61, 63
 Bavaria, ii. 151
 Bazanis, ii. 28
 Bede, ii. 392
 Bederiana, ii. 7
 Bekker, I., on Justinian's reign, i. 353
 Belegezêtes, ii. 280, 338
 Бѣлградѣ, ii. 14
 Belisarius, origin of, i. 341; derivation
 of name, *ib.*, ii. 17; at Nika revolt, i.
 341, 344, 345, 360; general in Persian
 war, 372 *sqq.*; in Vandalic war, 385
 sqq.; in Gothic war, 389 *sqq.*, 407 *sqq.*;
 mag. mil. per. Or., 423; in Persian
 war, 430 *sqq.*; saves Constantinople
 from the Huns, 479 *sqq.*; disgrace,
 482; death, *ib.*; legends about, *ib.*;
 ii. 33, 178, 179
 Bellini, Gentile, ii. 52
 Belzetia, ii. 483
 Benedict, St., i. 397, 398, 407; ii. 150,
 156
 Benefices, ii. 468
 Beneventum, ii. 146; duchy of, 147,
 149, 153, 300-302, 444 *sqq.*, 504;
 principality of, 505, 514
 Benilus, i. 444, 446, 450
 Benjamin, ii. 247
 Beregaba, ii. 334, 471
 Bergamo, duchy of, ii. 149
 Berichus, Scythian, i. 222
 Beroea (Aleppo), Chosroes at, i. 423; ii.
 266, 267
 (in Macedonia), Goths in, i. 262;
 ii. 280
 Berytus, law school at, i. 47, 369, 473
 Berzêtes, ii. 280, 474
 Berzetia, ii. 474
 Beser, ii. 430
 Bessarabia, ii. 331
 Bessas, general, i. 409, 444, 445; at
 Petra, 446 *sqq.*, 450, 454
 Bessi, ii. 15
 Bieda, ii. 499
 Bigilas, i. 213 *sqq.*
 Bilbeis, ii. 270, 272
 Billimer, ally of Ricimer, i. 248
 Biraparach, castle of, i. 307
 Biscop, Benedict, ii. 392
 Bisér, ii. 451
 Bithynia, ii. 344, 464
 Blachernae, church of, derivation, i. 52,
 53; ii. 230, 316, 360, 373, 464
 Bladastes, ii. 163
 Blasphemy, laws against, ii. 61
 Bleda, Hun king, i. 162, 216
 Bleschanes, i. 431
 Blues and Greens, i. 338 *sqq.*; ii. 56 *sqq.*,
 79, 87, 89-91, 168, 181
 Bluhme, Fr., i. 368
 Βόανος, ii. 276
 Bobium, ii. 502
 Boccaccio, i. 321
 Bücking, ii. 324
 Boethius, man of letters, notice of, ii.
 189 *sqq.*
 prefect, slain by Valentinian III,
 i. 182
 Bogomiles, ii. 397
 Bollandists, the, ii. 464
 Bolsena, lake, i. 389
 Bolyars, ii. 336, 474
 Bomarzo, ii. 499
 Boniface, apostle of Germans, ii. 501

- Boniface, count, defends Massilia, i. 147 ;
com. Afr., 156 ; apparent revolt, 157,
 163 ; career of, 168 *sqq.*, 172
- Bononia, in Italy, Alaric at, i. 115, 120 ;
 ii. 502
 on Danube, ii. 120, 126
- Bonosus, ii. 200, 201, 206
- Bonus, patrician, ii. 225, 239
 protects Danube, ii. 115, 116
- Bookolabras*, ii. 120
- Boor, C. de, ii. 216, 254, 409, 473, 518,
 519
- Bopdōvys*, ii. 57, 168
- Boskytion, ii. 522, 523
- Bosnia, ii. 277
- Boso (Gunthramn), ii. 160-163
- Bosos, ii. 126
- Bosphorus (or Bosporos), the, ii. 224
- Bosporus, i. 470 ; ii. 357-359
- Bosra, ii. 42
- Bostra, ii. 262, 263
- Bouquet, Dom., ii. 164 *sqq.*
- Bourges, ii. 163
- Bous, place in Constantinople, ii. 206,
 330
- Bovianum, ii. 333
- Bracara, battle of, i. 155, 237
- Bradley, Mr., ii. 513
- Brescia, *see* Brixia
- Breviarium* of Alaric II, i. 381
- Brisa, ii. 28
- Britain, i. 111 ; lost, 142, 143, 285 ;
 legends of, ii. 32, 33 ; conversion,
 150, 153 ; study of Greek in, 392
- Britannia = Brittany, ii. 32
- Brittia, ii. 32
- Brixia, ii. 149
- βροκδάκας*, ii. 19
- Brsjaci, ii. 474
- Brumalia, ii. 395
- Brunhilda, ii. 153-155, 160, 161, 163
- Bruta*, feast of, i. 296
- Bruttii, Alaric in, i. 121, 405 ; ii. 147, 148
- Bryas, ii. 403
- Bryce, Mr., i. 334 ; ii. 17, 506, 507
- Bua, ii. 276
- Bucelin, i. 414
- Bucellarii*, ii. 205, 343, 344, 350, 351,
 407, 451, 479
- Bucentus, river, i. 122
- Bucinator, ii. 290
- Buddha, ii. 532
- Buga*, ii. 275, 276
- Bulgaria, Great,¹ ii. 331, 332, 337, 338
- Bulgarians, first appearance of, i. 272,
 285, 294, 297, 299, 342 ; ii. 16, 20,
- 21, 22, 31, 133, 239, 309, 369 ; Jus-
 tinian II at war with, 321 ; foundation
 of Bulgarian kingdom, 331 *sqq.* ; kings,
 332 ; Slavised, 335 ; fight against the
 Saracens, 404 ; commercial treaty
 with Empire, 470 ; history in eighth
 century, 470 *sqq.*, 511, 515
- Bulla Regia, i. 386
- Bunusus, *see* Rabia
- Burckhardt, J., quoted, i. 41
- Burdigala (Bordeaux), i. 147, 152, 275 ;
 ii. 163
- Burdyan*, ii. 404
- Burgundia, kingdom of, ii. 159, 160,
 161, 163
- Burgundians, i. 144, 146, 153 ; first
 kingdom, 171 ; second kingdom, *ib.* ;
 support Avitus, 239, 280 ; subdued
 by Franks, 284 ; kings of, 382 ; in
 Italy, 395
- Burniché, *see* Jahja
- Busas, soldier at Appiaria, ii. 123
- Busbek, ii. 513
- Bussora, ii. 269
- Busur, ii. 306
- Buzes, general, i. 374, 375, 420, 422 *sqq.*,
 463
- Byrides, ii. 205
- Byzacena* (or Byzacium), province, i.
 170 ; ii. 34
- Byzantine art, ii. 40 *sqq.*
- Byzantinism, i. 72 ; ii. 40
- Byzantium, i. 39 ; advantages of situa-
 tion, 51, 52 ; description of, 52 *sqq.* ;
 characteristics of its history, ii. 11, 12
- CADESIA, battle of, ii. 268
- Cadisenes, i. 376
- Caesar*, title, ii. 173
- Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza), i. 140
- Caesarea, Cappadocia, i. 473 ; ii. 289,
 290, 405
- Thessaly, ii. 23
- Palestine, ii. 311
- Caesaria, sister of Anastasius I., i. 293
- Caesarius, patrician, i. 417
 monastic reformer, i. 398
 harbour of, ii. 205
- Caesaropapism, i. 105 ; ii. 1, 3, 5, 7, 67
- Cairo, ii. 271
- Calabria, i. 405 ; ii. 302, 423 ; change
 in meaning of, 439 ; church of, 446,
 448 ; plague in, 453
- Calapodius, i. 340 ; ii. 57
- Caligula, i. 338
- Caliphates of Bagdad and Cordova, ii.
 510, 511
- Callicratea, ii. 89
- Callimachus, i. 322
- Callinice, gate of, ii. 365
- Callinicum, i. 126, 377 ; battle of, 378,
 379, 434 ; ii. 105

¹ Called Black Bulgaria by the Bulgarians of Moesia, who called their own kingdom White Bulgaria. *White*, like *great*, was used of the most important country ; the original settlement on the Volga was superseded, as it were, by the settlement on the Danube.

- Callinicus, patrician, ii. 69
 exarch, ii. 152
 inventor of Greek fire, ii. 311, 319
 Patriarch, ii. 326, 329, 361
 Calliopus, exarch, ii. 294
 Callis, ii. 146
 Calor, river, ii. 301
 Calvinism, i. 195
 Calvomonte, ii. 122
 Campania, i. 277 ; change in meaning,
 ii. 38, 147, 503
 Candaira, Mount, i. 271
 Candidian, i. 158
 Candidus, bishop of Sergiopolis, i. 422,
 432
 historian, i. 278, 325, 328
Canonicarii, i. 302
 Cantacuzenos, John, ii. 238
 Capitolium (Capitoline Aule), ii. 184
 Cappadocia, overrun by Isaurians, i. 70,
 102 ; proconsul of, ii. 28, 103, 199 ;
 army in, 210, 212, 216, 228 ; theme
 of, 340, 351 ; in Anatolic theme, 344-
 346, 348 ; Moslemah in, 381, 492
 Capua, i. 414 ; county of, ii. 301
 Capus, ii. 23
 Caputvada, i. 386
Carabi, ii. 315
 Caracalla, i. 26, 390 ; ii. 323
Caraxare, ii. 161
 Cardam, ii. 475, 476
 Caria, ii. 28
 Carinthia, ii. 274
 Carinus, i. 297
 Carlyle, Thos., ii. 259
 Carniola, ii. 274
 Carpathus, transport station, i. 127
 Carpi, settlements of, i. 32 ; ii. 16
 Carpilio, i. 178
 Carrahae, i. 439
 Carthage, i. 146, 169 ; taken by Vandals,
 170 ; by Belisarius, 386, 387 ; ii. 34,
 203, 285, 288 ; recovered from Sara-
 cens, 302 ; finally captured, 353
 Carthago, Nova (Carthagenae), i. 146,
 240, 415 ; ii. 31, 216, 218
 Caspian gates, i. 69, 425
 Sea, trade route, ii. 63, 96
 Cassandra, ii. 21, 23
 Cassian, i. 95, 195, 330
 Cassino, Monte, i. 397, 398 ; ii. 147
 Cassiodorus, i. 163 ; chronicle of, 281,
 368, 381 ; ii. 157 ; notice of, 186 *sqq.*
Castaldi of Lombards, ii. 313
 Castinus, general, i. 155, 156, 157, 158,
 159, 168
 Castra Martis, i. 126
Castriani, i. 48
 Castricia, i. 93
 Castus, general, ii. 121, 122, 124
 Cat, word, ii. 254
 Catalaunian Field, battle of the, i. 177, 178
 Catania, i. 385 ; ii. 495
Catepan, ii. 356
 Cathisma, i. 56 ; ii. 70
 Cattaro, ii. 277, 278
 Caucasus, mountains, ii. 376, 377
Cauculus, ii. 295
Cavallarie themes, ii. 355
 Cebrus, river, i. 165
 Cedrenus, George, ii. 207, 226, 281
 Celer, *mag. off.*, i. 309
 Celestius (the Pelagian), i. 194
 Centauropolis, ii. 23
 Cephallenia, ii. 351 ; theme, *ib.*, 357
 Cerasus, ii. 28
 Cesena, i. 394 ; ii. 146, 502
 Cettina, river, ii. 278
 Cettius, Mount, i. 287
 Chalcedon, i. 51, 57, 85-87, 136 ;
 ii. 121, 139 ; Persians at, 199, 203,
 209, 216, 223, 224, 239, 283-285,
 308
 Chalcis, Syria, i. 377, 425 ; ii. 267
 island, ii. 120
Chaldia, theme of, ii. 351
 Chaleb, Saracen admiral, ii. 311
 Chalid, architect, ii. 530
 Chalil, ii. 530
 Chalke, i. 342 ; ii. 409, 432
 Chalkoprateia, church of, i. 56 ; Jews
 in, ii. 55, 433
 Chanaranges, i. 476
 Chares of Lindus, ii. 290
 Charias, ii. 338
 Charibert, ii. 159, 161
 Chariobaudes, i. 113, 139
 Charistic system, the, ii. 467, 468
 Charles Martel, ii. 499, 500, 512, 536
 Charles the Great, ii. 114, 450, 483,
 490, 496, 502 *sqq.* ; crowned Emperor,
 506, 513, 516, 536
Charsianon, theme, ii. 345, 351
 Chassang, Mount, i. 320
 Chatzon, ii. 337
 Chaucer, ii. 189
Chelandia, ii. 363, 403
 Chêng kuan, ii. 64
 Cherso, island, ii. 277
 Cherson, i. 470 ; Martin banished to,
 ii. 296, 351, 357 *sqq.* ; Justinian's ex-
 pedition against, 362 *sqq.*, 478
 Chersonese, Thracian, Huns in, i. 165 ;
 ii. 23
 Chettus, i. 479
 Chilbudius, ii. 20, 21, 115
 Childebert, son of Chlodwig, i. 397
 son of Sigibert, i. 397 ; ii. 126, 160-
 165
 Childeric, i. 282, 283
 last Merovingian king, ii. 500
 Chilperic, ii. 159-161
 China, i. 472 ; ii. 64
 Chinialus, i. 477

- Chiusi, i. 394
 Chlodomer, i. 397
 Chlodwig, conversion to Christianity, i. 17; reign, 283, 284, 382, 397
 Chlojo, i. 171, 282, 283
 Chlomari, ii. 107
 Chlothachar I., i. 397; ii. 146, 159-161
 Chlotsuinda, ii. 146, 164
 Chobus, river, i. 455
 Chorasani, ii. 529
 Chorianes, i. 443
 Choricus, i. 301, 322; ii. 121
 Chorth (= Harith), ii. 77
 Chorutzon, pass of, i. 467
 Chosro-Antiocheia, i. 427
 Chosroes I. (Nushirvan), i. 353, 372; accession, 379, 395, 418; wars with Justinian, 418 *sqq.*; delicate health, 440; wars in Lazica, 441 *sqq.*; royal style, 467, 470; ii. 68, 77, 89, 92, 95-97, 99, 100 *sqq.*; reign and internal policy, 112, 113; death, 105; culture, 175, 176
 Chosroes II (Eberwiz), i. 148; appeals to Maurice, ii. 111; accession, 112, 172; war with Phocas, 198 *sqq.*, 214; cruelty, 217; letter to Heraclius, 220, 228, 231; statue of, 232, 237, 238, 241; flees to Ctesiphon, 242; death, 243, 244; attitude to Mohammed, 261
Chrestianoï and *Chrestos*, in Phrygia, ii. 41
 Christianity, compared to the Renaissance, i. 1; contrasted with Hellenism, 4; attitude to paganism, 9, 10; relations to Stoicism, 6, 7; to Epicureanism, 7, 8; to Neoplatonism, 15, 16; two sides of, 12, 22; influence on society, 17 *sqq.*; relation to Teutonism, 17; a cause of disintegration, 33 *sqq.*
 Christianus, scamar chief, ii. 473
 Christodorus, poet, i. 55, 320; ii. 183
 Christology, i. 188 *sqq.*
 Christophorus, ii. 458, 459, 478, 481, 482
Christus Patiens, i. 319
 Chrobatos, ii. 275, 276
Chronicon Moissiacense, ii. 500
Paschale, see *Paschal Chronicle*
 Chronology, errors in, ii. 422, 425 *sqq.*
 Chrysaphius, i. 134, 135, 191, 338
Chrysargyron, i. 29, 301
 Chrysocheres, ii. 486
 Chrysopolis (Scutari), i. 48; ii. 201, 308, 373, 451
 Chrysostom, Dio, i. 81
 Chrysostom, John, on position of women, i. 20, 34; letters, 70; protects Eutropius, 84, 85; opposes Arians, 87; career, 91 *sqq.*, 187, 197, 198, 200 *sqq.*, 311, 312
Chrysotrichinus, the, ii. 73
 Church, Greek, heterogeneous writings, i. 3
 Church, the, in fourth century, i. 184-188; in fifth century, 188-196
 Churches—
 St. John, i. 88
 SS. Sergius and Bacchus, ii. 42
 St. Peter ad vincula, i. 132
 St. Sophia, see *Sophia*
 St. Irene, see *Irene*
 San Apollinare Nuovo, i. 282; ii. 43, 44
 San Apollinare in Classe, ii. 46, 367
 San Vitale, see *Vitalis*
 San Martino in Caelo Aureo, ii. 44
 St. Mary, in Blachernae, ii. 316
 Holy Apostles, at Constantinople, ii. 273, 319
 Sta. Agatha, at Ravenna, ii. 43
 Sta. Croce, at Ravenna, ii. 44
 San Giovanni Evangelista, at Ravenna, ii. 44
 Eski Djouma, at Salonica, ii. 43
 St. Demetrius, at Salonica, ii. 43, 47
 San Giovanni in Fonte, at Ravenna, ii. 43, 44
 SS. Nazario e Celso, at Ravenna, ii. 44
 St. Euphrasius, at Parenzo, ii. 46
 St. George, at Salonica, ii. 47, 48
 St. Sophia, at Salonica, ii. 52
 St. Maria, in Blachernae, ii. 462
 Ciberis, i. 478
 Cibossa, ii. 396
 Cibra, Pamphylian, ii. 343
 Carian, ii. 343
 Cibraiot, fleet, ii. 311; theme of, 342, 343, 345, 349-351, 354, 406, 407, 446, 452, 492
 Cid, legends of, ii. 406
 Cilicia, ii. 227-229, 236, 322, 344, 355
 Circesium, i. 377, 421
 Circumcellions, the, i. 170, 194
 Circus, factions of, see *Blues and Greens*
 Cirta resists Vandals, i. 169
Clarissimi, change in meaning, i. 39
 Classis (Classe), i. 118; taken by Lombards, ii. 441
 Claudian, Greek poet, i. 320
 Latin poet, Bk. ii. cap. i. *passim*; value of, i. 67, 84, 112, 320, 328
 Claudiopolis, i. 293
 Claudius Gothicus, i. 31, 325
 Claudius I., ii. 174
Cleisurae, ii. 350
 Clement, St., statue of, ii. 498
 Cleopatra, daughter of Maurice, ii. 202
 Clepho, ii. 147
 Clergy in seventh century, ii. 393
 Clinton, Fynes, i. 136

- Clotilda, i. 283
Cochlias, i. 56
 Code of Justinian, i. 365 *sqq.*; ii. 174
 Code of Theodosius, i. 128 *sqq.*, 366, 367; ii. 174
 Codes of Gregorius and Hermogenes, i. 128, 366
Codez Rossanensis, ii. 53
 Codinus quoted, i. 53, 54, 56, etc.; ii. 409
Cohortes and *cohortalini*, i. 45
 Coinage, depreciation of, i. 27, 35; decline of workmanship, ii. 52, 53
 Colchis, i. 427 *sqq.*, 441 *sqq.*
Colonatus, origin of, i. 28; disappearance of, ii. 419 *sqq.*, 527
 Colonea, ii. 28, 306, 309; theme of, 345, 350, 351
Coloni, i. 28, 48
 Colonia (Köln), ii. 161
Colossi, ii. 41; colossus of Rhodes, 290
 Comagenae, i. 287
 Comana, ii. 29
 Combetis, ii. 430
 Comentiolus, ii. 88, 89, 92, 110, 119-122, 124, 138 *sqq.*; executed, 201
Comes, various meanings of, i. 41; ii. 172
 Africae, i. 168
 domorum, i. 44
 Gildon. patr., i. 77
 Justinianus of Phrygia Pac., ii. 26, 27
 of Galatia Prima, ii. 26, 27
 of Third Armenia, ii. 29
 Orientis, i. 46; power reduced, ii. 27
 Ὀψικlov, ii. 342
 rei privatae, i. 40, 44; ii. 173, 324
 sacrae vestis, i. 44
 sacrarum largitionum, i. 40, 44, 46; ii. 172, 324
 sacri patrimonii, ii. 206, 295, 324
 Comiaculum, ii. 502
Comitatenses, i. 48
 Commagene, i. 432; ii. 396, 398, 406
 Commerce, i. 295; ii. 62 *sqq.*, 391, 538
 Commodus, Emperor, i. 227
Conchae, ii. 50
 Concordia, Alaric at, i. 115
 Conon, archbishop, i. 292, 293
 name of Leo III, ii. 388, 430, 436
 St., monks of, i. 341
 Consentia, i. 121; ii. 149
 Consolation, idea of, i. 4 *sqq.*
 Constans I., i. 95
 Constans II (Heraclius Constantine), ii. 284; crowned, 285; = *Constantine*, *ib.*; 286; speech, 287; reign of, 287 *sqq.*; at Phoenix, 290; *Type* of, 293; policy, 297 *sqq.*; death, 302; character and policy, 303 *sqq.*, 325, 339, 424
 Constans, prefect, ii. 203
 son of tyrant Constantine, i. 140-143
 commander in Africa, i. 118, 119
 Constantia, in Cyprus, ii. 289
 (Margus facing), i. 162, 164
 Constantianus, Illyrian, i. 436
 Constantina, wife of Maurice, ii. 82, 85, 89, 92, 201, 202
 Constantina, in Arzanene (also called Constantia), i. 308, 380; battle of, ii. 105, 109; taken by Saracens, 268
 Constantine III, son of Heraclius, ii. 211; birth, 213; regent, 225, 247; in Syria, 268, 282; death, 283, 284, 287, 293
 Constantine IV, ii. 278; in Sicily, 303; reign, 308 *sqq.*, 333, 334, 342
 Constantine V (Copronymus), i. 400; ii. 117; operations against Saracens, 406, 407, 429; reign, 450 *sqq.*; family, 458; iconoclastic policy, etc., 460 *sqq.*; wars with Bulgaria, 470 *sqq.*; death, 475, 500, 502, 531
 Constantine VI, ii. 344, 349; war with Bulgaria, 475, 476; crowned, 478; reign, 480 *sqq.*; marriage, 483; blinded, 488
 Constantine VII (Porphyrogenetos), i. 57, 338; ii. 174, 278, 323; on themes, 339, 340, 344, 351; on Slavising of Greece, 455
 Constantine, *domesticus*, ii. 481
 general at Ravenna, i.
 the Great, i. 27, 29, 31, 32, 35, 39, 40, 44; founds New Rome, 50 *sqq.*; religious attitude, 184; eclecticism, 315; legal policy, 368; statue at Cherson, ii. 357
 tyrant of Gaul, i. 111, 112, 138, 139-144, 146
 Artaseras, ii. 486
 Boilas, ii. 489
 Larlys, ii. 69, 92, 201
 of Nacolia, ii. 498
 Podopagurus, ii. 468
 true name of Constans II? ii. 285
 Constantinople, i. 39; description of, 52 *sqq.*; Huns threaten, 164; life in, 197 *sqq.*; fires at, 229, 232, 252; threatened by Theodoric, 273; law school at, 369; plague in, 401, 402; earthquake, 474; population of, ii. 55; urban arrangements, *ib.*; life in, 56 *sqq.*; industries of, 62; Turks at, 63; demoralisation, 218; assaulted by Persians, 224; function of, in history, 313, 314, 405, 535; centre of education, 391; besieged by Saracens, (717 A.D.), 401; plague in, 454, 455; change in population, 456; in eighth century, 526 *sqq.*

- Constantinos, Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 463, 465, 468, 469
 Constantiola, ii. 142
 Constantiolus, i. 221
 officer of Justinian, i. 379
 Constantius I. (Chlorus), i. 32
 Constantius II, i. 32, 39, 44; religious attitude, 184, 185, 194, 283; ii. 1
 Constantius III, i. 115, 147, 148; marriage, 150; personal description, 151; policy towards Germans, 215 *sqq.*; elevation and death, 155, 158, 164, 172
 Constantius, tribune, ii. 158
 Consular shows, ii. 56
Consularis, i. 45
 Consulate, abolition of, i. 352
 Copts, ii. 269
 Corduba, i. 152, 415, 416; ii. 31, 407, 510, 511
 Corluene, i. 304; ii. 104
 Corinth, taken by Alaric, i. 67; walls renewed, ii. 24
 Corippus, ii. 34, 67; poetry of, 68, 69; *de laudibus Justini*, 68 *sqq.*, 71, 72, 77, 194
 Corn distributions, ii. 55
 Cornicularius, i. 46; ii. 183
 Coronation oath, ii. 390
Correctores, i. 39, 45
 Corsica, under Vandals, i. 171, 236, 285, 471; ii. 503
 Cos, island of, ii. 454
 Cosmas (Indicopleustes), i. 325; ii. 176, 177
 a deserter, ii. 236
 demarch of Blues, ii. 87, 91
 of Calabria, ii. 520
 tyrant, ii. 437, 438
 Cosmology, ii. 177
 Cotaisis, i. 456, 463
 Coteadlis, pirate, i. 163
 Cotelierius, ii. 468
 Cotrigurs, i. 447; ii. 114, 275
 Cottanas, ii. 200, 347
 Cotyaeum, i. 127; battle of, 292
 Coulanges, M. F. de, on the colonate, i. 28, 29
 Councils—
 Ad quercum, i. 99, 105
 Second Ecumenical, i. 91, 185, 188
 Third Ecumenical (Ephesus), i. 189
 Fourth Ecumenical (Chalcedon), i. 136, 190, 191
 Fifth Ecumenical (Constantinople), ii. 5
 Sixth Ecumenical, ii. 309, 316-319
 Seventh Ecumenical, ii. 430, 497 *sqq.*
 Robber Synod, i. 191
 Synod at Rome (430 A.D.), i. 190
 Lateran (649 A.D.), ii. 294
 at Rome (678 A.D.), ii. 315
 Quinisext, ii. 327, 388; ordinances, 393 *sqq.*, 417
 Councils—
 at Hedtfield, ii. 315
 of 753 A.D., ii. 462, 463
 of Frankfurt, ii. 505
 of Elvira, ii. 430
 Cowell, Rev. M. B., ii. 397
 Cremona, Alaric at (?), i. 115; Odovacar at, 280; ii. 146, 148
 Cretan tragedy, *Zéphyr*, i. 252
 Crete, Saracens in, ii. 311, 314, 317, 354, 492
Crispus, mistake for Priscus, ii. 202
 Croatia, ii. 275, 277
 Croats, origin, ii. 275, 276; invade Dalmatia, 276, 277
Cross, the true (or *Holy Wood*), ii. 214, 217; *uplifted*, 245, 247
 Crotona, i. 412
 Crucifixes, manufacture of, ii. 62
 Crumm, ii. 470, 476
 Crusade-like character of Persian war at end of sixth and in seventh century, ii. 101, 219, 220, 234, 246, 537
 Ctesiphon, i. 427; ii. 242, 268
 Cucusus, i. 102, 105; ii. 29
 Cumae, i. 413; ii. 147
 Cunimund, ii. 115, 147
 Curial system, i. 25, 27, 28, 30; abolished, 302
Curopolates, ii. 68, 386
Cursus publicus, i. 45, 46; transferred to *mag. off.*, 71, 336, 337, 472
 Curzola, ii. 278
 Cust, Mr. R. N., i. 427
 Cutatisium, i. 452
 Cyclades, ii. 28, 49, 437, 438
Cyclopodes, ii. 377
 Cynics, i. 8
 Cyprian, legend of, i. 10, 320
 Cyprianus, ii. 311
 Cyprus, Eutropius banished to, i. 85; administration of, ii. 28; Christians from Arzanene settled in, 104, 250, 251; Saracens attack, 289, 320; transplantation of inhabitants, 323; theme of, 351, 466; repopulation of, 356, 492
 Cyrene, i. 83
 Cyriacus, Patriarch, ii. 90, 201, 206
 Cyril, Patriarch, opposes Nestorianism, i. 189, 190, 191; troubles with Orestes and Jews, 209-211; ii. 4
 Roman general, i. 375
 Slavonic apostle, ii. 539
 Cyrillus, *mag. mil.*, i. 298, 299
 Cyrus of Panopolis, i. 127, 128, 320; church built by, ii. 88
 Patriarch of Alexandria, ii. 251, 252, 269
 Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 361, 368
 Cyzicus, i. 347, 473; ii. 49, 311, 323

- DABRAGEZAS, i. 457, 458
Dacia Mediterranea, ii. 7, 335
 ripensis, i. 163; ii. 7
 Dagisthaeus, i. 412, 442-444, 446
 Dagobert, king, ii. 207, 215
 Dahn, F., quoted, i. 151, 152, 167, 261, 359; ii. 179
 Dalisandon, castle of, i. 256
 Dalmatia, demanded by Alaric, i. 115, 157; ruled by Marcellinus, 242, 244, 274, 276; under Odovacar, 279; under Theodoric, 285; seized by Mundus, 389; conquered for the Romans, 390; Slaves invade, ii. 22, 136, 137, 152, 154, 173, 274; conquered by Slaves, 275 *sqq.*; *stratēgos* of, 346
 Dalmatus, monastery of, ii. 466
 Damanus, ii. 484
 Damascius, philosopher, i. 317; ii. 175
 Damascus, taken by Persians, ii. 214; taken by Saracens, 265, 291; church of, 362; taken by Abbasids, 407, 520
 Damasus, bishop of Rome, i. 185
 Damatrys, ii. 365
 Damian, king of Himyarites, i. 469, 470
 Danes in England, ii. 456
 Daniel of Sinope, ii. 371
 Dante, on Justinian, i. 354, 367; ii. 3, 192, 193
 Danube, fleet on, i. 126, 127; defence of, ii. 22, 23
 Daonion, ii. 124
 Daphne (at Antioch), i. 211, 424, 425 (baths at Syracuse), ii. 302
 palace of, ii. 409
Daphnis and Chloe, i. 323
 Daras, founded, i. 309, 372, 373; battle of, 374 *sqq.*, 380; besieged by Chosroes, 426, 468; ii. 100, 107, 112, 198; taken by Persians, 199; taken by Saracens, 268
 see Doros
 Dardania, Illyrian province, i. 164, 193, 271, 363; ii. 7; meaning of word, 15; fortresses in, 23, 141
 Dardanus, prefect of Gaul, i. 145, 146
 Darēnon, ii. 491
 Dastagherd, ii. 242
 David, son of Heraclius (=Tiberius), ii. 286, 287
 count of Opsikion, ii. 468
 Debidour, M., i. 359
 Decapolis, the, in Italy, ii. 146, 502
 Decebalus, ii. 16
Defensor civitatis, i. 27; re-established by Majorian, 30; connection with the Church, 34; in Anastasius' reign, 302; ii. 158
 Demeter, ii. 41
 Demetrius, ii. 23
 Demetrius Poliorcetes, ii. 290
 Demetrius, St., churches of, ii. 41, 43; at Salonica, 47, 135, 280, 337, 338
δημοι, i. 338; ii. 56-59, 87, 89-91, 93, 94, 352
 Depopulation, causes of, i. 25 *sqq.*
 Derbend, pass of, i. 307
δριγγεύω, ii. 172
 Desiderius, of Vienna, ii. 157
dux, ii. 163
 Lombard king, ii. 502-504
 Deuterius, i. 114
 Dexippus, historian, i. 325, 326
 Dezeridan, ii. 242
Διαβατικά of Achilles, i. 55, 342
 Diadora, ii. 277
 Didron, ii. 40, 53
 Didymoteichon, ii. 127
Digest (or *Pandects*) of Justinian, i. 366-369
 Dilimnites (Dolomites), i. 451, 452, 458, 459, 461
 Dillmann, i. 470
 Dioceses, system of, i. 37; diocesan governors, 45
 Dioclea, ii. 278
 Diocletian, i. 27, 29; system of, 35, 37, 227; ii. 25; court ceremonial, i. 39, 48, 72; palace of, ii. 42; 277, 341
 Diocletianopolis, ii. 123
 Diogenes, relation of Empress Ariadne, i. 292
 of Phoenicia, ii. 175
Diomede, prison of, ii. 296
 Dioscorides, MS. of, ii. 53
 Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, i. 191
διόρρυ, ii. 168, 172
 Dizabul, khan of Turks, ii. 97
 Doconus, river, i. 453
 Dodecaesus, ii. 481
 Dollinger, Dr., ii. 252, 439, 502
 Domentzia, ii. 202
 Domentziolus, brother of Phocas, ii. 199, 201, 206, 210
 nephew of Phocas, ii. 199
Domestici, i. 49
 Domitian of Melitene, ii. 94
 Donation of Charles the Great, ii. 503
 Donatists, i. 170, 193, 194
 Donatus, i. 193
 Donus, Pope, ii. 315, 391
 Doriseus, ii. 23
 Dorkon, ii. 242
 Doros, in Crimea, ii. 358
 Dorostolon¹ (Silitria), i. 160; ii. 120, 128
 Dorotheus, general in Armenia, i. 377

¹ The ancient name of Draster or Silitria has many forms—Dorostolon, Dorostolos, Dorystolon, Durostorum, Dorostena, etc.

- Dorotheus, father of Germanus, i. 480
 (same as preceding ?)
 Dorylaeum, ii. 406, 451, 479
Dosseret, the (or *Polster*), ii. 43, 47, 51
 Dovrat, ii. 118
 Dracontius, African poet, i. 329
 Drakoi, ii. 374
 Drapeyron, M., ii. 200, 207, 208, 216,
 224, 225, 227, 261, 265
 Drinov, ii. 12, 16, 17
 Drizipera, ii. 125, 127, 128, 139
 Drogubites, ii. 280
Dromika, ii. 47
 Drster, ii. 335
Drungarius, ii. 342, 343
Drungus, ii. 343
 Dubis, i. 435
 Dubius slays Athaulf, i. 149
 Ducange, i. 53; ii. 295, etc.
 Duke of Thebais, ii. 8
 Dukljani, ii. 278
 Dulcissimus, father of Justin II, ii. 69
 Dulo, ii. 332
 Dümmler, ii. 274, 277, 278
Dupondii, i. 369
 Durand, M., ii. 53
 Dürer, Albrecht, ii. 533
 Durostorum, *see* Dorostolon
 Dyarchy, i. 352; ii. 384
 Dyrrhachium, i. 267; Ostrogoths at,
 268-271; character of inhabitants,
 301, 408; Slaves at, ii. 22; theme of,
 351
- EBERT, i. 329, 330; ii. 190
 Eberwiz, ii. 111
 Ecdicius of Arverni, i. 275
Ecloga of Leo and Constantine, ii. 412
sqq., 526 *sqq.*
Ecthesis, ii. 253, 293
Ecumenical, title, ii. 85, 86, 151, 206, 254
Ecumenical Doctor, the, ii. 433, 434
 Edecon, i. 213 *sqq.*, 277
 Edessa (Roha), school of, suppressed, i.
 260; Chosroes at, 425; besieged,
 437 *sqq.*; ii. 199, 200; Jews in,
 246; Heraclius at, 262, 263, 266;
 agrees to pay tribute to Saracens,
 267; taken, 267; church in, 314
 (Vodena), i. 269
 Edict of Theodoric, i. 381
 Edictales, i. 369
 Edicts, imperial, i. 74, 85
 Edobich, i. 143
 Education, higher, in the Empire, i. 47;
 decline of, ii. 518
Egnatia, *Via*, i. 263, 269
Egregii, class of, i. 39
 Egypt, decline of, ii. 63; canal, *ib.*; con-
 quered by Persians, 214, 215, 217;
 heresies in, 249, 251; conquered by
 Saracens, 269 *sqq.*; canal in, 272
- Elaiüs, ii. 23
 Elesbaa, Ethiopian king, i. 19
 Eleusis, Visigoths at, i. 67
 Eleutherius, palace of, ii. 485
 Elias, St., churches of, ii. 41
 Elissaeus, ii. 483
 Elmakin, ii. 310
 Elmingir, Hun, i. 458
 Elpidia, i. 156
 Elpidius, deacon, ii. 369
praetor Sic. (583 A.D.), ii. 119
 conspirator against Phocas, ii. 204
praetor Sic. (781 A.D.), ii. 481, 492
 Emesa (Hims), ii. 266-268
 Empedocles, ii. 193
 Enamelling, art of, ii. 537
 Ennodius, i. 272, 275
 Epagathus, son of, ii. 58
ἐπαρχος and *ἐπαρχία*, ii. 172
 Ephesus, Church of, i. 96; Theodosius
 III at, ii. 383
 Ephraem, a messenger of Hypatius, i.
 344
 Ephthalite Huns, i. 304-306, 309; ii.
 96
 Epicureanism, i. 5, 7; relation to Christi-
 anity, 7, 8
 Epidaurus, in Dalmatia, ii. 277
ἐπιμέμνηται, ii. 73
 Epinicus, prefect, i. 255, 256
 Epiphania (Fama, in Syria), ii. 267
 Epiphania (Eudocia), daughter of Hera-
 clius, ii. 213, 238
 (Fabia), mother of Heraclius, ii.
 204
 Epiphanius, bishop of Ticinum, i. 247
 bishop of Salamis, i. 98
 Epirus, Ostrogoths in, i. 268, 411; forts
 in, ii. 24
 Eraric, i. 405
 Erelieva, i. 262
 Ermenaric, son of Aspar, i. 230
 Ernas, i. 223
 Erythrius, *pr. pr.*, i. 254
 Erythro, *see* Rotrud
 Ethiopia, Jacobites in, ii. 249
 Ethiopians, i. 471
 Eucherius, i. 68, 111, 113
 Eudemius, *pr. urbis*, i. 341
 Eudocia, wife of Constantine V, ii. 458,
 459, 480
 (Athenais), wife of Theodosius II, i.
 3, 12; story of, 124, 131-135, 190,
 320; ii. 480
 daughter of Valentinian III, i. 235,
 236; marriage, 242
 wife of Heraclius, ii. 204, 212, 213
 Eudocimus, ii. 458, 459, 478, 481, 482
 Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, statue of, i.
 55, 100, 480; marriage, 63; 78; hostile
 to Eutropius, 84, 86, 87, Bk. ii. cap.
 iii. *passim*; 200 *sqq.*; ii. 480

- Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III, i. 124, 131, 132, 135 ; supports Majorian, 234 ; led captive by Gaiseric, 235, 239 ; restored, 242
- Eudubius, i. 435
- Euelthon of Salamis, ii. 110
- Eugenius, general of Anastasius, i. 295
lover of Honoria, i. 174
tyrant, i. 61, 63, 64, 117
- Eugippius, i. 286, 288
- Eugraphia, i. 93, 94
- Eugubium, ii. 146
- Eulampius of Phrygia, ii. 175
- εὐλογία*, ii. 417
- Eunapius, i. 62, 88, 126 ; style and spirit, 325, 326
- Eunuchs, power of, i. 79
- Euphemia, daughter of John the Cappadocian, i. 347
of Sura, i. 422
wife of Justin I., i. 361
- Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople, i. 187, 290, 295, 296
grammarians, ii. 455
- Euphrasius, bishop of Parenzo, ii. 46
- Euphratensis*, i. 432
- Euplutius, i. 150
- Euric, i. 275
- Euripides, i. 319
- Europus, i. 432
- Eurymene, ii. 23
- Eusebius, historian of Constantine, i. 10, 43 ; chronicle, 330 ; ii. 178, 217
author of *Guinea*, i. 90
of Valentinopolis, i. 96
- Eustathius of Epiphania, i. 264 ; on siege of Amida, 308 ; ii. 177
- Eutropius, eunuch, i. 63, 66, 71-74, 78, Bk. ii. cap. ii. *passim* ; fall, 85 ; conspiracy against, 74 ; harbour of, ii. 402
lector, i. 102
- Eutyches, originator of monophysite heresy, i. 190, 191
- Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 81, 85
exarch of Ravenna, ii. 442
- Evagrius, i. 133, 264, 302 ; ii. 67, 73, 74, 84, 86, 93, 94, 121, 143, 177 ; notice of, 182
- Ewald, Paul, ii. 149
- Exarchs* of Ravenna, i. 414 ; ii. 38, 145-148, 151, 223, 277, 294, 345, 346, 442 ; fall of exarchate, 500
of Africa, ii. 35, 154, 203
- Exedrae*, ii. 50
- Exhilaratus, ii. 441
- Exonartex*, ii. 51
- Exuperius, bishop, ii. 149
- Ezerites, ii. 455
- FABIA, *see* Epiphania
- Faenza, i. 405
- Faesulae (Fiesole), i. 110, 395, 396
- Fallmerayer, theory on Greek population, ii. 143, 144
- Fano, i. 394 ; ii. 146, 442
- Faust, prototype of, i. 10
- Faustus, i. 281, 282
- Faventia, i. 280 ; ii. 502
- Faviana (Mauer), i. 287, 288
- Felix II, Pope, i. 192
of Arles, ii. 315
archbishop of Ravenna, ii. 367
mag. mil., i. 168, 169
- Ferrara, ii. 146, 502
- Festus, i. 282
- Feudalism, ii. 468
- Feva, i. 288, 289
- Finlay, i. 27 ; on Zeno, 252 ; on commerce, ii. 62-64 ; on Maurice, 93, 94 ; 215, 264, 266, 306, 309, 343, 349, 384, 401, 407, 419, 423, 432, 437, 476, 487, 526, 538
- Fire-worship, i. 434 ; ii. 231, 232
- Firminus, ii. 159
- Firmum, i. 394
- Firmus, Moor, i. 76, 77
- Flaccilla, daughter of Arcadius, i. 84
- Flaccitheus, i. 288
- Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, i. 190, 191
- Flavius, son of Heraclius, ii. 213
- Flavius*, title taken by Reccared, ii. 153, 166
- Floire et Blanceflor*, i. 321-323
- Florence, i. 110
- Florentinus, jurist, i. 371
- Florentius, i. 83
pr. pr., i. 129
- Florus, general, ii. 311
- Foederati*, i. 64, 108, 235, 241 ; ii. 80, 344
- Follis (gleba)*, i. 41, 136
(coin), i. 41
- Forino, battle of, ii. 301
- Fortunatus, *see* Venantius
- Forum of Constantine (= Augusteum), i. 54, 343
- Forum Livii, ii. 502
Pompili, ii. 502
Sempronii, ii. 146
- Fostât, ii. 271, 288
- Fraehn, C. M., ii. 338
- Frankochorion, ii. 513
- Franks, settled by Probus, i. 31, 138 ; on Lower Rhine, 171 ; call in Attila, 175, 176 ; kingdom of, 283-285 ; relations with Ostrogoths, 382 ; attitude to the Empire, 396, 397 ; conquest, ii. 32 ; allies of Lombards, 146 ; coalition with Romans, 147, 149, 151 ; relations with Empire in sixth century, 159 *sqq.*, 207 ; extension of power in eighth century, 513

- Fravitta, i. 87, 89
 Fredegarius, i. 482 ; ii. 207, 215, 313
 Frederic II, Emperor, ii. 52
 brother of Theodoric II, i. 242
 the Rugian, i. 288, 289
 Freeman, Mr., i. 138, 139, 156, 160,
 168, 169 ; ii. 42, 157, 170, 511, 519
 Friedländer, i. 21
 Friuli, ii. 149, 513
 Fulginium (Foligno), i. 394
 Fulin, ii. 64

 GABALA, i. 251
 Gabbulon, i. 377, 378
 Gabellum, ii. 502
 Gades, i. 152
 Gaeta, ii. 439
 Gaias, Goth, i. 66, 74, 78 ; *mag. mil.*,
 80 ; revolt, 83-89, 114
 Gaiseric (Genseric), Vandal king, allied
 with Attila, i. 162 ; encourages piracy,
 163 ; succeeds Gunderic, 168 ; reli-
 gion, 170 ; treaty with Empire, 170 ;
 relations to Visigoths and Huns,
 175 ; in Italy, 235 ; enmity with Ricci-
 mer, 241 ; policy in Leo's reign, 242,
 243 ; character, 245, 249 ; death,
 279, 385, 387
 Gaius, i. 368
 Galata, i. 57 ; ii. 57, 402
 Galatae (Celts), i. 58
 Galatia, ii. 199, 244, 492
Galatia Prima, ii. 26, 27, 343
 Galbio, general, i. 168
 Galerius, Emperor, ii. 17
 Galla Placidia, see Placidia
 Gallaeia, i. 151, 155, 416
 Gallia Cisalpina, ii. 146
 Gallicinus, ii. 326
 Gallienus, i. 31
 γαλλικόν, ii. 302
 Gambling, laws against, ii. 61
 Gangra, ii. 452
 Ganzaca, ii. 112, 231, 243
 γαρασδοελδης, ii. 455
 Garda, lake, i. 179 ; ii. 514
 Garin, council of, ii. 250
 Gasquet, M., i. 186, 261, 282, 283, 397,
 405 ; ii. 8, 126, 162
 Gass, W., i. 104, 195 ; ii. 157, 190,
 520
Gates of Cilicia and Syria, ii. 227
 γαῖδαρι, i. 343 ; ii. 168
 Gaudentius, Aetius' father, i. 160 ; cap-
 tive in Africa, 243
 Aetius' son, i. 178, 182
 Gaudiosus, ii. 158
 Gaul, i. 111 ; state of, in 409 A.D., 117,
 118 ; barbarians in, 138 *sqq.* ; elevates
 Avitus, 236 *sqq.*, 242 ; imperial remi-
 niscences in, 397 ; ii. 152, 153, 159
 sqq.
 Gaza, idolatry at, i. 200-202, 205, 301 ;
 taken by Saracens, ii. 263
 Gebhardt, O. von, ii. 53
 Gegnaesius, ii. 432
 Gelaris, i. 385
 Gelasius, Pope, i. 193, 291
 Gelimer, i. 385-387
Gello, ii. 521
 Gennadius, exarch, ii. 35, 154
 Genoa, ii. 146, 148
 Genseric, *see* Gaiseric
 Gentzon, ii. 130, 133
 Genzo, son of Gaiseric, i. 385
 Geography of Europe, at end of fifth
 century, i. 285 ; in 565 A.D., ii. 31
 sqq.
 George Buraphos, ii. 369, 370
 of Cyprus, ii. 498
 Hamartolus, ii. 433
 lieutenant, ii. 92
 Maniakes, ii. 440
 Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 316,
 317, 319
 of Pisidia, ii. 197, 199, 207, 208,
 213, 214, 224-226, 228 *sqq.* ;
 lost poems, 231, 232, 234, 236 ;
 hymn of, 241, 242 ; notice of,
 256, 257
 the *syncellus*, ii. 518
 Syrus, logothete, ii. 363
 turmarch of Armeniakoi, ii. 347
 Gepids, subject to Huus, i. 166 ; king-
 dom of, 261, 285 ; fall of, ii. 33, 35,
 115, 116, 129, 141, 145, 147, 239
 Germania, in Illyricum, i. 341
 Germanicia, ii. 236, 398, 406, 407, 432
 Germans, the, subjectivity and adapta-
 tion for Christianity, i. 17 ; settle-
 ments of, 31 *sqq.* ; danger to Empire,
 78-90, 107, 108 ; alliance with Em-
 pire to form a united Christendom,
 173, 176, 178 ; 279
 Germanus, general of Maurice, ii. 109,
 199
 son of Dorotheus, i. 480, 481
 bishop of Damascus, ii. 108, 109
 duke of Phoenicia, ii. 109
 friend of Cassian, i. 10
 general of Theodosius II, i. 162
 nephew of Justinian I., i. 407, 411,
 423 ; ii. 22, 71
 Posthumus, i. 411, 412
 father-in-law of Maurice's son Theo-
 dosius, ii. 87 *sqq.*, 109, 201
 Patriarch, ii. 303, 368, 370, 371,
 409, 432, 435 ; deposed, 436, 443,
 498
 Gerontius, commander at Thermopylae,
 i. 67
 the tyrant-maker, i. 140, 142, 143,
 151, 167, 276
 Gesoriacum (Worms), i. 171

- Gesta Dagoberti*, ii. 207
 Getae, use of word, i. 223, 294
 Ghassanid Saracens, i. 418, 419
 Ghisa, i. 288, 289
 Gibbon, view of history, i. 16; quoted, 179, 180; on Justinian, 357, 359, 362, 440, 466; ii. 91, 97, 397
 Gibros, i. 458
 Gildo, revolt of, i. 76, 77; Claudian on, 77; ii. 35
 Giotto, ii. 52
 Gisa, daughter of Grimuaid, ii. 300
 Glycerius, Emperor, i. 274-276
 Gneist, R., i. 368
 Goar, Alan chief, i. 144
 Gobazes, i. 427-429, 440-442, 446, 454; death, 455
 Godigisel, i. 152
 Golden Gate, i. 53; ii. 52
 Horn, i. 52, 57; ii. 240, etc.
 Gomphi, ii. 23
 Gontharis, *dux Numidiae*, i. 388, 475
 Good Shepherd, the, in art, ii. 40
 Gordas, Hun, i. 469
 Gordia, sister of Maurice, ii. 105
 Gortyn, ii. 317
 Gothia, i. 148
Gotho-Graeci, ii. 344, 373
 Goths, i. 61, *see* Ostrogoths, Visigoths
 Goths of Crimea, i. 418
 Gout, prevalent at Byzantium, ii. 89
 Grado, ii. 146
Graecus, Γραικος, ii. 174
 Grammarians (*grammatici*), i. 47
Grammatistes, ii. 519
 Gratian, Emperor, i. 9, 115, 185, 194, 301
 tyrant in Britain, i. 138, 139
Great, the title, i. 358
 Greece, invaded by Alaric, i. 67; fortified by Justinian, ii. 22, 23; Slave settlements in, 118, 120, 143, 144; Slaves in, 212, 280; revolts against Leo III, 437; Slavised, 455
 Greek, study of, i. 128
 Greek fire, ii. 311, 319, 402
 Greens, *see* Blues
 Gregoria, daughter of Nicetas, ii. 211
 Gregorovius, i. 124, 128, 132-134; ii. 503
 Gregory, abbot of Florus, ii. 328
 Bulgarian presbyter, ii. 411
 exarch of Africa, ii. 287, 288
 logothete of Course, ii. 481
 of Nazianzus, i. 319
 of Nyssa, i. 104
 Opsikian count, ii. 479
 Pope, the Great, i. 398; ii. 68; relations to Maurice, 85, 86; life and policy, 149 *sqq.*, 189, 509
 II, i. 398; ii. 147, 415, 432, 436, 440, 441-445, 498
 Gregory III, ii. 445, 446, 498
 prefect of East, ii. 103
 of Syracuse, ii. 520
 of Tours, quoted, i. 177, 178, etc.; ii. 67, 83, 160 *et sqq. passim*, 194, 313
 uncle of Heraclius, ii. 204
 Gretes, Herul, i. 469
 Grimuaid, ii. 300, 333
 Gripo, ii. 165
 Gruthungi, i. 82
 Gudwin, ii. 137, 142
 Guizot, M., i. 34; ii. 535
 Guldenpenning quoted, i. 64, 68, 83, 88, 90, 100, 105, 126, 155, 159, 163, 165
γυναικώπαιδα, ii. 382
 Gundarnaspes, ii. 243
 Gundelina, i. 359
 Gundemar, i. 417
 Gunderic, Vandal, i. 152, 155, 168
 Gundicar, Burgundian, i. 144
 Gundiok, i. 249
 Gundobad, king of Burgundians, i. 248, 249, 274, 280
 Gundovald, ii. 160, 162, 163
 Gunthamund, i. 385
 Gunthramn, king, ii. 159, 162, 163
 Gunthramn Boso, *see* Boso
 Gwatkin, Mr. H. M., i. 187
 Gwynn, Dr., ii. 267
 Gylle, P., i. 56
Gynaikitis, in churches, ii. 51
 HADI, caliph, ii. 492
 Hadrian, abbot, ii. 392
 Emperor, i. 369
 I., Pope, ii. 495, 496, 502-506
 Hadrianople, in Thrace, battle of, i. 107, 265; ii. 119, 123, 124
 in Bithynia, ii. 307
 Hahn, von, ii. 7, 15
 Halcomb, Mr., i. 314
 Hallam, i. 29; ii. 397
 Hânifa, ii. 258
Haratch, the, ii. 362
 Hariith, i. 419; ii. 77, 98
Harlots, theatre of the, ii. 56
 Harmatius, *mag. mil.*, i. 251; account of, 254, 255, 264
 Harmaton, ii. 139
 Harnack, Ad., ii. 53
 Harun Arraschid, i. 441; ii. 479, 492, 493, 530
 Hassan, son of Ali, ii. 291
 recovers Kairowan, ii. 353
 Haupt, M., ii. 411
 Haxthausen's *Transcaucasia*, i. 427
 Hebdomon,¹ i. 134; ii. 82, 90, 205, 310
¹ I differ from Ducange (*Constantinopolis Christiana*; cf. the plan in Spruner's atlas) as to the site of Hebdomon. He places it near Blachernae, and thinks that the pro-

Hefe, bishop, ii. 249, 252, 293, 315, 316, 319, 327, 391, 432, 436, 464, 496
Hegel, i. 13, 14
Heimbach, ii. 425
Hekatonarcha, ii. 389
Helena, St., i. 2, 54; ii. 27; in Palestine, 217, 218
 niece of Justin II, i. 54
Helenopontus, ii. 26-28
Helias, spathar, ii. 363-365
Helibakias, river, ii. 129, 135
Heliodorus, writer, i. 321-323
Heliopolis, ii. 51, 266, 267, 311
Helladikoi, ii. 348, 351, 437, 483
Hellas, theme of, ii. 328, 342, 345, 350, 351, 437
Hellen, i. 218, 222; meaning, ii. 171, 174
Hellenistic prose, ii. 168
Henotikon, the, i. 191, 192, 254, 335; ii. 293
Heraclaea (Monastir), i. 262, 265; Ostrogoths at, 267, 268
 (Perinthus), i. 66, 246, 265; ii. 22, 124, 125, 205, 222, 223, 409
 in Greece, ii. 23
 in Venetia, ii. 273
Heracliad, the, ii. 241, 244
Heraclian, count of Africa, i. 113, 118, 119; revolt, 146
Heraclius, Emperor, i. 29, 305, 417; ii. 64, 101, 106, 142; overthrows Phocas, 204-206; reign, 207 *sqq.*; character, 208 *sqq.*; marriages, 213; Persian campaigns, 227 *sqq.*; horse Dorkon, 242; *Scipio*, 245; at Jerusalem, 247; ecclesiastical policy, 249 *sqq.*; communications with Mohammed, 261, 262; his health fails, 265; farewell to Syria, 266; attempt to recover Syria, 268; death, 271, 273; policy as to Slaves, 278, 279, 299; institution of themes ascribed to, 339, 348, 349, 333, 537
 father of Emperor, ii. 106-108, 110, 203, 204
 eunuch, slays Actius, i. 181
 general against Vandals, i. 245
 (see Constantine III), ii. 213
 Constantine, see Heraclonas
 son of Constantine III, see Constans II

montory of Heblomon was on the Golden Horn; while I place the promontory on the Propontis, not far from the Golden Gate and Kyklobios. Cf. vol. ii. pp. 205, 310. It seems to me that the passage of John of Antioch, referred to on p. 205, and the passage of Theophanes, on p. 402, are decisive for the sites of Heblomon and Magnaura.

Heraclius, son of Constans II, ii. 308, 309
 brother of Apsimar, ii. 354, 355, 361
Heraclonas, ii. 247, 282-287
Herculanus, *consularis*, i. 174
Here of Samos, the, i. 252
Hermenigild, i. 416; ii. 164, 165
Herméric, i. 155
Hermogenes, *magister*, i. 373, 376, 377, 379
Herodotus, ii. 178
Hertzberg, H., i. 416
Heruls, i. 342, 374, 375, 414, 436, 470
Hesychius, i. 369; ii. 177
Hexameron, ii. 244
Hexapolis, ii. 307
Hiera, island, ii. 432
Hierapolis, i. 422, 423; ii. 199, 251
Hierarchical scales (civil service, etc.), i. 14, 35
Hiera, palace of, ii. 245, 266
Hierocles, ii. 27
 Neoplatonist, i. 317
Hieromax, ii. 263
Hilberg, Dr., ii. 257
Hildebrand, Lombard king, ii. 500
Hilderic, Vandal, i. 384-386
Hilferding, ii. 332
Hims, see Emesa
Hinkmar of Reims, ii. 157
Hippis, river, i. 443
Hippo, besieged by Vandals, i. 168, 169; treaty of, 170
Hippodrome, description of, i. 56; factions of, 338 *sqq.*; scenes in, 342, 343, 345, 346; ii. 56 *sqq.*, 87, 201, 409
Hirah, i. 418
Hirsch, F., ii. 147, 441, 442, 444
Hirschfeld, O., quoted, i. 44; ii. 324
Hirth (on China), ii. 64
Hisham, caliph, ii. 405
Hispalis (Seville), i. 152; ii. 165
Historia tripartita, ii. 188
Hoche, Dr., i. 208
Hodgêtria, the, ii. 447, 448
Hodgkin, Mr., quoted, i. 68, 146, 177, 256, 262, 264, 265, 268, 280, 375, 382, 385, 388, 391, 392, 394, 397, 413; ii. 6, 35, 37, 58, 86, 189
Holder-Egger, O., i. 139
Homer, attitude to, i. 312, 319
Homerites, i. 418, 469, 470, 471; ii. 96
Homerocentra, i. 319
Honorati, i. 40
Honoratus, bishop, ii. 146
Honorina, princess, i. 151, 155; adventures of, 174
Honorias, ii. 27, 343
Honorius, Emperor, i. 34, 61, 62, 76; marriage, 77, 112; letters to Arcadius, 105, 112, 113; obstinacy, 114, 115 *sqq.*, 141, 143, 147, 150, 151, 155; death, 157; on Suevian coins, 405

- Honorius, Pope, ii. 158, 252, 317-319
 Hopf, C., ii. 138, 141, 143, 144, 279, 292, 454, 455
 Hormisdas, son of Chosroes Nushirvan, ii. 105, 110, 111, 146
 Pope, i. 193, 334; ii. 136
 palace of, i. 57; ii. 42
 Hug, Dr. A., i. 212
 Humana, ii. 146
 Huneric, son of Gaiseric, i. 175, 242, 385
 Hunimund, king of Suevians, i. 262
 Huns, invade Asia, i. 69; on Danube (400 A.D.), 89; called in by Honorius, 116; follow Aetius, 159, 160; invade Illyrian provinces, 161 *sqq.*; rise of, 161; Hunland and the Huns at home, 213 *sqq.*; *Hun* and *Scythian*, 223; in Sicily, 242; hostile in 468 A.D., 263, 272; employed by Vitalian, 297, 477 *sqq.* (*see* Ephthalites)
 Hussites, ii. 397
 Hyacinthus, i. 174
 Hydruntum (Otranto), i. 406, 407, 412; ii. 439, 502
Hypateia, ii. 489
 Hypatia, i. 3, 12, 13, 81, 125, 208 *sqq.*; her philosophy, 317
Hypatissa, ii. 528
 Hypatius, nephew of Anastasius, i. 297-300, 308, 334, 342, 345

 IAMBlichus, i. 15, 317
 Iatrus, city (and river), ii. 138
 Ibas, ii. 4
 Iberia, seized by Persians, i. 428, 430, 453, 463, 469; ii. 320, 321, 327
 Ibn Junus, ii. 491
 Iconoclasm, ii. 428 *sqq.*, 460 *sqq.*, 479, 494 *sqq.*
 Iconography, ii. 40, 53
 Idatius, chronicler, i. 146; date, 148, 152, 179, etc.
 Ignatius, architect, ii. 49
 Patriarch, ii. 170, 435, 519, 522
Ikaváros, ii. 344
 Ildibad, elected king, i. 404; murdered, 405, 415
 Ildiger, i. 435
 Illus, general, i. 251; consul, 255; activity, 255, 256; revolt, 256 *sqq.*; death, 257; literary tastes, 258
 Isaurian soldier at Tzachar, i. 465
Illustres, class of, i. 39 *sqq.*
 Illyricum, i. 110; invaded by Huns, 161 *sqq.*; prefecture and diocese, 285; invaded by Slaves, ii. 117; language of, 167; prefecture, 345
 Images, *see* Iconoclasm
Imberius and Margarona, i. 321
 Imbros, ii. 476
 Imola, ii. 146, 502

 Ina, king of Wessex, ii. 392
 Indacus, i. 250
 Indictions, i. 27; *ἰνδικτιών*, ii. 173; tampered with, 422, 423, 425
 Ingenius of Narbo, i. 147
 Ingram, Dr. J. K., quoted on the Colonnade, i. 28
 Ingundis, i. 416; ii. 164, 165
 Innocent I., i. 104, 105, 194
 Ino, wife of Tiberius II, ii. 78
 Inobind, i. 162
 Inscriptions, on Stilicho, i. 77; Anthemius, 127; Greek, in Nubia, ii. 168; at Adule, 177; in honour of Phocas, 206; Armenian, in Thrace, 525
 Institutes of Justinian, i. 367, 368
 Iota, ii. 70
 Ireland, study of Greek in, ii. 392
 Irene the Khazaress, ii. 409, 458, 459, 480
 the Athenian, Empress, ii. 458, 459, 479, 480; reign, 481 *sqq.*; fall and banishment, 490, 491; ecclesiastical policy, 495 *sqq.*, 522
 church of St., i. 56; burnt down, 342; ii. 423
 Isaac of America, i. 408, 409
 Isauria, old derivation of, i. 328; count of, ii. 26, 27
 Isaurians, character of, i. 70; quelled by Arbacazius, *ib.*; organised as a military force by Leo I., 228; under Zeno, 250 *sqq.*; revolt against Anastasius, 291 *sqq.*; in Thrace, 293, 294; serve in Italy, 389, 409; ii. 374
 Isdigerd I., guardian of Theodosius II, i. 304; ii. 223
 Isdigerd II, i. 165
 Isdigerd, son of Shahr Barz, ii. 248, 269
 Isdigunaa, i. 452, 453, 466, 467
 Isernia, ii. 333
 Isidore of Miletus, ii. 49
 of Seville, i. 415, 416; ii. 197, 207, 212, 280, 313, 392
 Isidorus, philosopher, i. 317; ii. 175
Island, The, in Colchia, i. 453, 457, 458
 Isocasius, pagan, i. 233
 Isoes, ii. 408
 Isperich, ii. 332, 334-337
 Issus, ii. 227
 Istria, Slaves plunder, ii. 139, 148, 503
 Italica, ii. 165
 Italy, under Odovacar, i. 277, 279; under Ostrogoths, 381 *sqq.*; reconquered by Empire, 388 *sqq.*; administration after restoration, ii. 37, 38; Lombard conquest, 145 *sqq.*; struggles in the eighth century, 439 *sqq.*; a Frank kingdom, 504
 Itaxes, ii. 375
 Ivory carving, ii. 53
 Izal, mountain of, ii. 106

- JACKSON, Mr., ii. 46
 Jacob al Baradai, ii. 6, 10
 Jacobites, ii. 6, 10, 215, 249, 251, 479
 Jacobus, physician, i. 233
 Jadera, ii. 277
 Jahja, ii. 491
 Jannes and Jambros, magicians, i. 11
 Jerome, St., i. 10, 20, 33; letters quoted, 69, 70, 192; spirit of, 311, 313, 330
 Jerusalem, in fear of Huns, i. 69; Eudocia at, 131, 132; taken by Persians, ii. 214, 215, 217; Helena at, 217, 218; taken by Saracens, 267; Omar at, 268; 316
 Jews, at Alexandria, i. 210, 212; in the Empire, ii. 63, 64; at Salonica, 136; in Gaul, 153; in Antioch, revolt, 200; in Spain, 215; in Gaul, 215; Heraclius' policy, 215, 247, 248; in Arabia, 258; regarded with horror, 388, 430, 431
 Jhering, Rud. von, on slavery and capitalism, i. 26; on Justinian's legislation, 371
 Jiriček, C., ii. 12, 14, 16-18, 332, 334-336, 470, 471, 474, 513
 Joannina, daughter of Belisarius, i. 407
 Jodl, Fr., i. 195
 Johannes, *see* John
 Johannicis, ii. 367
Johannis, the, ii. 35
 Johannites, i. 101, 102
 John of Antioch, historian, i. 133, 163, 169, 181, 182, 235, etc.; ii. 169, 177
 the Armenian, i. 442, 444-446, 448, 449
 of Biclaro, i. 415; ii. 118, 164, 313
 brother of Pappus, ii. 34, 35
 brother of Rusticus, i. 454-456
 of Cappadocia, i. 336, 337, 341, 342, 347, 357, 482; ii. 330
 Chrysostom, *see* Chrysostom
 count, lover of Eudoxia, i. 86, 92
 count of Opsikion, ii. 487
 Dacnas, i. 464, 466
 duke of Mesopotamia, i. 419, 431
 of Ephesus, i. 360; extract from, ii. 8, 9; missionary work, 9; history, 67, 72-74, 77, 78, 81, 83, 84, 98, 100-105; on Chosroes, 113, 118, 144
 of Epiphania, ii. 83, 99, 100, 182
 the Goth, i. 256
 Lekanomantis, ii. 519
 logothete (Johannicis), ii. 372
 Lydus, i. 39, 43; on Anastasius' reign, 302; on Justin, 335; on Justinian's reign, 336, 337, 342, 351, 356, 357; notice of, ii. 182 *sqq.*, 324
 Malalas, *see* Malalas
 John Maxilloplumacius, i. 336
 of Monagria, ii. 464
 Mystacon, ii. 105, 124, 346
 nephew of Vitalian, i. 393-395, 405; in Rome, 406-408, 412
 Nesteutes (Jejunator), i. 104; ii. 68, 82; ecumenical Patriarch, 85, 86; death, 134, 150
 of Nicomedia, ii. 498
 of Nikiou, i. 191
 ostiarus, ii. 497
 Patriarch of Antioch (433 A.D.), i. 190
 Patriarch of Antioch (*Orat. in don. mon.*), ii. 467
 Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 368, 370
 the Patrician, at Carthage, ii. 353, 354
 Phagas (the Glutton), i. 432
 Philoponus, ii. 176, 190
 II, Pope, at Constantinople, i. 384
 IV, Pope, ii. 253, 275
 VII, Pope, ii. 366
 of Porto, ii. 316
 prefect of Illyricum, ii. 118
 of Reggio, ii. 316
 sacellarius, ii. 491
 the Scythian, i. 272, 292
 of Sirimis (or Sirmis), ii. 76, 85
 son of Basil, i. 434
 son of Nicetas, i. 375
 son of Pompeius, i. 475
 son-in-law of Athenodorus, i. 296
 Struthus, ii. 365
 of Synnada, ii. 435
 Talaia, i. 191
 the tyrant, i. 158, 172
 Tzibos, i. 428, 429
 quaestor, ii. 165
 of Damascus, ii. 170, 428, 434, 435; date of his orations, 436, 460, 462, 498, 520, 522, 532
 general in Egypt, ii. 271
 II, archbishop of Salonica, ii. 280, 317, 337
 Jordanes, Gothic historian, i. 137, 166, 261, 412; ii. 188
 Jotaba, lost by Empire, i. 231, 232; recovered, 295
 Jovian, Emperor, i. 304
 Jovinus, tyrant in Gaul, i. 144-146
 Jovius (or Jovian), patrician, i. 115 *sqq.*; *pr. pr.*, 119
 Julian Argentarius, ii. 45
 Emperor, i. 3, 9, 32, 39, 127, 132, 171, 194, 211, 304; works of, 314; ideal of pagans, 325
 mag. mem., i. 299
 mag. mil., defeated by Slaves, i. 294
 missionary to Nobadae, ii. 8, 9
 nobilissimus, i. 140, 143, 146

- Julian, *primicerius not.*, i. 119
 secretary of Justinian, i. 424
- Julian harbour, i. 53
- Juliana, ii. 76
- Julius Nepos, i. 271-275, 276, 278, 279
- Junilus, quaestor, i. 349
- Jus Gentium*, i. 7. 369
- Justin I., i. 193; unable to write (?), 262, 335; general, 272, 308; reign, 334, 335; religious policy, 384; ii. 1, 2, 3, 56
- Justin II, i. 54, 474; ii. 64, 67; reign, 68 *sqq.*; policy, 72 *sqq.*; madness, 77; novels of, 67, 73, 75; coins of, 76; dealings with Turks, 97; with Saracens, 98, 105, 116, 117, 159; titles, 166
- Justin, son of Germanus, i. 453, 458, 460; 466; ii. 71
 commander in Moesia, ii. 21
- Justinian I., laws on colonate, i. 29; statue of, 55; tended by Sampson, 56; era of, 333; birthplace, 334; accession, 335; administration, 335 *sqq.*, 351 *sqq.*; in later years, 469 *sqq.*; his system, 353; *Secret History* on, 360 *sqq.*; legal works, 365 *sqq.*; western conquests, 381 *sqq.*; sick of the plague, 402; missionary work, 469, 470; ii. 7 *sqq.*; death, i. 482; ecclesiastical policy, ii. 1 *sqq.*; language of, 16, 39; fortifications, etc., 22 *sqq.*; new policy in provincial administration, 25 *sqq.*; collapse of system, 67, 158, 167, 175, 179; learning and writings, 182-186, 246, 325, 330, 341, 346, 347, 349; laws on marriage, 416, 417; 536
- Justinian II, ii. 309, 319; reign, 320 *sqq.*; buildings of, 325, 336, 342, 351, 352; adventures in exile, 358-360; second reign, 360 *sqq.*; death, 365; ecclesiastical policy, 366; chastity, 367; expedition against Ravenna, 366; *Rhinotmetos*, 361; relations with Leo the Isaurian, 374 *sqq.*, 384; imitates Justinian I., 330
- Justinian, son of Germanus, plots against Justin II, ii. 79; military fame, 80, 98; general, 101 *sqq.*
 father of Patriarch Germanus, ii. 303
- Justiniana Prima, i. 334, 480; ii. 7
- Justinianopolis, near Cyzicus, ii. 323, 330
- Justinianus, friend of Stilicho, i. 112
- Justus, minister of tyrant Constantine, i. 142
- ΚΑΛΑΒΑΗ, ii. 260
- Kabus, king of Hirah, ii. 98
- Kairowan, foundation, ii. 353
- Kakorizos, ii. 289
- Kallipolis, i. 478
- Kalonnesos, ii. 525
- Kalos Agros, ii. 403
- Kamachon, fort, ii. 486
- Kandich, Avar, ii. 115
- Kanikleios*, ii. 498
- Kanitz, ii. 14
- Karadza Dagħ, ii. 13
- Kardarigan*, title, ii. 105
- Karisterotzes, ii. 479
- Karlmann, ii. 502
- Kartalimen, ii. 403
- káros*, ii. 254
- καῦκος*, ii. 203, 369
- Keration*, value of, ii. 423
- Khalid ("Sword of God"), ii. 262-264, 267, 268
- Khazars, ii. 232, 237, 238, 241, 337, 357-359, 361, 363, 364, 409, 410, 478, 493
- Khorheam, ii. 209
- κινδυνεύω*, ii. 169
- κινῆσαι*, ii. 169
- Kinesrin (or Qinnesrin), *see* Chalcis
- Kingsley, Charles, i. 97
- Kitharizon, i. 435; ii. 103, 355
- Klephts, ii. 14
- Klukas, ii. 275
- Kobad, king, i. 306 *sqq.*, 372, 377; death, 379, 412, 438
 nephew of King Kobad, i. 412
- Kobrat, ii. 332
- Koch, Avar, ii. 128
- Koleda, ii. 16
- Koluthos, i. 320
- Komito, sister of Theodora, i. 363, 422
- κοινάκιον*, ii. 241
- Kopronymos*, ii. 431
- Koran, the, ii. 260, 261; appealed to, 291
- Kormisoš, ii. 470, 471
- Korol, kral*, title, ii. 516
- Kotragos, ii. 332
- Kourat, ii. 332
- Krasos, ii. 451
- Krause, J., quoted, i. 53; ii. 55, 62
- Kreka, i. 220
- Krobat, ii. 275, 276, 332
- Kruger, G., i. 191
- Kuban, river, ii. 333
- Kubrat, *see* Krobat
- Kufa, ii. 269, 291, 529
- Kuhn, E., quoted, i. 40 *sqq.*
- Kurs, captain in reign of Maurice, ii. 105
- Kurt, ii. 332, 333
- Kutzis, i. 373
- Kyklobios (Kyklobion, site of the Heptapyrgion), promontory, ii. 310, 402
- Kynegeion, ii. 409, 469

- LABARTE, M. J., i. 53, 54 ; ii. 537
 Lachanodrakon, *see* Michael Lachanodrakon
 Laconicus Chalcocondyles, ii. 170
 Laeta, widow of Gratian, i. 115
 Laeti, German colons, i. 82
 Lallis, Zeno's mother, i. 251, 252, 293
 Lampadius, senator, i. 112, 118, 119
 Land, Prof., i. 191
 Langen, J., ii. 366, 439, 441, 444, 520
 Language of Romaioi in sixth century, ii. 167 *sqq.*
 Larissa (Scheisar), ii. 267
 in Thessaly, i. 273 ; ii. 23
 Las Incantadas, ii. 136
 Latarkion, ii. 133
 Lateran Council of 649 A.D., ii. 294
 Latifundia, i. 26
 Latin, in Illyricum, ii. 167 ; disuse of, *ib.* ; influences Greek, 167, 168 *sqq.*
 Λατίνοι, ii. 171
 Latium, ii. 503
 Lauresheim, *Annals* of, ii. 506
 Lauretum, palace of, at Ravenna, i. 182, 281, 282 ; ii. 44
 Lauriacum (Lorch), i. 289
 Law, Roman, i. 365 *sqq.* ; ii. 411 *sqq.*
 Law of citations, i. 367
 Lazi and Lazica, i. 420, 427 *sqq.*, 466 ; ii. 353, 376
 Leander of Seville, ii. 153
 Lebanon, Mount, ii. 312
 Lecky, Mr. W. H., on Christianity, i. 18, 19
 Lécrivain, M., ii. 524
 Lemovici (Limoges), i. 275
 Lenormant, M. F., ii. 53, 254, 429, 447, 448
 Leo I., Emperor, i. 136, 162, 187, 191 ; reign of, 227 *sqq.* ; character, 230, 231, 239 ; relations with Ricimer, 243 ; Vandalic expedition, 244 *sqq.*, 262, 263
 Leo II, i. 233, 250
 Leo III, Emperor, ii. 31, 349 ; theme system, 349-351 ; early life, 374 ; adventures, 375 *sqq.* ; repulse of Saracens, 401 *sqq.* ; reputed birthplace, 406 ; administration of, 408 *sqq.*
 Leo IV, marriage, ii. 458, 459 ; reign, 477, 478, 521, 524
 Leo V, ii. 498, 525
 Leo VI, ii. 172
 Leo I., Pope, i. 179, 180 ; dogmatic epistle, 190, 191 ; protects Rome, 235
 Leo III, Pope, ii. 505 *sqq.*
 Leo, Ajax, i. 73, 83 ; slain, 84
 Allatius, ii. 47
 Cinnamus, ii. 460
 Diaconus, ii. 170
 Leonteus, steward of Placidia, i. 156
 Leontia, daughter of Leo I., i. 233, 258
 Leontia, wife of Phocas, ii. 91, 206, 210
 Leontini, ii. 495
 Leontius, Emperor, ii. 321, 327 *sqq.*, 352 ; reign, 353 *sqq.*, 385, 388
 father of Athenais, i. 124
 friend of prefect Marcellus, i. 476, 477
 general of Phocas, ii. 199, 206, 210
 prefect, ii. 216
 vir clar., ii. 158
 son of Dabragezas, i. 464
 tyrant, i. 256, 257 ; ii. 353
 Leovigild, i. 416, 417 ; ii. 164, 165
 Lesina, ii. 278
 Lethe, castle of, i. 307 ; ii. 243
 Leucata, ii. 322
 Leucos (or Lycus), river near Constantinople, i. 135
 Leudaris, Ostrogothic general, i. 391
 Leunclavius, ii. 412
 Leutharis, i. 414 ; ii. 180
 Levila, *mag. mil.*, i. 281
 Λιβδία, ii. 380
 Libanius, i. 3, 10, 47, 212, 311
 Liber Diurnus, ii. 6
 Pontificalis ("Papstbuch"), ii. 207, 281, 366
 Liberatus, i. 191, 256 ; ii. 5
 Liberius, patrician, i. 415
 Libidourgon, ii. 122
 Library of Julian, i. 252
Libri Carolini, ii. 505
 Licelarius, general, i. 372
 Licentius, i. 311, 329
 Liguria, Alaric in, i. 120, 275, 280, 395 ; plague in, 402 ; ii. 146 ; conquered by Lombards, 148
 Lilybaeum, i. 162, 284
 Limenius, *pr. pr.*, i. 113, 139, 141
 Limes, i. 48
Limitanei, i. 47, 48
 Limoges, ii. 273, 537
 Lingenthal, Zacharia von, i. 29, 301 ; ii. 73, 329, 408, 412, 416-419
 Lithosoria, ii. 474
 Litorius, Roman captain in Gaul, i. 172
 Liutprand, ii. 441, 442, 444, 445, 498, 500
 Lobel, ii. 275
 Local government essayed in Gaul, i. 154
 Logos, i. 6
Logothetae, i. 348, 404 ; the general logothete, ii. 324, 423 ; τοῦ δρόμου, 468, 471
 Lombards, serve in Roman army, i. 413 ; kingdoms of, ii. 33 ; league with Avars, 115 ; move into Italy, 116 ; conquest of Italy, 145 *sqq.* ; relations with Pope, 151 *sqq.*, 222, 313, 498 *sqq.*
 Long Wall of Anastasius, i. 295 ; ii. 119, 139

- Longina, i. 293
 Longinus, Zeno's brother, i. 251, 252;
 imprisonment, 256; influence of,
 259; rebels against Anastasius,
 291, 293
 an Isaurian chief, i. 293
 Isaurian, *mag. mil.*, i. 291-293
 (†), *πρὸς ὅλους*, i. 310
 exarch, ii. 146, 147
Longobardia, ii. 340, 351, 439
 Longus, i. 321-323
 Losthenion, i. 272
 Lucania, supplies an Emperor, i. 241;
 reduced by Totila, 405; ii. 146
 Luceoli, ii. 146
 Luceria, ii. 300
 Lucian, *com. or.*, i. 63
 of Samosata, i. 11
 Lucretius, i. 8
 Ludwig, F., i. 92
 Luetjohann, C., i. 329
Lugdunensis Prima, i. 239
 Lupus, martyr, ii. 132
 Lusitania, i. 151
Lusoriae, i. 127
Λύραι, i. 369
Lycandus, theme of, ii. 340, 351
 Lycaonia, ii. 346, 347
 Lychnidus, i. 268, 269, 271
 Lycians, disabilities of, i. 62; removed,
 72
 Lydia oppressed, i. 336

 MACARIUS, bishop of Jerusalem, ii. 217
 St., of Egypt, i. 11
 Patriarch of Antioch, ii. 315, 317,
 318
 Macedonia, Ostrogoths in, i. 262, 266
 sqq., 273; forts in, ii. 23; Slaves in,
 278-280, 292, 335, 484
Macedonia, theme of, ii. 351
 Macedonian months, ii. 281, 388
Macedonians of Taurus, ii. 375
 Macedonius, heresy of, i. 207
 Macrobius, i. 329; ii. 192
Magarise, to—*magarite*, ii. 236; meaning
 and derivation of, 267, 431
Magi, the Persian, i. 304, 305
Magister epistolarum, i. 45
 libellorum, i. 45
 memoriae, i. 45
 officiorum, i. 45, 49, 264; ii. 173
 militum, in Africa, ii. 35
 in praesenti, i. 48; ii. 451
 per Armeniam, i. 377, 422;
 later development of, ii. 346,
 347
 per Illyricum, i. 48
 per Orientem, i. 48; later his-
 tory of, ii. 347, 348
 per Thracias, i. 48
Magistriani, i. 45

 Magna Graecia, ii. 439, 440
Magnaaura, ii. 402, 495
 Magnentius, revolt of, i. 32, 33, 107,
 108
 Magnes, consul, ii. 76
 Magnus, curator of palace, ii. 165
 Mahaffy, Prof. J. P., i. 58, 207, 323; ii.
 47, 136, 177, 290
 Mahdi, ii. 491, 492, 530
 Maimbourg, l'abbé, ii. 401
 Maina, ii. 394
 Majorian, attempts at reform, i. 30, 239;
 comrade of Aetius, 234; blockades
 Avitus, 237; elevation, 238; policy,
 239; in Gaul, *ib.*; ineffectuality, 240;
 fall, 241, 243; panegyric on, 329
 Majūf, ii. 492
 Majūmas, feast, i. 296
 Malaga, i. 415, 416; ii. 31
 Malagina, ii. 497
 Malalas, John, i. 128; passage quoted
 in full, 133, 134, 373, 378; ii. 169,
 197, 209; source for seventh-century
 history, 281, 410; date, 411
 Malchus, historian, on Leo, i. 230, 231;
 on Zeno, 253 *sqq.*, 261, 325, 327, 328
 Malik, ii. 406
 Mallet, Mr., i. 359, 361-363
 Mamas, saint of *Apelatai*, ii. 356
 St., hippodrome of, ii. 464; church
 of, 488
 Mamigonians of Armenia, i. 306
 Mananalis, ii. 396, 432
 Manasses, C., ii. 326
Mandator, ii. 56
Mandye, i. 43
 Manes, stratēgos, ii. 350, 446, 447, 466
Mangana, i. 56; ii. 62
 Manichaeans, ii. 57, 396, 397
 Manssur, Abu Djafar, caliph, ii. 529, 530
Mansus dominicus, i. 28
 Manuel, *pr. aug.*, ii. 269, 271
 Manufactures at Constantinople, ii. 62
Mappa, ii. 56, 173
 Marcellinus, count (chronicler), i. 62,
 134, 174, 279, etc.
 count, in Sicily and Dalmatia, i.
 242, 243; pagan, 244; against
 Vandals in Sardinia, 245; death,
 246, 274
 tribune in Africa, i. 194
 Marcellon, fort of, ii. 471, 476
 Marcellus, captain of guards, i. 347,
 476, 477
 brother of Justin II, ii. 84
 Marcian, Emperor, i. 41; reign, 135,
 136, 166, 180, 190, 191; policy,
 231, 238, 338
 general of Justin II, ii. 98, 100
 pr. of Rome, i. 118
 son of Anthemius, i. 233; revolts,
 258, 259, 272

- Marcianopolis, Huns take, i. 165 ; Goths at, 265 ; bishops of, ii. 15, 120, 121, 131
- Marcion, theory of, ii. 89
- Marcus, biographer of Porphyrius, i. 94, 199
- Graecus, ii. 319
- son of Basiliscus, i. 252
- tyrant in Britain, i. 138
- Mardaites, ii. 312, 314, 321, 323, 350, 356, 374
- Margus, Huns at, i. 162-164 ; ii. 23
- Maria, daughter of Stilicho, i. 77, 112
- wife of Constantine V, ii. 458, 459
- wife of Constantine VI, ii. 344, 483 ; divorced, 487
- wife of Hypatius, i. 343
- wife of Leo I., ii. 409
- Marianus, general in Egypt, ii. 271
- Marina, i. 123 ; death, 135 ; palace, ii. 202
- Marinus, Apsilian chief, ii. 377
- biographer of Proclus, i. 13
- comptroller, ii. 413
- minister of Anastasius, i. 300, 302
- general in Egypt, ii. 271
- son of Heraclius, ii. 286
- Mariolatry, ii. 397, 428, 429
- Μαριαμωρίον*, i. 54
- Marrast, M., i. 345 ; ii. 58, 530
- Marriage, legislation on, ii. 73, 416, 417
- Marsa, i. 93
- Martianus Capella, ii. 192
- Martin, general of Justinian, i. 430, 435-437, 453, 454, 456, 457 ; at Phasis, 458 *sqq.*
- general of Maurice, ii. 121, 122
- Pope, ii. 293-297, 298
- Martina, Empress, ii. 213, 220, 231, 247, 265, 266, 273, 282 *sqq.*
- daughter of foregoing, ii. 286
- Martinianus, i. 265
- Martyrius, count, i. 131
- Martyropolis, i. 307, 379 ; ii. 29, 103, 106 ; taken by Persians, 110 ; restored, 112, 235, 355
- Marzpan*, ii. 96
- Mascezel, i. 77
- Massilia, i. 147 ; ii. 162
- Matasuntha, i. 391, 393, 411
- Mauretania, two provinces of, ii. 35
- Mauriacus*, locus, i. 177 ; ii. 536
- Maurianus, general, ii. 289
- magician, i. 259
- Maurice, Emperor, treatise on *Strategic*, ii. 18, 19, 35, 68, 83, 172 ; count of federates, 80, 81 ; marriage, 82 ; elevated, *ib.* ; reign, 83 *sqq.* ; character, 84, 86 ; revolution against, and fall, 87 *sqq.* ; policy, 93, 94 ; testament, 94 ; *comes excubitorum*, 103 ; invades Arzanene, etc., 104 ; reforms army, 104 ; victory at Constantina, 105 ; unpopular policy, 109 ; assists Chosroes Eberwiz, 111, 112, 124 ; progress in Thrace, 124, 125 ; refuses to ransom captives, 139, 148 ; relations with Gregory I., i. 152, 154, 155, 160-165 ; titles, 166, 168 ; patron of literature, 182, 198 ; policy, 210, 223-225 ; funeral oration on, 255
- Maurice, son of Mundus, i. 389
- Mauron, reign of, ii. 328
- Maurus, archbishop of Ravenna, ii. 301
- sent against Cherson, ii. 363-365
- Mavortius, general, i. 168
- Maximian, bishop of Ravenna, i. 253 ; ii. 44, 45, 154
- Egyptian trader, i. 234
- Maximin, *pr. Italiae*, i. 32
- pr. pr. Italiae*, ii. 37
- ex-quaestor, i. 130
- tyrant, i. 179
- ambassador to Attila, i. 166, 173, 213 *sqq.*
- Maximinianopolis, ii. 23
- Maximus, tyrant, revolt of, i. 33, 138, 235
- tyrant in Spain, i. 142, 143
- Petronius, Emperor, i. 181, 182 ; elevation, 234 ; fall, 235
- bishop of Salona, ii. 154
- anti-monothelete, ii. 285, 292, 298
- Mayors of palace, ii. 385
- Mazdak, communist, i. 306, 307, 372
- Mebodes, ii. 106, 110
- Mecca, ii. 261, 262
- Media, ii. 105, 108, 231
- Medina, ii. 261
- Mediolanum, Attila at, i. 179 ; Ricimer at, 247 ; Theodoric at, 280 ; in Ostrogothic war, 395 ; ii. 6 ; taken by Lombards, 146
- Medism, i. 454, 455
- Megas, bishop, i. 423
- Melana, i. 131
- Melantias, i. 273, 479, 480
- Melas, river, ii. 101
- Melchites, ii. 6, 215, 249, 269
- Méleda, ii. 278
- Melings, ii. 455
- Melitene, ii. 29, 101 ; burnt, 102, 368, 406, 407
- Mélon, ii. 491
- Memphis, ii. 270
- Menander Protector, i. 467 ; ii. 67, 97, 101, 169, 170, 178 ; notice of, 181, 182
- Mendelssohn, L., editor of Zosimus, i. 113, 115, 121, 326
- Mennas, Patriarch, ii. 3, 4, 5
- Merdasan, ii. 403
- Ménil, M. É. du, on Christianity, i. 9 ; 323
- Merivale, Dean, i. 27

- Mermeroes, i. 442, 443, 449, 450-452 ;
 death, 453, 454
 Merobaudes, i. 33, 106, 138, 279
 poet, i. 173, 330
 Merovingians, ii. 159 *sqq.*
 Mervan I., caliph, ii. 314
 Mervan II., ii. 406
 Mesembria, ii. 122, 334, 374, 474
 Mesopotamia, province of, ii. 492
 Methodius, St., ii. 539
 Methone, Goths in, i. 262 ; Belisarius at,
 385
 Metropolis, ii. 23
 Mettis, ii. 159
 Meyer, W. A., i. 208-210, 317
 Michael of Melisene, ii. 466
 Lachanodrakon, ii. 466, 475, 485,
 491
 III, Emperor, i. 482
 Pulaiologos, wall of, i. 56
 Miklosich, ii. 455
 Milan, *see* Mediolanum
 Miletus, ii. 342
Miliarion, value of, ii. 423
Milion, the, i. 53, 54 ; ii. 469
Mina, ii. 172
μίσωπες, ii. 172
 Mirdites, ii. 321
 Mirkhond, ii. 111
 Misimiani, i. 462 *sqq.*
 Misr (Babylon), ii. 214, 270, 271
 Mitola, ii. 301
 Mizizius, usurper, ii. 303, 315
Moderator Justinianus, ii. 27, 29, 346
 Modicia (Monza), ii. 300
 Modrine, ii. 451
 Moesia, Visigoths in, i. 64 ; Huns in
 Upper, 164 ; in Lower, *ib.* 165 ; Ostro-
 goths in Lower, 264, 265 ; ii. 334
 Moguntiacum (Mainz), i. 142, 144-146,
 171
 Mohammed, the prophet, ii. 209 ; char-
 acter and teaching, 259-261 ;
 letter to Heraclius, 261 ; death,
 262
 Ibn Ishak, ii. 530
 Mohammedanism, ii. 269 *sqq.*
 Molatzes, i. 424
 Mommsen, Prof. Th., i. 208, 211 ; ii.
 512
 Monastery, of New Repentance, ii. 204 ;
 of Florus, 328 ; of Dalmatus, 354,
 466 ; of Callistratus, *ib.* ; of Dion,
ib. ; suppression of monasteries, 465
sqq.
 Monasticism, i. 19 *sqq.*, 398 ; ii. 460
sqq., 466
 Monaxius, consul, i. 152
 Mondir, king of Ghassan, ii. 98, 105
 Monembastia, ii. 120, 144, 453, 454
Monemerion, ii. 56
 Monokarton, ii. 108, 109
 Monophysites, i. 190 *sqq.*, 295, 297 ; con-
 nection with Prasinis, 338 ; ii. 1 *sqq.*,
 71, 72 ; persecuted under Justin, 76,
 215, 249, 250, 406
μονοσύργια, ii. 24
 Monotheletism, ii. 249 *sqq.*, 293 ; con-
 demned, 317
 Montanism, ii. 431
 Montefeltro, i. 394 ; ii. 146
 Montenegro, ii. 278
 Moors, hostilities of, i. 167, 168, 386-
 388 ; ii. 154
 Mopsuestia, ii. 321, 355, 406
 Morfill, Mr. W. R., ii. 12, 455
μορφή, ii. 419
 Mosaics, ii. 41 ; at Ravenna, 45, 46 ; at
 Salonica, 48, 52 ; in St. Sophia, 50,
 51 ; at Florence and Palermo, 52 ;
 industry in, 62
 Moschianus, i. 272
 Moslemah, brother of Suleiman, ii. 378
sqq., 401, 404
 Muaviah I., ii. 288, 289 ; expedition
 against Byzantium, 290 ; struggle
 with Ali, 291 ; sole caliph, *ib.* 306,
 307 ; expedition against Constantin-
 ople, 310 *sqq.* ; makes peace with
 Romans, 312 ; death, 314
 Muaviah II., ii. 314
 Muchiresis, i. 427, 452, 456
 Muchlô, ii. 275
 Mugillo, i. 405
 Muir, Sir W., ii. 259, 263, 264, 266, 272
 Mukaukas, ii. 214, 262, 270
 Müller, Prof. Max, ii. 532
 Mummolus, ii. 163
 Mundilas, i. 395
 Mundiuch, father of Attila, i. 162
 Mundo, Hun, i. 285
 Mundus, Gepid, i. 341, 345, 379, 389 ;
 ii. 20
 Murad Tschai, ii. 235
 Muralt, ii. 427
 Muratori, ii. 366
 Mursa, battle of, i. 108
 Musa, ii. 512
 Musaeus, i. 320
 Museum at Alexandria, i. 47
 Musokios, Slave king, ii. 129, 130
 Muta, battle of, ii. 62
 Mytilene, Arcadian character, i. 323
 NABEDES, i. 431, 435, 436, 445
 Nachoragan, i. 454, 456, 457 ; besieges
 Phasis, 458 *sqq.*, 462, 463
 Naissus, i. 163, 164, 213, 214 ; Ostro-
 goths at, 262
 Naples, taken by Belisarius, i. 390, by
 Totila, 405 ; ii. 147-149, 158 ; Con-
 stans at, 301, 439, 441
 Narbo Martius, i. 146, 147, 152, 154 ; ii.
 512

- Narbonensis*, i. 152, 153; Visigoths in, 242
- Narentanes, ii. 278
- Narnia, i. 392, 394; ii. 441
- Narses, the eunuch, i. 345, 347, 394, 395, 412-414; ii. 37, 110, 145, 161
general of Maurice and Phocas, ii. 198, 199
general, i. 436
- Navicularii*, i. 127
- Naxos, ii. 295
- Neander, i. 92
- Nebrius, i. 76
- Nebulus, ii. 336
- Necho, son of Psammetichus, ii. 272
- Nectarius, Patriarch, i. 91, 92
- Nehavend, battle of, ii. 269
- Neocnus, river, i. 460, 461
- Neoplatonism, i. 6, 12 *sqq.*; schools of, 208
- Nepi, ii. 158
- Nepos, *see* Julius Nepos
- Nepotianus, i. 274
- νερό (νηρόν)*, ii. 168
- Nerva, Emperor, i. 300, 366
- Nestorianism, i. 189 *sqq.*; prevails in East, 191, 260; ii. 6, 215
- Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, i. 189
- Netad, battle of, i. 261
- Neustria, Frank, i. 397; ii. 159
Lombard, ii. 513, 514
- Nevitta, consul, i. 32
- Nicaea, ii. 92, 373, 383, 405, 452, 497
- Nicarete, i. 102
- Nice, daughter of Shahr Barz, ii. 247
- Nicephorus I., Emperor, ii. 476, 490, 491
- Nicephorus II (Phocas), ii. 520
- Nicephorus, duke of Calabria, ii. 482
Callistes, ii. 89
son of Constantine V, ii. 458, 459, 478, 481, 482
son of Artavasdos, ii. 409, 450-452
Patriarch, ii. 170, 197, 207; sources of, 281, 339, 352, 401; controversial works, 428, 450, 464, 518, 519
- Nicetas Hegumenos*, *life of*, ii. 436
- Nicetas, *dom. schol.*, ii. 489, 490
quaestor, ii. 413
comptroller, ii. 413
Slavonic Peloponnesian, ii. 455
bishop of Remesiana, ii. 15, 16
cousin of Heraclius, ii. 204, 210, 211, 213, 247, 278
son of Shahr Barz, ii. 247
Patriarch, ii. 456, 469, 477, 478
son of Constantine V, ii. 458, 459, 478, 481, 482, 525
- Nicetas Xylinites, ii. 408
Anthrax, ii. 408
son of Artavasdos, ii. 409, 450-452
- Nicknames, ii. 308
- Nicolai, i. 320
- Nicolaus, quaestor, ii. 369
- Nicomedia, i. 51; ii. 89, 230, 366, 383, 403, 452
- Nicopolis, Armenia, ii. 28
- Nicopolis*, theme of, ii. 351, 437
- Nika* sedition, the, i. 55, 340 *sqq.*; ii. 56
- Nike*, in art, ii. 54
- Nile, river, ii. 271
- Nilus, St., i. 19, 103
- Nimbus*, in art, ii. 40
- Nineveh, battle of, ii. 242
- Nišava, river, ii. 12
- Nisibis, i. 126, 304, 305, 308, 309, 374, 431, 468; ii. 100, 110
- Nitria, monks of, i. 97-99, 210
- Nobadae, i. 469; ii. 8, 9
- Nominalism, ii. 176
- Nomisma (nummus, aureus)*, value of, ii. 423
- Νόμος Γεωργικός*, ii. 418, 419, 527
Ναυτικός, ii. 418
Στρατιωτικός, ii. 418, 421
- Nonnosus, i. 325
- Nonnus, the poet, i. 127, 258; works, 317-320
- Noricum, Alaric in, i. 114-116, 285, 286
- Normans, at Salonica, ii. 136; in southern Italy, 440, 448
- Noropians, ii. 15
- Notitia dignitatum*, i. 41, 53; ii. 324
urbis Const., i. 52, 53
- Novae, i. 280; ii. 23; Peter at, 132, 141
- Novempopulania, i. 152, 153
- Nuceria, i. 394
- Nuggási, ii. 261
- Numidia, i. 170
- Nunehia, i. 143
- Nursia, i. 398
- Nymphaeum, i. 232
- Nymphius, river, battle of, ii. 105, 236
- OBABANE, i. 425
- Ochrida, ii. 7, 498
- Ockley, ii. 263, 266, 272
- Octagon, the, i. 343
- Octavum, ii. 23
- Odessus, i. 165, 297, 299; ii. 28, 130
- Odonachus, i. 444, 450
- Odovacar, i. 238, 241; fights for Ricimer, 248, 255; relations with Illus, 257; king, 277-280; death, 281, 282, 284, 288, 289, 382, 390
- Offa, ii. 503
- Ogre*, derivation of, ii. 337
- Okba, ii. 353

- Ollaria, i. 453
 Olybrius, Emperor, marriage, i. 242 ;
 elevation, 248 ; death, 249
 consul, i. 281
 Olympias, i. 94, 96, 102 ; death, 103
 Olympic games abolished, i. 311
 Olympiodorus, historian, i. 62, 114, 115,
 119, 143, 145, 146, 151 ; pagan, 325 ;
 history, 327 ; ii. 170
 Olympius, i. 90, 113-115
pr. pr. (under Heraclius), ii. 216
 exarch, ii. 294, 297
 Olympus, Mount, in Bithynia, ii. 523
 Omar, Bulgarian king, ii. 338, 473
 I., caliph, ii. 262, 267, 268, 272,
 288
 II., caliph, ii. 431
 general of Suleiman, ii. 380
 "Ομβροι, ii. 279
 Omeyyad dynasty, ii. 405
 Onegesius, i. 214, 217, 218, 220 *sqq.*
 Onglos (Oglos), ii. 333
 Onogundurs, ii. 333
 Onoguris, i. 455 ; besieged, 456
 Onomagulus, ii. 410
 Onoulf, brother of Odovacar, i. 255
 Opsara, ii. 277
Opsikion, district or theme of, ii. 323,
 336, 337, 340, 342, 343, 345, 348, 350,
 351, 369, 372
 Opsites, i. 445, 446
 Optatus on Donatism, i. 194
 Optila, i. 182 ; ii. 344
Optimati, ii. 344, 474
Optimaton, theme of, ii. 344, 351
 Oracle, Sibylline, i. 389, 390
 Ὠραῖος, ii. 169
 Orestes, father of Romulus Aug., i. 213,
 216, 275-277, 281
pr. augustalis, i. 209-211
 Organ, ii. 333
 Organs introduced to the West, ii. 462
 Origen, controversy on, i. 188 ; ii. 4
 Orosius, ecclesiastical writer, i. 76, 111,
 113, 121 ; date of his history, 137 ;
 against Pelagius, 194, 330
 Orpheus, Christ as, ii. 40
 Orvieto, i. 394
 Osiris (Aurelian), i. 80
 Osius, *com. sacr. larg.*, i. 73
 Ostia, i. 408, 409
 Ostrogoths, in Phrygia, i. 82 *sqq.* ; sub-
 ject to Huns, 166, 178 ; attack Italy,
 241 ; in Illyricum and Thrace, 261
sqq. ; effect of movements of, ii. 20,
 145
 Ostrys, squire of Aspar, i. 230
 Othman, ii. 288
 Otranto, *see* Hydruntum
 Otto of Freisingen, ii. 273
 Oxeia, island, ii. 402
 Ozanam, M., i. 20
- PACHYMERES, George, ii. 326
 Paganism, i. 1 *sqq.* ; pagan philosophies,
 5 *sqq.* ; in Rome, 117 ; laws against,
 128 ; in Gaul, 172 ; at Gaza, 200-
 202, 205 ; attempts to revive, 257,
 258 ; in christian literature, 311 ; of
 historians, 325-327 ; ii. 1, 175, 177 ;
 survivals of, 394, 395
Pagans in Dalmatia, ii. 278
Paganus, *παγανός*, *παγανικός*, ii. 174
 Paganus (Baian), ii. 472
 Palace, imperial, i. 52-55, 57
Palaestina Salutaris, ii. 29
 Palastolon, ii. 141
Palatini, civil, i. 45
 military, i. 48
 Palestine, i. 401 ; Persians in, ii. 214 ;
 Helena in, 217, 251 ; Mardaites in,
 312
 Palladius, writer, *Ἱστορία Λαυσιακή*, i.
 11 ; dialogue on Chrysostom, 92,
 98
 Patriarch, i. 290
 Palmer, E. H., ii. 258-261
 Pamphylia, i. 83
 Pamphilius, i. 257, 258, 320
 Pan, feasts of, ii. 395
Pandects, the, i. 366-369
 Pannasa, ii. 120
 Pannonia, settlements of barbarians in, i.
 31, 32, 114 ; Huns in, 159, 161, 172,
 221 ; Ostrogoths in, 261 ; Severinus
 in, 287, 288 ; ii. 32 ; Lombards in,
 115 ; Avars in, 116 ; Slaves in, ii. 274,
 277 ; Bulgarians in, 332 ; Franks con-
 quer, 513
 Panolbius, i. 320
 Panopolis, i. 127
 Panormus (Palermo), besieged by Gai-
 seric, i. 162, 171 ; by Belisarius, 389
 Pantheon, ii. 301
 Panticapaeum, ii. 357
 Papatzys, ii. 359
 Paphlagonia, ii. 27 ; Persians in, 199 ;
 theme of, 340, 351 ; in Armeniac
 theme, 344, 405
 Papinian, i. 367, 369
 Papirian castle, i. 256
 Pappus, ii. 34, 35
παπυλίων, i. 433
 Parentium (Parenzo), ii. 46
 Paris, ii. 159
 Parwiz, ii. 111
 Pasagnathes, ii. 289
Paschal Chronicle, ii. 197, 201, 207, 216,
 223, 254, 281, 388
 Paspatis, M., i. 53-57, 100 ; ii. 73, 326,
 409
 Paspirion, river, ii. 129
 Passau, i. 288, 289
 Patavium, ii. 146, 148
 Patcanian, M., ii. 207, 209

- Pater, Mr. Walter, i. 9
 Patrae, i. 473
Patria potestas, ii. 417, 418
 Patriarch of Alexandria, i. 186, 187
 of Antioch, i. 186, 187
 of Constantinople, position of, i. 42,
 104, 186, 187; ii. 415
Patriarcheion, i. 55; ii. 328
Patrician, title of, i. 80, 277, 279; ii.
 501
 Patriciolus, father of Vitalian, i. 308
 Patricius, son of Aspar, i. 230
 paramour of Verina, i. 251
Patrimonium Petri, ii. 149, 152, 153
 Paulicians, the, ii. 396, 397
 Paulinus, biographer of Ambrose, i.
 110
 of Burdigala, i. 329, 330
 master of offices, i. 133, 134
 of Nola, i. 147
 of Pella, i. 147, 329
 Paulus Diaconus (*Warnefridi filius*), i.
 403; ii. 145 *sqq. passim*, 165, 197,
 281, 300 *sqq.*, 326
 father of Maurice, ii. 84, 165, 210
 the Silentiary, ii. 49, 50, 51, 185,
 186
pr. pr. Africae, ii. 35
 of Armenia, ii. 250
 Patriarch of Constantinople, ii. 292,
 293; repentance, 296, 297
 Pope, ii. 502, 506
 Afiarta, ii. 502
 general of Armeniacs, ii. 407
 stratêgos of Sicily, ii. 410
 exarch of Ravenna, ii. 442, 444
 of Crete, St., ii. 464
 the Cyprian, Patriarch of Constan-
 tinople, ii. 477, 494, 495
 Pautalia, i. 267
 Pavia, *see* Ticinum
 Peiper, R., ii. 192
 Peiragast, ii. 134, 135
 Pelagia, wife of Boniface, i. 168
 Pelagianism, i. 194-196
 Pelagius, founder of Pelagianism, i. 194
 Pope, ii. 6, 150, 151, 158
 silentiary, i. 259
Pelagius, the place of, ii. 465, 469
 Pelagonia, i. 268
 Pella, Goths in, i. 262
 Peloponnesus, in eighth century, ii. 350;
 theme of, 351, 437; Slaves in, 454,
 455
 Pelusium, i. 401
 Pentapolis, in Italy, ii. 146-149, 332,
 442
 Pepper, ii. 138
 Pera, i. 57; ii. 57
 Peranius, i. 437, 438
Peratic, meaning of, i. 57; themes, ii.
 348, 403
 Perbund (Pervund, "chief man"), ii.
 338
 Perenum, in Egypt, ii. 269
Perfectissimi, i. 38
 Pergamus, Saracen siege of, ii. 389, 401
 Perinthus, i. 473; ii. 22
 Peristhlaba, ii. 335, 359, 476
 Perozes, i. 306
Perozites, ii. 233
 Persarmenia, i. 377; invaded by Romans,
 434 *sqq.*; ii. 101 *sqq.*
 Persian kingdom, treaty with, i. 126;
 war with, 161, 163; in fifth century,
 304 *sqq.*; foundation of, 304; war
 with (528-532 A.D.), 372 *sqq.*; plague,
 in, 401; war with (572-591 A.D.), ii.
 95 *sqq.*; early history, 180; conquered
 by Saracens, 268, 269
 Pertinax, Emperor, i. 234
 Perusia, i. 392; ii. 503
 Peter, ambassador of Justinian, i. 359,
 389, 467; wrote history, ii. 177
 Barsames, i. 347
 brother of Maurice, ii. 86; general
 in Europe, 130 *sqq.*; deposed,
 135, 210
 the Fuller, i. 191
 general of Justinian, i. 428, 431,
 437, 438
 Kalybites, ii. 464
 mag. off., ii. 484
 a scribe, friend of Stilicho, i. 114
 Siculus, ii. 432
 the Stammerer, i. 192, 193
 Petilian, Donatist, i. 194
 Petra, founded, i. 428; siege of, 429
 sqq., 441; Roman siege of, 442 *sqq.*,
 466 *sqq.*
 Petron, ii. 326
 Petronas, ii. 311
 patrician, ii. 497
 Petronax, ii. 147
 Petronia, ii. 202
 Phabrigus, i. 443
 Phadadas, ii. 307, 310, 311
Phalbas, ii. 242
 Phanagoria, ii. 357-359
 Phanarocea, ii. 396
 Pharas, Herul, i. 374
 Pharasmanios, ii. 377, 378
 Pharos at Constantinople, ii. 73, 402
 Phartazes, i. 455; ii. 180
 Phasis, river, i. 450, 453
 town, siege of, i. 458 *sqq.*; ii. 375
 Pheretima, ii. 110
Phiale, ii. 326
 Philadelphia oppressed, i. 336; ii. 183
 Philagrius, ii. 283, 284
 Phileas, pass of, ii. 368
 Philetos, ii. 475
 Philippicus, general of Maurice, ii. 84,
 105 *sqq.*, 201, 215

- Philippicus, Emperor (Bardanes), ii. 352, 357, 363-365; reign, 367 *sqq.*; ecclesiastical policy, 368, 369, 376, 378; length of reign, 383, 388, 423, 525
 Philippopolis taken by Huns, i. 164; ii. 23, 24, 119, 123, 141
 Philippus, *pr. pr.* (346 A.D.), i. 126
 Philomathius, Isaurian general, i. 458
 Philoponus, *see* John Philoponus
Philosopher, use of word (and of φιλοσοφῶ), i. 5
 Philostorgius, historian, quoted, i. 62, 67, 119, 148, etc.; his work, 325
 Philotheus, friend of Anthemius, i. 206
 Phocas, Emperor, revolt of, ii. 87 *sqq.*, 142, 154, 155; reign, 197 *sqq.*; fall, 205, 210, 216
 delegate of Zeno, i. 267
 pr. pr., i. 342, 346
Phoenicia Libanesis, ii. 29, 109
 Phoenix, in Lycia, ii. 290
 Pholoe, Alaric at, i. 68
 Photinus, ii. 523
 Photius, curator of Placidia's palace, ii. 205
 Patriarch, ii. 432
 Phrantzes, ii. 120, 144, 170
 Phrygia, Goths in, i. 82
Phrygia Pacatiana, ii. 26
Phthartolatrai, ii. 251
 Phylarchus, i. 243
 Pič, ii. 516
 Picenum, i. 121, 393
 Pierius, *com. dom.*, i. 281
 Pincum, ii. 23
 Pipin, king, ii. 500-502
 son of Charles the Great, ii. 504
 Piracy, i. 162, 163
 Pisaurum, i. 394, 407; ii. 146
 Pisidia overrun by Goths, i. 82, 83; ii. 346, 381
 Pitra, Cardinal, ii. 428
 Pityazes, i. 375, 376
 Pityus, i. 103
 Pitzigaudes, ii. 312
 Placentia, Avitus at, i. 238
 Placidia, Galla, i. 113, 115, 137, 144; marriage with Athaulf, 147, 148; marriage with Constantius, 150, 155-159, 170, 172, 173, 244, 383; tomb of, ii. 42, 44; buildings at Ravenna, 43, 44
 palace of, i. 99; ii. 205, 316
 daughter of Valentinian III, i. 235; marriage, 242, 248
 Placidus, i. 181
 Plagues, the great, in 542 A.D., i. 358, 399 *sqq.*, 432; ii. 139, 180, 354; in 745 A.D., 453 *sqq.*
 Plataea, ii. 24
 Plateia, island, ii. 402
 Plato, i. 322, 323
 Plato, abbot, ii. 487, 523
 Plautus, ii. 174
 πλέκω, ii. 58
 Plinthia, consul, i. 152
 Pliny, the elder, ii. 290
 the younger, i. 301
 Plotinopolis, ii. 23, 24
 Plotinus, Neoplatonist, i. 12-15; on suicide, 21, 208
Poeta Saxo, ii. 483
 Poitiers, i. 397; ii. 194
Political loaves, ii. 73, 221
 Pollentia, battle of, i. 109
 Polyaemon, rhetor, i. 82
 Polybius, model of Zosimus, i. 326; quoted, ii. 11, 169, 170, 178, 276, 290
 Polychronius, ii. 318
 Pompeiopolis, i. 473
 Pompeius, Anastasius' nephew, i. 334, 342, 345
 πονῶ, ii. 169
 Ponthion, ii. 500
 Pontica, ii. 27, 28
 Pontine marshes drained, i. 382
 Pontus, ii. 228, 229, 236, 457
Pontus Polemoniacus, ii. 27
 Popes, election of, ii. 6; position of, 509
 Population, ii. 466, 467
 Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza, i. 199 *sqq.*
 Neoplatonist, i. 208
 Porphyry, use of, ii. 41
 Portus, town of, i. 275, 409, 410
 Potaninus, quaestor, i. 119
 Po-to-li, ii. 64
Povratimstvo, ii. 19
Praefectus, *see* Prefect
 annonae, i. 44
 augustalis, i. 46
 urbis, i. 39, 44, 52
 Praejecta, i. 474
Praepositus sacri cubiculi, i. 44; *illustris*, 71, 85; ii. 324
 Praesentinus, ii. 92
Praeses, office of, i. 45; = ἡγεμῶν, ii. 172
 insularum, i. 127
 of Lycaonia, ii. 26
 of Pisidia, ii. 26, 346
 of Isauria, ii. 27
 of Second Armenia, ii. 28, 29
 of Phoenicia Libanesis, ii. 29
 of Palestine Salutaris, ii. 29
 of Paphlagonia, ii. 28
Praetor plebis, Justinianean, i. 348
Praetores Justiniani, of Lycaonia, Pisidia, Thrace, ii. 26; of Sicily, 38, 173
 Praetors, i. 41; Marcian's reforms, 136; ii. 30
 παιδεύω, ii. 173
 Prandearia, prison at Constantinople, ii. 295

- Prefects, Praetorian, i. 37, 42 *sqq.*, 336, 346; of Illyricum, ii. 136, 487; *urbis*, 526, 527
- Prefect, Praet., of Africa, i. 46; ii. 34, 35
- Prevalitana*, ii. 7
- Primicerius cubiculorum*, i. 44
- Primipilares*, i. 45
- Prince's island, ii. 469
- Princeps*, in civil service bureaux, i. 45, 46
- Priscian, on Anastasius, i. 300, 302
of Lydia, ii. 175
- Priscillian persecuted, i. 186
- Priscus, historian, i. 133; value as authority, 162, 163, 165, 175; accomplices Maximin, 166, 213 *sqq.*, 119; extracts from, 213 *sqq.*, 243; pagan, 325, 327
general of Maurice, sent to East, ii. 108; recalled, 109; general in Europe, 126; at Tzurulon, 127; against Slaves, 128 *sqq.*; deposed, 130; reappointed, 135-137; at Tomi, 137; great victories, 140, 141, 171, 172; marriage, 282; invites Heraclius, 202, 203, 205; becomes a monk, 210, 215, 536
- Prisons at Constantinople, ii. 295, 296
- Proaeresius, professor at Athens, i. 325
- Probus, Emperor, i. 31, 32, 137
Anastasius' nephew, i. 342
patrician, ii. 205
- Procliana, ii. 126, 127
- Proclianus, *dux Phoeniciae*, i. 373
- Proclus, mechanician, i. 300; ii. 311
Neoplatonist, life, i. 13; system, 13-15; hymns, 14, 315, 316
put to death by Rufinus, i. 62
- Proconnesus, marbles from, ii. 49, 51
- Proconsul of Cappadocia, i. 47; ii. 26
of First Armenia, ii. 28, 29
of Palestine Salutaris, ii. 29, 30
- Procopius, count, i. 131
of Gaza, i. 293, 301
hermit of Rhodes, i. 200
son of Anthemius, i. 258
historian, i. 305, 337, 341, 344, 354 *sqq.*, 359 *sqq.*; secretary of Belisarius, 372; partiality, 373, 378, 379, 434; on Theodoric, 382, 388, 390; on plague, 401, 402, 429, 443; caution, 453; ii. 24, 32, 33; on St. Sophia, 50, 52; purism in style, 169-171; notice of, 178, 179
- Προκόπαι, i. 369
- Promota, i. 388
- Promotus, i. 62, 93
governor of Noricum, i. 216, 221
- Propontia, Slaves settled near, ii. 323
- Pros Hestias*, i. 272
- Prosper of Aquitaine, i. 109, 139
Tiro, i. 111, 139
- Prostitution, i. 94; ii. 59, 60
- Protectores*, i. 49; ii. 181
- Prætonotarii*, ii. 349
- Provinces, system of, i. 37; ii. 25 *sqq.*, 75
- Provincia (Provence), under Ostrogoths, i. 284, 285; ceded to Franks, 391; ii. 159
- Prudentius, i. 311, 330
- Prusa, ii. 487
- Psellus, Michael, ii. 170, 176, 434
- Pseudo-Avars, ii. 115
- Pseudocomitatenses*, i. 48
- Pteron*, fort in Blachernae, ii. 240
- Ptochotrophos*, ii. 206
- Ptolemaeus, captain, ii. 347
- Ptolemais, in Libyan Pentapolis, i. 301, 473
- Ptolemy Soter, i. 207
Philadelphus, ii. 272
III, ii. 177
- Pulcheria, Empress, i. 123-126; retirement, 134; marriage, 135; death, 136, 158; opposes Nestorianism, 190; knowledge of Latin, 206
- Punishments, ii. 329
- Pusaens, *pr. pr.*, i. 233
- Puzane, ii. 452
- Pydna, Goths in, i. 262
- Pyrotechnic, ii. 311, 319
- Pyrrhus, Patriarch, ii. 282-286; restored to his chair, 296
- Pyrum*, *ad* (Hrudschizza), i. 108
- Pythagoreanism in the Digest, i. 368
- QUADI, i. 110
- Quaestor, functions of, i. 86, 348;
Justinianean, 348, 349, 527
- Quast, ii. 43
- Quinisext Council, *see under* Council
- RABIA IBN JUNUS, ii. 491
- Rachis, ii. 500
- Radagaisus, i. 110; ii. 344
- Radegundis, St., ii. 194
- Ragusa, ii. 276, 277
- Rambaud, A., ii. 525
- Ramsay, Prof. W., i. 54; ii. 41
- Ranke, L. von, i. 111, 238, 282, 327; on the *Anecdota*, 359, 360, 363, 364, 406; ii. 69, 148
- Ratiaria, Huns at, i. 163, 164; ii. 120
- Rationalism of the Isaurians, ii. 429
- Ravenna, imperial residence, i. 110, 112, 115; blockaded, 120, 155, 159;
Severus proclaimed at, 241, 253;
Glycerius at, 274; Nepos at, 276;
Odovacar at, 277, 280; Theodoric at, 281, 282, 389; Witigis at, 391;
Belisarius at, 396, 407, 412, 414;

- art at, ii. 41, 43 *sqq.*; personified, 54, 146, 148, 164, 223, 301; Justinian II wroth with, 366, 441; succoured by Venice, 441, 445; taken by Lombards, 500; passes to the papacy, 502; archbishops of, 504
- Ravenna chronicle, i. 109
- Rawlinson, Prof., i. 305-307, 427, 434; ii. 72, 101, 111, 112, 237, 241, 269
- Razates, ii. 241, 242
- Razman, ii. 200, 209
- Reccared, ii. 153, 164
- Rechiar slain, i. 237
- Recitach, i. 263, 273
- Red Sea route, ii. 63
- Redemption, Pope Gregory's theory of, ii. 157
- Regula Pastoralis*, ii. 156
- Remi, ii. 159
- Renatus Frigeridus, extract from, i. 173
- Republic, the (*Respublica*), ii. 165
- Révillout, E., i. 191
- ρήγ*, i. 327; ii. 21, 129, 170, 172, 173
- Rhaetia, i. 285, 286
- Rheithancus, i. 430
- Rhegium, in Italy, i. 390; ii. 446
in Thrace, ii. 90
- Rheon, river, i. 452
- Rhine frontier, i. 137
- Rhinokopia*, ii. 329
- Rhode, E., i. 320
- Rhodes, ii. 28; taken by Saracens, 290, 350, 372
- Rhodope, Mount, ii. 12, 292
- Rhoedestus, ii. 22
- Richter, H., quoted, i. 61
- Ricimer, patrician, i. 33; wealth, 62, 182; defeats Vandals, 236; deposes Avitus, 237, 238; deposes Majorian, 240; sets up Severus, 241; defends Italy, *ib.*; his political position, *ib.*; opposes Marcellinus, 242; relations to Leo I., 243; marriage, 244; hostility to Anthemius, 247; sets up Olybrius, 248; death, 249
- Riparienses*, i. 47
- Rizates, *see* Razates
- Robert Wiscard, i. 457
- Robertson, Rev. J. C., ii. 7
- Roby, Mr., i. 367, 368
- Roesler, R., ii. 123, 334, 336, 516
- ρόγα*, pay, ii. 172
- Romagna, name, ii. 514
- Romaioi*, the, ii. 38, 39, 88, 111, 167; meaning of, 170; Romaic language, 168, 170-174
- Romances, Greek, i. 320 *sqq.*; ii. 532
- Romani, ii. 171; *Ρωμαῖοι*, 173
- Romania, name, i. 148; ii. 290, 306, 376, 492, 514
- Romanoi*, ii. 277
- Romanus, general of Anastasius, i. 295, 308
- general of Maurice, ii. 110
- governor of Bostra, ii. 263
- St., hymn-writer, ii. 241
- Rome, New, *see* Constantinople
- Rome, Old, first siege by Alaric, i. 115; second siege, 117; Alaric at, for third time, 121; taken by Vandals, 235; buildings injured by Avitus, 237, 239; besieged by Ricimer, 248; Belisarius enters, 390, 391; Gothic siege, 392, 393, 408, 409; uninhabited, 410; re-occupied, *ib.*; third siege, 411; ii. 148, 152; design of Constans II in regard to, 299; Constans at, 301, 499 *sqq.*, 539
- Romuald I., ii. 300-302
- Romuald II., ii. 445
- Romulus Augustulus, i. 216, 238, 276, 277; ii. 507
- Romulus, count, i. 216, 276
- ρωραι*, *ai*, date of treatise, i. 29
- Rosamund, ii. 147
- Roscelin, ii. 176
- Rose, A., i. 290, 292, 295, 307
- Rossano, ii. 53, 146
- Rotharis, ii. 148, 300
- Rotrud, ii. 483
- Roum, kingdom of, ii. 514
- Roumanians, ii. 15, 21; language, 123, 172, 516
- Rousseau, view of history, i. 16
- Rufinianum*, i. 347
- Rufinus, *pr. pr.*, i. 62-67, 347
- Rufus, protostrator, ii. 369
- Rugians, the, i. 286, 288, 289
- Rugila (Rua), Hun king, i. 160-162
- Rumia, i. 427
- Runchines, ii. 280, 338
- Russians, the, ii. 335, 474, 539
- Rusticus, i. 216
- Rusticus, i. 454-456
- Rusumbladeotus, i. 250
- Rutilius Namatianus, i. 147, 328
- SABBATES, said to be father of Justinian, ii. 58
- Sabin, ii. 472, 473
- Sabinian, general of Anastasius, i. 285
- Sabinianus, general of Zeno, i. 269, 271, 272
- Sabiri, Huns, i. 300, 447, 458; ii. 115
- Saborius, revolt of, ii. 306, 307, 322, 341
- Sabulente Canalin, ii. 121, 127
- Saburrus, ii. 301
- Sacae, ii. 96
- Saccudion, monastery, ii. 487, 523
- Sacellarius*, ii. 206, 295, 324, 325, 414
- Šes, ii. 231-234, 237; death, 238
- Šafarik, ii. 12, 17, 275

- Sagoleba, ii. 296
 Said, conqueror of Persia, ii. 268
 revolt of, ii. 320
 Saif, Homerite, ii. 96
 Sakalibe, ii. 404
 Salarian bridge, i. 414 ; ii. 442
 Salban (Van), ii. 235
 Salerno, ii. 448
 Sallustius, rebel in Gaul, i. 146
 Salona, i. 66, 67, 157, 158, 245, 275,
 276, 389, 390 ; ii. 42, 154 ; Slaves at,
 277
 Salvian, captain of Priscus, ii. 126, 127
 theologian, i. 10 ; on contemporary
 morals, 31 ; *de gub. Dei*, 311, 312,
 330 ; ii. 468
 Salvina, i. 76, 95
 Salzenberg, ii. 49, 50, 51
 Samaritans, i. 377 ; ii. 72, 76
Samos, theme of, ii. 351
 Samosata, ii. 236
 Samothrace, ii. 476
 Samovili, ii. 19
 Sampson, hospice of, i. 56, 343
 Sandichl, i. 477, 478, 481, 482
 Sapaudia (Savoy), i. 171
 Sapor, i. 304, 425
 Sappho, i. 322 ; ii. 521
 Sarablagas, ii. 233, 234
 Saracens, of Arabia Petraea, i. 231, 232 ;
 in Africa, 236 ; of Hiraq, ii. 95, 231 ;
 rise of their power, 246 ; Mohammed-
 anism, 260 ; dismember Roman Empire,
 262 *sqq.* ; in Sicily, 294, 297 ; in Africa,
 353 ; Saracen coinage, 322 ; siege of
 Constantinople (717 A.D.), 401 ; in
 Gaul and Spain, 512
 Sardica (Sofia), ii. 12, 13, 21, 476
 Sardinia, under Vandals, i. 171, 245, 285 ;
 Totila at, 411, 471 ; ii. 35, 38, 302,
 303, 520
 Sardis, ii. 451
 Sargathon, battle of, ii. 98, 100
 Sarmatians, Constantine's settlements of,
 i. 32 ; attacked by Ostrogoths, 262
 Sariosius, Alan sovereign, ii. 115
 Sarus, Goth, i. 114, 121, 140 ; death,
 145, 149
 river, battle of the, ii. 236
 Satages, ii. 20
 Satala, ii. 23, 200
 Sathas, M. Constantine, i. 198, 252 ; ii.
 312, 321, 323, 344, 356, 374, 433,
 434, 455
 Saturninus, i. 73, 86
 com. excub., i. 134, 135
 Satyrus, ii. 403
Savia, province of, i. 262
 Saxons, ii. 32, 513
 Scala, R. von, ii. 64, 538
 Scalae Veters, i. 388
 Scamars, i. 286 ; ii. 117, 473
 Scampa, i. 268
 Scanda, i. 450
 Scardus mountains, i. 268
 Searlatus Byzantius, i. 56
 Sceparnas, i. 445
Schadenfreude, idea of, i. 358
 Scheffer, J., ii. 16
 Schirin, ii. 242, 243
 Schirren, i. 412
 Schlosser, ii. 300, 309, 401, 487, 488
 Schnürer, G., i. 192
Scholares, i. 49 ; decline, 254, 479
Scholasticus, ii. 180
 Schurahbil, ii. 263
Scipio, *Scipiadae*, ii. 244
Scavinia, ii. 279, 292, 336, 471, 476
 Scopis, ii. 131
 Scottas the Hun, i. 214, 215
 Sculpture, ii. 41
 Scultenna, battle of the, ii. 148
 Scymnia, i. 452
 Scyri, i. 126, 263
Scythia, province of, i. 165 ; Ostrogoths
 in, 262 ; Vitalian in, 299 ; ii. 137
 Scythians, i. 214 *sqq.*, 223
 Sebasta, ii. 101, 102
 Sebastea, ii. 28 ; theme of, 340, 351
 Sebastian, general of Isaurians, i. 373
 martyr, son-in-law of Boniface, i.
 163
 tyrant, i. 145
 minister of Zeno, i. 253, 254
 Sebastopolis, ii. 28 ; battle of, 322, 328
Σεβαστός, ii. 174
Secret History, the, i. 339, 347, 351, 355,
 356, 358 ; problem discussed, 359
 sqq. ; ii. 61
 Secundinus, i. 293
 Securisca (Curisca), ii. 22, 87, 132
 Seeck, O., i. 53
 Segontia, i. 417
 Seleucia, port of Antioch, i. 425
 in Cilicia, ii. 342
 Seleucobolus, ii. 306
 Selymbria, ii. 222, 223, 475
Sêmaloûs, ii. 479
 Semi-barbarians, i. 33
 Semi-pelagianism, i. 196
 Semites, characteristics of, ii. 259, 260
 Senate at Constantinople, i. 38, 39 ; ii.
 524
 Senate-house of Julian, i. 38, 39 ; site of,
 55 ; burnt, 232
 Senators, taxes on, i. 29, 40 ; class of,
 38 *sqq.*
 Senegallia, ii. 146
 Sepëos, ii. 200, 207, 209, 220, 224, 238,
 265
 Sepinum, ii. 333
 Septae, in Tingitana, ii. 284
Septem Provinciae, i. 153
Septimania, ii. 512, 513

- Septimius Severus, i. 338 ; ii. 323
 Serapanin, i. 452
 Serapion, i. 95, 96
 Serapis, temple of, destroyed, i. 97, 208 ;
 representation of, ii. 54
σέρπουλα, ii. 275
 Serbs, ii. 274 ; name, 275-277 ; mari-
 time, 278
 Serena, i. 61, 78, 109
 Serfdom, i. 28 ; ii. 419 *sqq.*
 Sergiopolis, i. 432
 Sergius, demarch of Greens, ii. 87, 90
 of Edessa, i. 436
 envoy of Saborios, ii. 306, 307,
 347
 general of Sicily, ii. 410, 482
 interpreter, ii. 180
 Patriarch, ii. 206, 219, 220, 221,
 225, 239, 245 ; monotheletism,
 249 *sqq.* ; patron of literature,
 255, 256
 Pope, ii. 327, 330, 366
 prefect of Africa, i. 388
 revolts against Leontius, ii. 353
 and Bacchus, church of, i. 57
 Serinda, i. 472
 Servia, White, ii. 275
 Servians, *see* Serbs
 Servitudes, ii. 416
 Sestos, i. 478 ; ii. 21, 23
 Sesuald, ii. 300, 301
 Severian of Gabala, i. 96
 Severiana, ii. 446
 Severinus, St., i. 285-289
 Severs, the, ii. 334, 473
 Severus, Libius, Emperor, i. 241, 243
 attendant of Eudocia, i. 134
 Endelechius, i. 330
 magician, i. 206
Shah nameh, ii. 113
 Shahen, ii. 200, 209, 216, 217, 220
 Shahr Barz, ii. 200, 214, 229 *sqq.* ; in
 Armenia, 233 *sqq.*, 236, 237, 244 ;
 accession to Persian throne, 247,
 248
 Sicca Venerea, i. 388
 Sicily, Vandals in, i. 162, 171, 245, 246 ;
 Belisarius in, 389 ; Totila in, 411 ;
 recovered, 412 ; ii. 37, 148, 165 ;
 attacked by Saracens, 294, 297, 298 ;
 Constans in, 302 ; stratēgia of, 341,
 345-347, 351, 407 ; revolt in,
 410, 440 ; plague in, 453 ; revolt of
 Elpidius, 481
 Sid Albattal, ii. 406
 Sidēron, fort, ii. 377
 Sidimund, Ostrogoth, i. 267, 268
 Sidon, i. 478
 Sidonius Apollinaris, i. 234, 235 ; at
 Arles, 239, 240 ; panegyric on Anthē-
 mius, 247 ; poetry of, 329
 Sievers, i. 47, 61, 67, 80
 Siffūn, battle of, ii. 291
 Sigibert, ii. 159, 160
 Sigismund, king of Burgundians, i. 382
 Sigisvult, Goth, i. 168
Silentiarii, i. 44, 259
 Silingi, i. 151, 152
 Silingis, i. 292
 Silk, manufacture of, i. 472 ; ii. 62 ;
 trade in, 96, 97
 Silvanus, banker, i. 216, 217
 founder of Paulicianism, ii. 396
 Silverius, Pope, i. 360, 391 ; ii. 5
 Silvia, ii. 150
 Simas, i. 375, 376, 378, 379
 Simeon (Titus), Paulician, ii. 396
Simocatta, meaning of, ii. 254, *see*
 Theophylactus
 Simplicius, Pope, i. 192
 prefect of Constantinople, i. 100
 philosopher, ii. 175, 176
 Singa, island, ii. 137
 Singara, i. 304
 Singeric, i. 149
 Singidunum (Singidon = Belgrade), Huns
 at, i. 164 ; Sarmatians at, 262 ; ii. 23,
 118 ; Avars seize, 119 ; Avars besiege,
 126 ; regain, 136, 143
 Sinigaglia, i. 394, 412
 Sinnio, i. 477
 Sinox, general, i. 168
 Sipka pass, ii. 14, 121
 Sirmis, ii. 76
 Sirmium, Huns at, i. 159, 164, 216 ; Gepids
 in, 285 ; Avars demand, ii. 116, 117 ;
 Avars take, 118 ; Franks hold, 513
 Siroses, ii. 243, 244
 Sisaurani, i. 431
 Sisibut, i. 417 ; ii. 215
 Sisinnius (or Sisinnacius), commander of
 Thracians, ii. 350, 451, 452
 Patriarch, i. 189
 Pastillas, ii. 498
 Rendaces, ii. 408, 409
 Sittas, *mag. mil. per Armeniam*, i. 420,
 422
 traitor in Martyropolis, ii. 110
 Sixtus V, i. 392
 Skabalonovitch, N., cited, ii. 341, 344,
 349, 416, 419, 420, 421, 468
 Skodra, ii. 15
σκοῦλα, ii. 168, 172
 Slavery, i. 22, 26, 219, 370, 371
 Slaves, the, i. 294, 299, 393, 411 ; ii. 12,
 16 *sqq.*, 69 ; their movement com-
 pared to that of Germans, 114 ; rela-
 tions with Avars and Romans, 116 ;
 invade Empire, 117, 119 ; settled in
 Empire, 119, 120 ; in Greece, 120,
 143, 144 ; invade Thrace, 124 ; the
 musical Slaves from the north, 125 ;
 subject to Avars, 126 ; expeditions
 of Priscus against, 128 *sqq.* ; of Peter,

- 134, 135, 139, 142, 149, 208, 212 ; join Avars in siege of Byzantium, 239, 240 ; migrations in seventh century, 274 *sqq.* ; subdued by Constans, 292 ; in Syria, 306 ; in Macedonia and Thessaly, 337, 338, 342 ; formed into a corps by Justinian II, 321, 322, 331 ; influence on the institution of serfdom, 420, 421 ; Slavise Greece, 455 ; in Bithynia, 471 ; in Greece, 483 ; in Macedonia, 484 ; influence in Empire, 525
- Slovenes, ii, 21, 23, 86 ; modern (of Carniola, etc.), 274, 483
- Smaragilus, exarch, ii, 147, 206
- Smith, R. Payne, ii, 8, 72, 74, 267
- Socialism, i, 95
- Socrates, historian, quoted, i, 84, 92, 126, etc. ; his work, 325
- Sofian Ibn Auf, ii, 311
- Sol invictus*, ii, 54
- Solachon, battle of, ii, 106, 107
- Solea*, ii, 50
- Solomon, king, i, 352, 387
the eunuch, i, 387, 388 ; ii, 35
- Sondis, Mount, i, 265
- Sontius, battle of, i, 280
- Sophia, Empress, i, 474 ; ii, 68 *sqq.* ; religion, 71, 77 ; ambition, 78, 79 ; writes to Chosroes, 100, 101, 110 ; insults Narses (?), 145
- Sophia, church of St., i, 54-57, 84, 93, 100 ; burnt (A.D. 404), 101 ; burnt (A.D. 532), 342 ; rebuilt, 346, 352, 353 ; description of, ii, 48 *sqq.*, 245
Little St., i, 57 ; ii, 42
St., at Salonica, ii, 52
- Sophiam, ii, 402, 403
- Sophists, i, 47
- Sophon, lake, i, 301
- Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, ii, 251-253, 268
- Sorbs, ii, 275
- Sors evangelica*, ii, 232
- Sosthenion, ii, 402
- Soterichus, i, 462, 463
- Sotiriadis, G., i, 373, 377, 378 ; ii, 169, 177, 411
- σοῦβλα*, ii, 363
- Sozomen, historian, quoted, i, 84, 88, 92, etc. ; his work, 325
- Sozopolis, i, 300
- Spadusa, i, 156
- Spain, occupied by tyrant Constantine, i, 140 *sqq.* ; Vandals, etc., in, 142, *sqq.* ; Visigoths enter, 148, 151 *sqq.*, 155, 156, 167 ; partly recovered by Romans, 415, 416 ; ii, 31, 32, 36, 37, 153 ; Jews in, 215 ; Omeyyads in, 407
- Spalato (Spalatro), origin of, ii, 277
- Spalions*, i, 456
- Sparta taken by Alaric, i, 67
- Spatharius*, ii, 344
- Spectabiles*, class of, i, 39 *sqq.*, 45
- Sperantius, i, 131
- Spoletium, i, 392, 394, 408 ; Lombards at, ii, 146, 149 ; duke of, 153, 444 *sqq.*, 503, 504
- Σπόροι*, ii, 275
- Sprenger, R., ii, 259
- Spruner's atlas, i, 441
- Squillace, ii, 187, 189, 448
- Srēdna Gora, ii, 13, 122
- St. Martin, ii, 322
- Stauracius, ii, 456, 483-485, 488, 489, 491
- Stenon, ii, 323
- Stephanopolis, i, 456
- Stephanus Asmictus, ii, 363
captain in reign of Maurice, ii, 106
eunuch of Maurice, ii, 88
life of, ii, 460, 462 ; persecution of, 464, 465
of Corinth, ii, 317
- Pope, ii, 500-502
- protospathar, ii, 475
- Rusius, ii, 329
- sacellarius*, ii, 324, 325, 329, 330
- Stephen, anti-monothelete, ii, 253
of Edessa, i, 438
- Stephens, Mr. W. R. W., i, 92
- Stesichorus, poet, i, 322
- Stilicho, i, 33, 61-69 *passim*, 74-79, 90 ; character, 78 ; schemes, 65, 66, 68, 78, 108 *sqq.* ; death, 113 ; connection with barbarians in Gaul, 138, 139, 167 ; Aetius compared to, 172 ; Ricimer compared to, 241, 279 ; forms the *Optimati*, ii, 344
- Stobi, Ostrogoths at, i, 262, 267
- Stoicism, i, 5 *sqq.* ; idea of φύσις, 6 ; leads to absolutism, *ib.* ; cosmopolitanism, 7, 21 ; influence on law, 369
- Stokes, Prof. G. T., ii, 249, 430, 431, 436, 439
- Strabo, ii, 289
- Strandža mountains, ii, 14
- Strategius, i, 419
domesticus, ii, 468
friend of Constantine V, ii, 461
- στρατηγός*, ii, 173, 340, 342 *sqq.*, 346
- στρατηλάτης*, ii, 306, 346
- Stratiotai* (Stradioti), ii, 356
- Strymon, river, ii, 280, 475
- Strymon*, theme of, ii, 351
- Stubbs, bishop, ii, 392, 412, 456, 468
- Studion, ii, 524
- Stutzas, rebel, i, 387, 388
- Suania, i, 452, 468 ; ii, 95, 110
- Suavia, i, 262
- Subiaco, i, 398
- Succi, pass of, ii, 13

- Suessionum, Augusta (Soissons), i. 283, 397; ii. 159
 Suevi, cross Rhine, i. 138; in Gaul, 139 *sqq.*; enter Spain, 142, 151, 155, 166; defeated by Visigoths, 236; in central Europe, 262, 286; in Spain, 285; kingdom subdued by Visigoths, 416; ii. 32
 Suicide, i. 21
 Suidas quoted, i. 208, 209, etc.; ii. 234
 Suleiman, caliph, ii. 372, 378
 general, ii. 378 *sqq.*, 401, 402, 406
 Summus, i. 419
 Sunicas, i. 375-379
 συντελεσται, ii. 80, 174
 Superstition, prevalence in seventh century, ii. 387 *sqq.*
 Sura (Suron), i. 421 *sqq.*
 Susiana, ii. 242
 Sutrium, ii. 442, 444
 Svarunes, i. 466
 Svinthila, i. 417; ii. 207
 Syagrius, i. 33, 242, 283
 Sycae, suburb of Constantinople, i. 272, 300; ii. 309, 354
 Syke, ii. 407
 Syllaum, ii. 311, 463
 Symbatius, Armenian, i. 482
 revolt of, ii. 322
 Symbolum, ii. 359
 Symmachus, *pr. urbis* (384 A.D.), i. 185
 father-in-law of Boethius, ii. 189
 Synesius, *Egyptians*, i. 80 *sqq.*; *de regno*, 83, 90, 125, 199, 209, 210; as a man of letters, 314, 315; visits Athens, 316
 Synodites, ii. 71
 Syracuse, Constans at, ii. 301 *sqq.*
 Syria, Huns in, i. 69; revolt in, 256; invaded by Chosroes, 421 *sqq.*, by Persians under Adormahun, ii. 98 *sqq.*, 199; Shahr Barz in, 200, 214, 215; heresies in, 249, 251; conquest by Saracens, 263 *sqq.*; renegades in, 267; coinage in, 322; famine in, 323; plague in, 453
 T'AI-TSUNG, ii. 64
 Taikōs of Japan, ii. 385
 Takht-i-Khosru, ii. 268
 Takht-i-Soleima, ii. 231
 Tamchosro, ii. 103, 104
 Tapharas, i. 373
 Tarasikodissa (Zeno), i. 250
 Tarasius, ii. 327, 487, 494-496, 518, 521, 522, 531
 Tarentum, Constans at, ii. 300
 Targites, Avar, ii. 72, 120
 Targitos, ii. 120
 Tarilon, ii. 492
 Tarik, ii. 512
 Tarpodizus, ii. 125
 Tarrach, i. 300
 Tarraco, i. 142; capital of Maximus, 143, 156
 Tarsus, ii. 492
 Tatianus, i. 62, 72
 Tatimer, officer of Priscus, ii. 128, 130
 Tatulus, father of Orestes, i. 216
 Tatzates, ii. 479, 491
 Taugast, ii. 64
 Tauresium, ii. 7
 Tauris, ii. 231
 Taurus, Mount, warfare in, i. 292; ii. 344
 pr. pr., i. 80
 Taxation, i. 41
 ταξεῖσθαι, i. 45
 τάξις πεπλεγμένη, ii. 228
 Taygetus, Mount, ii. 455
 Teias, coins of, i. 405; general, 412; king, 413; slain, *ib.*
 Telephis, fort, i. 453
 Telerig, ii. 474, 475
 Teletz, ii. 471, 472
 Tenedos, ii. 476
 Terbel, ii. 359; made a Caesar, 360, 361, 368, 408; death, 470, 511
 Terdetes, i. 446
Territorium Valvense, ii. 146
 Tertullian, i. 9, 10; on duties of women, 20
 Tertullus, i. 118
 Tetraxite Goths, i. 470, 477; ii. 358, 512
 Teuffel, Prof., i. 323
 Teuton, *see* Germans
 Texier and Pullan (*Byzantine Architecture*), ii. 47, 48
 Theatres, i. 198; ii. 56, 59, 61
Theatrocyneion, ii. 56
 Thebae, in Thessaly, ii. 23
 Thebais, ii. 8
 Thebarnes, ii. 232
 Theiss (Tissus), river, i. 163; ii. 141
Themes, system of, ii. 25; origin of, 339 *sqq.*; list in tenth century, 351
 Themistius, taught Arcadius, i. 62, 314
 Theoctiste, daughter of Maurice, ii. 202
 mother of Theodore Studita, ii. 519, 523, 529
 Theoctistus, secretary, ii. 408
 Theodahad, i. 359, 388, 389, 390; ii. 3, 186
 Theodemir, i. 261, 262
 Theodora, Empress, i. 337; beauty, *ib.*; political position, 338, 339; speech of, 344, 345; hostility to John of Cappadocia, 347, 351; character, 356, 357; unpopularity, 358; charges against, 359, 361; antecedents, 362, 363; family, 363; death, 411, 474, 469; ii. 1, 3, 5, 8, 9; mosaic of, 45, 62; early life, 60; charges against, 61, 68, 71, 78, 185

- Theodora, daughter of John Catacuzenos, ii. 238
 wife of Justinian II, ii. 330, 353, 359, 361, 365
- Theodore Ascidas, ii. 4
com. sacr. larg., i. 299
 consul (399 A.D.), i. 86
 engineer, i. 426
 Lector, i. 307, 325
 of Mopsuestia, i. 189; ii. 4
referendarius, i. 402
spectabilis, i. 131
 Ilibinus, ii. 107
 of Rabdis, ii. 109
 physician, ii. 130
 bishop of Massilia, ii. 162
mag. off., ii. 165
 Studita, ii. 170, 345, 487, 518, 519;
 poetry, 520; miracles, *ib.*, 521;
 life, 523, 524, 526; his mother,
 529
pr. pr. Orientis, ii. 202, 204
 brother of Heraclius, ii. 210, 211,
 215, 216, 237; defeats Saes, 238,
 245, 262-265, 267
 nephew of Heraclius, ii. 266, 267
 Trithyrius, ii. 264
 of Tarsus, ii. 280, 392, 538
 Pope, ii. 292, 294
ὁ καλωρείας, ii. 306, 309, 345
 Patriarch, ii. 315, 317-319
 of Ravenna, ii. 316, 317
 captain sent against Ravenna, ii.
 366
 Myacius, ii. 369, 370
 of Melitene, ii. 391
 Camulianus, ii. 484, 486
- Theodoret, quoted, i. 100; work of,
 325; ii. 4
- Theodoric I., king of Visigoths, i. 171,
 172, 175, 177
- Theodoric II, king of Visigoths, i. 236,
 237; treaty with Majorian, 239
- Theodoric, son of Gaiseric, i. 385
 son of Triarius, i. 254, 259; posi-
 tion, 262; relations to Empire,
 263 *sqq.*; death, 273
 son of Theodemir, i. 163; supports
 Zeno, 251; suppresses Leontius,
 257; birth, 262; career, 262 *sqq.*;
 overthrows Odovacar, 280, 281;
 rule in Italy, 282, 284, 294,
 381-383; marriage connections,
 382; palace of, ii. 43-45;
 tomb of, 44; policy in regard to
 Jews, 64
- Theodorus, *see* Theodore
- Theodosian sect, ii. 251
- Theodosiopolis, i. 305; taken by Per-
 sians, 307; recovered, 309, 432, 435;
 ii. 101, 407
- Theodosius I. (the Great), settles Alemanni
 in Italy, i. 32, 53; death, 61, 64;
 friend of Goths, 61, 64, 82, 89, 94,
 95, 107, 108; religious policy, 185,
 186, 311; pillar of, ii. 52, 136
- Theodosius II, i. 92; reign of, 123 *sqq.*;
 marriage, 124; death, 135, 161, 163;
 religious attitude, 190, 191, 198; fond
 of riding, 199, 200; birth of, 203;
 baptism, 204, 304; ii. 1
- Theodosius III, ii. 372-374, 378, 382;
 fall, 383; treaty with Bulgaria, 470
- Theodosius, son of Athaulf, i. 148, 149
 Patriarch of Alexandria, ii. 8, 9
 lover of Antonina, ii. 61
 son of Maurice, ii. 82, 87, 88-90,
 92, 94, 109, 200, 201, 214
 of Melitene, ii. 82
 son of Heraclius, ii. 213
 brother of Constans II, ii. 298
 bishop of Ephesus, ii. 463, 498
- Theodote, ii. 487, 521
- Theodotus, *pr. pr.*, i. 346
 logothete, ii. 323, 324, 329, 330
- Theodulus, *mag. mil.*, i. 165
- Theognostus, ii. 475
- Theon, i. 208
- Theophanes of Byzantium, i. 472; ii.
 67, 95, 182
 chronographer, i. 327; sources of,
 ii. 56; extract from, 57, 168;
 error in chronology, 197, 207,
 231, 232, 234, 236, 262, 264;
 sources of, 281, 322, 327, 332,
 339; sources, 352, 383, 401;
 pious reflections of, 405; chrono-
 logical errors, 425 *sqq.*; descrip-
 tion of plague, 453 *sqq.*; language,
 518; character and marriage, 524,
 525
 the chamberlain, ii. 477
 Monôtios, ii. 451
- Theophilus, Emperor, i. 57; ii. 458
 Patriarch of Alexandria, i. 97 *sqq.*
Vita Justiniani, i. 334
 professor of law, i. 366
 spathar, ii. 481
 Cibyraiote general, ii. 492
- Theophobius, Colchian, i. 452
- Theophylactus Simocatta, use of *φίλο-
σοφώ*, i. 5; style, 324; ii. 64,
 68, 81, 82, 91, 137; sources of,
 83, 91, 93, 94, 99, 100, 101, 103,
 104, 107, 110, 111, 121; chrono-
 logic, 126, 130, 142, 170-172,
 197; notice of, 254-256
 governor of Thrace, ii. 468
 Rangabé, ii. 481
θεραπευθῆναι, ii. 169
- Thermantia, wife of Honorius, i. 112;
 divorced, 113
- Thermopylae, Huns at (A.D. 447), i. 165;
 fortified, ii. 23, 24

- Thescos, i. 478
 Thessalian marbles, ii. 50
 Thessalonica, i. 105, 158; Ostrogoths at, 262, 269; ii. 22, 23; art at, 41, 47 *sqq.*; Avars besiege, 134, 135; history of, 136; walls of, *ib.*; tumults at, 198; Slaves besiege, 280; play on name, 290; besieged by Slaves, 337, 338; government of, 345; theme of, 351; retreat of Anastasius II, 373, 408, 409, 487
 Thessaly, ii. 23
 Theudebald, i. 397, 414
 Theudebert, king of Austrasia, i. 395, 397; ii. 163
 Theudelinda, ii. 151
 Theuderic, son of Chlodwig, i. 397
 Theudimund, brother of Theodoric, i. 271
 Theudis, i. 415
 Thierry, Am., i. 92, 93, 276
Tholi (θολιά), ii. 47
Thomaites, i. 55
 Thomarichos, ii. 289
 Thomas of Claudiopolis, ii. 435
 a secretary of Justinian, i. 345
 Patriarch, ii. 206
 commandant in Damascus, ii. 265
 archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 316
 rebels against Michael II, ii. 452
 Thorismund, king of Visigoths, i. 177
 Thrace, barbarian settlements in, i. 32;
 Huns invade, 164; Ostrogoths in, 264 *sqq.*; Slaves and Bulgarians in, 294;
 Cotrigurs in, 478 *sqq.*; history of, ii. 10;
 geography of, 11 *sqq.*, 17; Slaves invade, 21; defences of, 22 *sqq.*; invaded by Slaves and Avars, 114 *sqq.*; strategy of, 345, 346; theme of, 351; Isaurians in, 374, 384, 470 *sqq.*
 Thracian theme, ii. 343, 345, 348, 350, 351, 451, 466, 485
 Thraco-Illyrian peoples, ii. 14
 Thrasamund, king of Vandals, i. 382, 385
 Thraustila, i. 182
 Three Articles, controversy of, i. 411; ii. 4-6
 Thucydides, ii. 181
 Thuringia, ii. 115, 134
 Thuringians, i. 177; cruelty, 178, 286; kings of, 382; ii. 35
 Thyatira, i. 86
 Tiberias, ii. 247, 267
 Tiberius I., i. 27
 Tiberius II, ii. 67, 68, 73, 74; made Caesar, 77, 100; Augustus, 78; reign, 79 *sqq.*; extravagance, 80; policy, 93-95, 101; made peace with Avars, 105, 117, 151; medal, 160
 Tiberius III, ii. 342, 350, 352; reign, 354 *sqq.*
 Tiberius, son of Maurice, ii. 94
 David, ii. 286, 287
 son of Constans II, ii. 308, 309, 316
 son of Justinian II, ii. 365
 Petasius, ii. 443
 Ticinum, i. 112, 179; 247, 275; held by Ostrogoths, 404, 413; ii. 146, 149, 502
 Tiflis, ii. 288
 Tikveš, ii. 474
 Tillemont quoted, i. 228, etc.
 Timasius, i. 70, 73
 Timotheus, an actor, i. 301
 Timothy (Weasel), i. 191
 (*Salophakialos*?), i. 191, 192
 Timseh, ii. 272
 Tingitana, Provincia, i. 141; ii. 32, 34
 Tiridates, ii. 451
 Tisamene, mother of Gratian, i. 115
 Titus, Emperor, ii. 30
 Todi, i. 394
 Toktu, ii. 473
 Tolbiacum, battle of, i. 171
 Toledo, ii. 394
 Tolosa (Toulouse), i. 142, 147, 152; kingdom of, 167, 172, 175; Avitus proclaimed at, 236, 327; ii. 163
 Tomi,¹ ii. 121, 137, 140, 141
 Topesus, ii. 22
Torna (τόρνα), ii. 123, 172
 Tortona, i. 240
 Totila, i. 323; accession, 405; career, 405 *sqq.*; death, 413; coins, 405
 Tougard, M. l'abbé, ii. 392
τοῦλλον, ii. 168, 171, 172
 Tours, i. 397
 Tovin, ii. 322
 Tozer, Mr., i. 268; ii. 7, 41, 136, 432, 498, 525
 Trachea, i. 445
 Tragurium (Traù), ii. 276
 Trajan, Emperor, ii. 16
 general, i. 432
 name among Slaves, ii. 16, 19
 Trajanopolis, ii. 23
 Transmund, ii. 445, 499
 Trapezus, i. 473; ii. 28
 Travouni, ii. 278
 Trevirius, Life of St., i. 397
 Triballi, ii. 16
 Tribigild, count, i. 82 *sqq.*, 114
 Tribonian, i. 341, 349, 366, 367, 369
Tribunal of the Nineteen Accubiti, ii. 409, 436, 478
 Tribunus, i. 440
 Tricameron, i. 386
 Tricca, ii. 23
 Trient, duchy of, ii. 149

¹ Šafarik's identification with Mankala has been abandoned. Küstenge corresponds to Constantiana, a little north of Tomi.

- Trier (Colonia Trevirorum, or Trevis), i. 140
 Trigetius, i. 179
Trickinos of Justinian II, ii. 325, 326, 489
 Tripolis, i. 245, 386; ii. 288, 302
 in Phoenicia, ii. 290
Trisagios, hymn, i. 297
 Troad, marbles from, ii. 49
 Trocundus, i. 257
 Troilus, poet, i. 82, 90, 320
 Tropaeum, ii. 120
τροπᾶρα, ii. 241
τρουλλῶτα, ii. 47
Trullus, domed room in palace, ii. 316
 Tryphiodorus, i. 320
 Tryphon, i. 342
Tsar, title, ii. 516
Tu vincas, ii. 173
 Tudunus,¹ ii. 363, 364
 Tufa, i. 280
Tuga, ii. 275, 276
 Tumlât, valley of, ii. 272
 Tundža, river, ii. 473
 Turcilingi, i. 286
 Turks, settlement at Constantinople, ii. 63; embassy, 96, 97, 99, 115, 406
 Turpilio, *mag. mil.*, i. 113, 115
 Turris, ii. 21
 Tuscia, ii. 38, 146; duchy, 149, 503
 Twelve Tables, authority abolished, i. 352, 370
 Tyana, ii. 352, 367
Tyche, ii. 54, 178, 180
Type, the (of Constans), ii. 293, 304
 Typhos, brother of Aurelian, i. 80 *sqq.*
 Tzachar, i. 463 *sqq.*
τζαγαρεία, ii. 57
 Tzani, i. 163, 441, 450, 458, 459, 469
 Tzathes, Colchian king, i. 456, 462
 (Tzath), Colchian, i. 372
 Tzazo, i. 386
 Tzetzes, J., i. 482
 Tzibilon, i. 446
Τζυδρος, ii. 474
Tzukan, game of, i. 199
Tzukanisterion, i. 199
 Tzukanisterion, plain of, ii. 466
 Tzurulon, ii. 127, 128
- UCHIMERIUM, i. 452
 Ugro-Finnic races, ii. 331
 Uldes, king of Huns, i. 89, 126, 161
 Ulfilas, general, i. 143, 144
 Ulpiana, ii. 21
 Ummi Danin, ii. 270
 Unger, F. W., ii. 43, 48, 50
- University at Constantinople, i. 128; ii. 1
Ὑρατος, ii. 172, 382
 Uranius, pseudo-philosopher, ii. 176
 Urbicius, chamberlain, i. 255, 290
 Urbicus, battle of, i. 236
 Urbino, i. 394; ii. 146
 Ursus, duke of Venice, ii. 442
 Uskiub, ii. 7
 Utrigur Huns, i. 477, 478, 481, 482; ii. 115
- VAHAN, governor of Armenia, i. 306
 Valens, Emperor, i. 32, 91; Arianism of, 185
 com. domest., i. 115; *mag. mil.*, 118, 119
 Valentia, city of, i. 140, 146, 416
 Valentinian I., i. 138
 Valentinian II, i. 185
 Valentinian III, i. 124, 129, 131, 151, 158, 159, 172-174; character, 174, 181; death, 182, 183, 191; influence, 241, 261
 Valentinian revolts against Constans, ii. 287
 Valentinus of Selge, i. 83
 squire, ii. 283, 284, 286, 287
 Valeria, sister-in-law of Zeno, i. 293
 Valerian, Emperor, i. 67, 304, 425
 general, i. 412, 430, 435, 436, 458
 Valid, caliph, ii. 362, 371
 Van, *see* Salban
 Vandals, settlements of, in third century, i. 31; cross Rhine, 138; in Gaul, 140, 141; enter Spain, 142; in Spain, 151; expedition against, in Spain, 155, 156; fleet of, 162; expedition against, 162; enter Africa, 168; expedition against (430 A.D.), 168; *sortes Vand.*, 170; unique position, 170, 171; danger from, 182; ravage Italy, 235; defeated by Ricimer, 236; Majorian's preparations against, 240; threaten Sicily, 242; Leo's expedition against, 244 *sqq.*; persecute Catholics, 245; in Sicily, 284, 285, 382, 384; ii. 35, 36
 Varahran I., i. 304
 Varahran II, i. 305, 306
 Varahran III, ii. 110-112
 Varanes, *mag. mil.*, i. 113, 115
 Varangian guard, ii. 80
 Vardar, valley of, i. 165
 Varna, ii. 334, 360, 471
 Varnucion, ii. 353
 Varro, ii. 192
 Vartan, ii. 264
 Vaudois, ii. 397
 Veglia, ii. 277
 Veklal, ii. 242
 Venables, Mr. E., i. 92

¹ Zeuss held that Tudunus is not a proper name, but a title of a Khazar governor of Cherson, and appeals to a passage in Einhard (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 739).

- Venantius, patrician, ii. 165
 Venantius Fortunatus, ii. 194
 Venetia, i. 115, 412; ii. 146
 Venice, origin of, i. 180; St. Mark's, ii. 42, 149, 374; assists Ravenna, 442, 503, 515, 537
 Verina, Empress, i. 233, 244; character, 250, 251; imprisonment, 256; death, 257; influence of, 266
 Verona, Alaric at, i. 110; Attila at, 179; Odovacar at, 280; under Ostrogoths, 405; recovered by Romans, 414; taken by Lombards, ii. 146
 Vespasian, ii. 33
 Vevdarch, ii. 242
Vexillatio, i. 48
Via Appia, i. 382
 Flaminia, i. 413
 Vicarius *Asiaticus*, i. 46; abolished, ii. 27, 75
 Ponticus, ii. 27
 Thraciarum, ii. 26
 Vicentia, Attila at, i. 179
 Victor Viteusis, i. 245
 Vienna, Gallic, i. 143, 154
 Vigilantia, i. 358
 Vigilantius, *com. domest.*, i. 115
 Vigilius, Pope, ii. 4-6, 297
 Viminacium, Huns at, i. 163, 164; ii. 13; Avars seize, 119; battles of, 140
 Vincentia, ii. 146
 Vincentius, *mag. mil.*, i. 113
Vindices, i. 302
Vir inluster, i. 397
 Virgilius, heresy of, ii. 521
 Visigoths, in Thrace (376 A.D.), i. 32, 64 *sqq.*; in Italy, 108 *sqq.*, 120, 121; settlement in Gaul, 153, 167, 284, 285; converted from Arianism, ii. 153
Vita Seti. Demetrii, ii. 135, 280, 281, 338, 345
 Vitalian, *mag. mil. per Illyriam*, i. 407
 Pope, ii. 301, 315-317
 revolt of, i. 297, 334; death of, 335, 343
 Vitalis, church of St., i. 253, 337, 341; description of, ii. 45, 62, 194, 326
 Vitalius, general, ii. 106, 107
 Vitoš, Mount, ii. 12
 Vitruvius, ii. 457
 Vlachians, ii. 16, 123, 472, 515, 516
 Vogel, A., i. 397
 Volkmann, R., i. 314
 Volo, district of, ii. 280
 Volusian, uncle of Melana, i. 131
 Vopiscus, ii. 343
 Vutelinus, ii. 211

 WACIS, king of Lombards, i. 395
 Walachians, *see* Vlachians
 Walamir, i. 251, 261, 262, 286
 Walch, ii. 462

 Wallia, i. 149, 150, 152, 241
 Wandering of Nations, what it was, i. 107
 Ward, Mrs. Humphry, i. 416
 Warmar, Frank, ii. 159
 Wars, the (Huns), ii. 115
 Weil, H., ii. 263 *sqq.*, 272, 320, 401, 404, 406
 Widemir, i. 261, 262, 274, 286
 Wietersheim, von, i. 108
 Wilfred of York, ii. 315
 governor of Emesa, ii. 106, 109
 Wilgang, i. 444-446, 450, 456
 Wilibald, Life of St., ii. 453
 Wilken, i. 338
 Winifred, *see* Boniface
 Wisgard (Wiscard), i. 457
 Witigis, i. 390-392, 394-396, 419
 Witterich, i. 417
 Women, position of, affected by Christianity, i. 20, 21; pagan and christian, 12

 XENOPHON the Athenian, i. 314, 324; ii. 169, 242
 of Ephesus, i. 324
 Xerogypson, ii. 125
ξυλοκούκουδα, ii. 168

 YALULAH, battle of, ii. 269
 Yemen, i. 470; ii. 95, 96, 261
 Yermuk, battle of, ii. 263, 264
 Yezlegerd, *see* Isdigerd
 Yezid I., son of Muaviah, ii. 307, 314, 388, 430
 Yezid, admiral, ii. 403
 Yukinna, ii. 267

 ZAB, greater and lesser, ii. 242
 Zabergan, i. 478 *sqq.*; ii. 22, 180
 Zacharia, *see* Lingenthal
 Zacharias of Mitylene (not Melitene), i. 191, 308, 309
 Patriarch of Jerusalem, ii. 214
 physician, ii. 101
 Pope, ii. 446, 500, 521
 Zachlouns, ii. 278
 Zaldapa¹ (Zaldaba), i. 297; ii. 120, 121, 131
 Zali, ii. 115
 Zamanarzus, i. 469
 Zambellis, M., ii. 447
 Zara, ii. 277
 Zeno, Emperor, i. 136; religious attitude, 191, 192; marriage, 230; reign, 250 *sqq.*; name, 250; character, 252 *sqq.*; death, 260; dealings with Ostrogoths,

¹ Zaldaba in John of Antioch (fr. 214 e), Zaldapa in Procopius (*de Aed.* p. 308) and Theophylactus. The MSS. of Theophanes have Zardapa and Zandapa.

- 263 *sqq.*, with Odovacar, 277, 278,
with Theodoric, 280, 290, 291, 294 ;
ii. 1-3 ; law on buildings, 55, 224
- Zeno, son of Emperor, i. 259
son of Anthemius, i. 293
- Zenonis, wife of Basiliscus, i. 254
- Zerkon, i. 222
- Zero, derivation of, ii. 362
- Zeuigma*, ii. 58, 84
- Zeuxippus, baths of, i. 56 ; ii. 369
- Zich, *see* Isdigunas
- Ziebil, ii. 237, 238
- Ziegler, i. 193, 195
- Ziper, i. 465
- Zoepffel, ii. 157, 503
- Zoilus of Cherson, ii. 364
- Zonaras quoted, ii. 68, 74, 170, 281,
299, 305, 311, 376, 378, 433
- ζορμιάδες*, ii. 312
- Zoroaster, ii. 232, *see* Fire-worship
- Zosimus, historian, i. 139, 142, 143,
325 ; his work, 326, 327 ; ii.
179, 344
- Pope, i. 194
- Zotenberg, i. 191
- Zoticus of Philadelphia, ii. 183
- Zotto, ii. 147
- Zuber, ii. 379
- Župa*, ii. 18
- Župan*, ii. 276, 277

THE END